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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the dynamics of education and culture as modern schooling is introduced to Ethiopia, imposing on the existing religious education institutions. The first of 17 chapters presents an outline of Ethiopian history. Chapters II-IV present sections on indigenous and church education, renewed conceptions of education, and schooling during the Italian occupation. A discussion of the administrative and political framework of the postwar period in Chapter V is followed by three chapters dealing with different aspects of Ethiopia's reconstruction period (1941-1951). Chapter IX deals with Ethiopia's recognition of Eritrea as an autonomous territory from 1941-1962. Chapters X and XI focus on consolidation and Ethiopia's 10-year plan for the controlled expansion of education. Chapters XII and XIII deal with education in the continental framework (1962-1973). Chapter XIV discusses the roots of higher education in Ethiopia, while Chapter XV focuses specifically on the national university of Ethiopia--Haile Selassie I University. Recommendations and projections for the next 20 years in Chapter XVI precede a final epilogue on Ethiopia's educational system. Over 200 tables, charts, and maps are included throughout the document. Appendices include an annotated chart tracing educational development from 1905 to 1978, a list of ministers of education and fine arts (1905-1982), and an extensive bibliography listing over 1,000 related resources. (LH)

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CONFIGURATION OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: AN AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

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PREFACE

Most of the work for the present study was carried out when I was on the faculty of the Addis Ababa University from 1966-1974. I served then as a field leader of the Ethiopian University Service; Dean of Students; Associate Professor of Psychology and Education; and Chairman of the Department of Psychology. The finished product was supposed to have been published there by the University Press. After everything was set to go, the occurrence of the 1974 revolution, and the subsequent disruption, and my own departure from the country for the United States of America, made consummation of publication plans impossible without altering the fidelity of the text. Finally, upon securing the manuscript from the country, additional data were incorporated and further analysis was made to achieve the present form of the manuscript.

The work represents an effort to present an analysis of the dynamics of education and culture within the framework of one of the ancient nation-states of the world. Of all African states, Ethiopia has witnessed some of the most traumatic political, cultural and social upheavals in this century. The 1936-40 war and occupation by Fascist Italy brought about untold pain and destruction among the general populace and institutions and damaged the national psyche.

Following expulsion of the Italians, the restored government of Emperor Haile Selassie enjoyed a measure of national and international support for two decades before it was jarred by an attempted coup in 1960. Fourteen years later in 1974, another coup d'etat--this one successful--resulted in the dismantling of the many centuries old monarchy and other old secular, religious military and civilian institutions. The military junta that assumed power has declared itself followers of Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

As this volume tries to show, the introduction of modern schooling to Ethiopia in this century and the super-imposition of this on the existing religious education institutions have contributed greatly to the configuration of present day political, economic and cultural arrangements. In other words, the work attempts to throw some light on the role of schooling in the process of modernization of a traditional polity, and how ultimately the agents of modernization found themselves impotent to control or direct the cause and magniture of that change.

Due to the nature of the subject at hand and the desire to be comprehensive and inclusive the present work is very immense--both in size and scope. Needless to say, it represents much hard work, endurance and patience over a long period of time, which time was, in many instances, fraught with danger. But to the extent that it contributes to a better understanding of the problems involved in the process of social transformation of a society, my efforts are rewarded.

Many friends, former and present colleagues and students at the Addis Ababa University and The University of Michigan have contributed immensely to the content and shape of this volume. I cannot begin to list them all here, but I want them to know I owe them a debt of gratitude. Special thanks to my former colleagues, Professors Dartha and Fay Starr; Reginald Jones and my graduate assistant, Mitiku Ashebir. The Center for Afro-American and African Studies and Program for Educational Opportunity, in the latter case, under the leadership of Professor Charles Moody, contributed to the secretarial and logistical needs of my work. I am proud of and grateful to them. I thank Professor William Cave for suggesting the title of this book. I wish to record my deep gratitude to Mary R. Achatz for her meticulous editorial and secretarial work. She took initiatives, beyond the call of duty, to enhance the quality of the work. In as much as this work reflects the contribution of many people, any shortcomings in form or substance are my own responsibility.

Ann Arbor, Michigan
October, 1984

Chapter I

AN OUTLINE OF ETHIOPIAN HISTORY

The first glimpse of Ethiopian history shows the Cushitic peoples in full occupation of the country. Gradually however, they were pushed back to the West.

The Egyptians were probably the first foreigners to establish relations with Ethiopia. They came in search of gold, spices, ivory and other products to be found in the Horn of Africa, and may have come from the West, following the Nile and its tributaries, a natural route of access to Ethiopia's sea coast areas. Geographical conditions must have made the relations between Ethiopia and Egypt sporadic. However, the proximity of southwest Arabia provided relatively easy access to the Horn of Africa and advantage was taken of this by the southwest Semitic people, or Sabeans.[1]

Around the first millennium B.C., a civilization of four kingdoms developed in southwest Arabia. These four kingdoms sometimes existed side by side and sometimes succeeded one another. Of the four, the kingdom of Saba was the strongest and longest lasting. Apparently Saba had an advanced material and intellectual culture, which the Sabeans brought with them across the Red Sea and put to good use.

On landing at Adulis, a little south of Massawa, they must have noticed many similarities to the country they had just come from: a hot, arid, narrow coastal strip of land leading up to highlands which enjoyed regular rainfall sufficient for agricultural development. Thus the Sabeans, a mercantile people, settled in the highlands of Eritrea. They were no doubt motivated by a desire to expand trade and perhaps to leave the harsh climate of their homeland. The Semitic place names of southwest Arabian origin found in the Massawa and Assab regions testify to the influence of these people.[2]

The Sabeans were a civilized and skilled people. In the kingdom they left they had been skilled farmers, terracing the land and developing irrigation systems to water their crops. They were also city builders and proficient in the arts of stone-carving and designing and producing gold ornaments. Their merchants travelled along the coast of Africa and ventured as far as the East Indies. They produced coins which they used for trade. They spoke a language which we call Sabean, whose written form is closely related to Phoenician, and from which the Ge'ez or Ethiopic language is descended. They introduced water jars, grain bins, plows and other farming implements to Ethiopia. Eventually they founded the civilization of Aksum, a mixture of the indigenous Cushitic culture and that of the Sabeans. The legend of the queen of Sheba may have its origin in this early period of Sabean migration to Africa.

The civilization of Aksum was a sophisticated one. The rulers constructed impressive palaces, temples and tombs, many of which are still extant. The obelisks or stelae, beautifully carved out of single pieces of stone, are additional testimony. We find stone inscriptions from this period written in Sabean, Ge'ez and Greek, describing military campaigns and the victories of various kings.

The Aksumites were great traders. They had commercial relations with Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Greece, and India. They exported ivory, gold and slaves, and imported cotton cloth, glassware, metal ores and manufactured goods like swords, plowshares, and axes. The kings of Aksum minted gold, silver and copper coins. As a result of their business transactions they were able to import intellectual as well as material culture. They were under strong Greek influence and used Greek as well as Ge'ez inscriptions on many of their coins.

The Aksum civilization advanced to the south in Ethiopia, and left permanent marks on our society. Recent research indicates that the Gurage dialect of Shoa and Harari in Harar have been influenced by, if they are not directly derived from, the Ge'ez language.

While the Aksumite Kingdom was still expanding and developing, a pivotal event in Ethiopian history occurred. Around 345-410 A.D. tne conversion to Christianity of King Ezana and his subjects began.

It is dramatically recorded in the annals that as Meropius, a Syrian merchant, was sailing down the Red Sea with two youths named Frumentius and Adaesius the boat was captured by enemies and everyone on board except the two boys were killed. The children escaped and were later found under a tree, studying and preparing their lessons. They were taken to the King. He made Adaesius a cupbearer and Frumentius, whom the king "had perceived to be sagacious and prudent," was made treasurer and secretary. They were afterwards held in great honor by the king. When he died his widow begged Frumentius remain in order to help her educate her young son Ezana. Frumentius consented and soon after converted the young king to Christianity and built the first Christian churches in Ethiopia. He later travelled to Alexandria and asked the recently appointed Patriarch Athanasius to send a bishop to Ethiopia to administer the recently established churches. Athanasius responded by appointing Frumentius first bishop of the Aksumite empire. He was known as Aba Salama (Father of Peace or Light) to the Ethiopians. There is no doubt that other Christians followed in his footsteps; their influence was felt through their teaching and the establishment of monasteries and churches.

Ge'ez evolved from the earlier Sabean language and eventually developed the special Ethiopic script. It was influenced by the languages of the indigenous people. Ge'ez became the dominant language of business, politics and religion. It is still the liturgical language of the Ethiopian Church and most of the early manuscripts still extant are in Ge'ez. During the middle ages Ge'ez evolved into Amharic, after being further influenced by various non-Semitic languages.

The Ethiopian numbers were copied from Greek, an indication of the influence of Hellenic culture on the Aksumite empire.

In the fourth century, during Ezana's reign, Aksum reached the zenith of its power. Ezana was a great king. He left behind numerous coins and monumental inscriptions in Ge'ez, Sabean and Greek. The independence of Ge'ez from its Arabian origins was complete by this time and the new Ethiopic syllabary provides further evidence of the cultural vitality of the Aksumite empire.

But Ezana's reputation for greatness does not rest only on his successful military campaigns, as recorded in the inscriptions, or on his proclamation of Christianity as the state religion. He also built the great series of obelisks at Aksum, the largest of which exceeds thirty-three meters in height.

With the death of Ezana, the Aksumite Kingdom began to decline. None of his successors could hold together the empire that he had established. Since the empire was Christian, it was expected to fulfil certain favors for the Byzantine Emprie. By this time both Christianity and Judaism were gaining a foothold in the neighboring Arabian states.

Around the end of the sixth century Christian rule in south Arabia came to an end with the Persian occupation. The subsequent Roman-Persian conflict may well have affected the Red Sea area. The Persians encouraged all religions to oppose Roman rule as much as possible and in this way the Jews as well as the Christians received help in their opposition to Roman rule. Persian influence soon gave way, however, under the onslaught of emergent Islam.

Aksum by this time was declining rapidly. The two-way traffic of migrants had almost come to a complete halt. The colony in Yemen had come to an end. Mohammed and the King maintained friendly relations for some time and the latter sheltered some Moslem refugees. But this arrangement could not have lasted long. The Persians disrupted the sea routes in the Red Sea; the Moslem conquests soon engulfed the whole of Arabia and North Africa, and Ethiopia was cut off from the Patriarchate of Alexandria. "The isolation of Abyssinia, which was to last for many centuries, had now begun."[3] With the coming of Islam neither conquest nor trade were possible and there was nothing for the Ethiopians to do but to isolate themselves, as they were to do again some centuries later.

In the tenth century an Agew dynasty seized power in Lasta Province, bringing the Aksumite empire to an end. These kings established themselves at Roha, later to be called Lalibela. Here succeeding kings carved twelve beautiful churches out of the living rock. It is believed that many of these churches were built by King Lalibela (1190-1225).

The Zagwe dynasty, as the Agew rulers were called, came to an end around 1270 when King Naakube Laab, the grandson of Lalibela, abdicated in favor of Yekuno Amlak, a young prince from the Tegulet area in Shoa, who claimed descent from the Queen of Sheba.

The accession of Yekuno Amlak marked the beginning of a resurgence of rapid development lasting for the next two hundred years under a series of rulers who were scholars as well as warriors. Territorial unity was achieved again, civil and religious institutions were established and the arts began to flourish once more. Most of the literature was ecclesiastical in nature and many of the works were translated from other Oriental languages, but there was, "nonetheless intense intellectual activity of a kind which gave adequate expression to the Ethiopian genious." Another great achievement of the restored Solomonic dynasty was the total fusion of church and state which from then on played an increasingly significant role in the political and spiritual life of Ethiopia. Many churches and monasteries were built, missionary activity was intensified and national sentiment was concentrated on the monastic tradition and the institutions connected with it. The influence of Tekle Haymanot, founder of Debre Libanos in the south and Ewostate in the north, proved overwhelming and enduring. It is believed that during this time the priory of Debre Libanos was established after the example of Tekle Haymanot. The prior became the ex-officio Etchege (head administrator of the monasteries and counsellor to the Emperor on spiritual matters). Until the Ethiopian Church achieved autocephalous status in the late 1940s, the Etchege was in effect the resident head of the Church.

If Yekuno Amlak was the founder of the Solomonic dynasty, his grandson Amde Tsion was the creator of its might and power. He consolidated the new kingdom through a series of ably-conducted campaigns which extended its frontiers. Amde Tsion was then able to turn his attention to a menacing problem that was to persist for the next two hundred years. A serious Moslem incursion had begun in the south and east of Ethiopia. The area and population controlled by the lowland Moslems was far larger than Amde Tsion's, but this proved to be in his favor for he had to defend a more compact area than his adversaries. Taking the initiative he attacked Ifat and Hadya and defeated both, taking the entire plateau as far as the Awash River. For the time being at least he was relieved of Moslem pressure; many conversions to Christianity occurred, more monasteries and churches were founded, and the name of Amde Tsion was registered among the saints in Senksar.

Following the reign of Amde Tsion (1314-1344) there was a succession of nine kings who skirmished with the lowland Moslems, as well as quarreling with the Sultan of Egypt. But none of the kings attained the stature of their great predecessor until the appearance of Zara Yakob in 1434. Of this remarkable man it is said: "He was unquestionably the greatest ruler Ethiopia had seen since Ezana, during the heyday of Aksumite power, and none of his successors on the throne--except only the Emperors Menelik II and Haile Sellassie I--can be compared to him." He not only waged successful war against intruders and extended the frontiers of the Empire, but also introduced religious and administrative reforms. His Christianity led him to campaign against and even persecute pagans and Jews. Trying to dissuade the people from pagan practices he established a multiplicity of religious holidays on which people were encouraged to go to church for worship and meditation. He wrote homilies on the Christian faith and encouraged others to do so. He became a genuine patron of literature and some of the older extant Ge'ez manuscripts date back to the reign of Zara Yakob.

His zeal for political as well as ecclesiastical reform led him unfortunately to commit excesses. He did not see anything wrong in having his wife put to death, nor having his son publicly flogged for expressing grief at his mother's death. He even sentenced his children to a public flogging, so severe that they died from the resulting injuries, when he suspected them of idolatry.

On the other hand, he waged a successful campaign against the Sultan of Adal and consolidated his hold among the Sidama gaining some breathing space before the next attack. However, he did not achieve final success in his campaign against the Falashas and other Agew people in the northwest part of Ethiopia.

Judging him by the goals he set for himself: to increase the power and prestige of the monarchy, which had been greatly undermined by his predecessors; to introduce reforms in the state administration and the Church; to eliminate the power of the hereditary rulers of the provinces; to assume control of provincial administration, either himself or through his own officials; and to associate the Church more closely with throne and state--Zara Yakob was successful. He is credited with greatly enhancing the mystery and ritual of the monarchy, which have since become the marks and symbols of Ethiopian sacred kingship.[5]

With the death of Zara Yakob the great expansion of the Middle Ages came to an end. During his reign a large empire had been created, the administration had been reorganized and rationalized and church and state had been brought closer together than at any time since King Ezana's period. Most of the Moslem sultanate had been conquered and their territories brought under Ethiopian control. But Zara Yakob's successor, his young son Bede Mariam (1468-1478), was unable to control such a vast empire. Dissatisfaction soon increased, the various provincial chieftians began to assert their independence and the clergy relapsed into their old ritual practices. However, Bede Mariam was able to conclude a peace treaty with the Sultan of Adal and undertook a successful expedition against the Falashas. Bede Mariam was succeeded by his son Eksender (1478-1494) and by Eskender's son, Amde Tsion II, who only reigned for a few months; they were followed by King Naod (1494-1508), who, advised by his intelligent mother, Empress Eleni, adopted wise policies. At this juncture the devastating Moslem conquest wrought havoc in the political, ecclesiastical and social fabric of Ethiopia.

Naod's son Lebne Dengel assumed power under the regency of the durable Empress Eleni who continued to pursue her successful policies. However it was realized at court that the peace concluded with the lowland Moslem Adalites would not last long. The Empress therefore seized upon a suggestion made by Pedro de Covilham, who had been sent to Ethiopia in 1487 by King John II of Portugal, to find out all he could about the land of "Prester John" and divert the trade route in spices from Venice to Portugal. Covilham married an Ethiopian and settled here, doing valuable research into the languages and customs of Ethiopia. He proposed that the Ethiopians should enlist the aid of the Portuguese navy to dislodge the Moslems from the Red Sea area. Because of communication problems, and perhaps for political reasons, the Portuguese mission delayed its arrival until 1520, by which time the general situation had drastically changed: Lebne Dengel had successfully routed his enemies and the Empress Eleni had died.

While the country was celebrating the recent victories and enjoying renewed prosperity, the Portuguese Embassy under Rodrigo de Lima arrived in Ethiopia. The Embassy members were ushered into the presence of the king, only after a long wait, and when they presented the gifts which they had brought from Portugal, which did not include munitions, they were received coolly. The Embassy tried to revive the previous agreements from Queen Eleni, but to no avail. Finally, having made no progress towards a negotiated settlement, they left for Portugal in 1526.

Meanwhile, the Sultan of Adal, Abu Bakr, had transferred his capital to Harar. The Sultanate was in a state of internal strife, trying to recover from the recent blow at the hands of Lebne Dengel. In the meantime there emerged a forceful commander named Ahmed ibn Ibrahim (Gran, the left handed). Assuming the title of Imam, Gran consolidated his position among the Adal, the Dankil and the Somalis, and inspired by the ideal of the Jihad, and by a lust for conquest and plunder, began to menace the foot hills of Ethiopia. Three years after the departure of the Portuguese in 1529 he defeated Lebne Dengel, then withdrew. Two years later he set out again, invading the entire country, looting and destroying churches and monasteries and forcibly converting Christians to Islam. Tigre, Shoa, Bali, and Begemeder and Semien, all fell before Gran's advancing army.

"The holocaust enveloped most parts of Ethiopia and brought in its train misery and murder, ruin and devastation. Much of the literary and intellectual heritage of Abyssinia was irretrievably lost, and the barbarism and brutality had an effect far transcending that age. To Ethiopians a good deal of their hard-won civilization was destroyed, while to the historian and ethiopisant precious documentation and irreplaceable evidence perished forever."[6]

Besieged on all sides in his temporary refuge in Tigre Province, Lebre Dengel sent Joao Bermudez to Portugal for help. Bermudez had remained in Ethiopia after the Portuguese Embassy left for home in 1526. Five years later Lebne Dengel died, an exhausted and dispirited man.

Lebne Dengel was succeeded by his son Gelawdewos. Two years later deliverance came from the sea; four hundred Portuguese under Christopher da Gama disembarked at Massawa in 1541 and, aided by the Ethiopian, Bahr Negash Yeshaq, who had held out at Debaroa, set out for the interior. Their first encounter with Gran's force was successful, but they could not pursue their victory for lack of reinforcements. Meanwhile Gran sought and obtained reinforcements from Turkey and attacked the Portuguese-Ethiopian army, killing da Gama and about two hundred Portuguese soldiers. The remaining two hundred joined the remnants of Gelawdewos' forces near Lake Tana, where, in a hard-fought engagement they defeated Gran's army and slew him.

With the death of Gran, tranquility was restored to the country for a while. But Ethiopia was left prostrate and exhausted. Many of the treasure houses of culture and religion were no more; the people were frightened and demoralized. But although isolated skirmishes occurred from time to time, the Moslem problem was no longer a national threat.

A new threat to Ethiopia was coming from another quarter. The Galla migration, beginning in the sixteenth century, was to remain the dominant problem for the next three centuries. The Gallas were pushed towards the center of Ethiopia by pressure from the Somalis and the Danakil. The long battle between Christians and Moslems that had just ended left a vacuum, with both sides so weakened and exhausted that the Gallas were able to push into the east and south of the country. The newcomers were so numerous that they pushed across the mountain chains into the heart of the country, settling everywhere except the northern highlands.

Gelawdewos was succeeded by his son Minas whose reign of four years marked the lowest point of Ethiopian power. Minas' son Serse Dengel (1563-97) proved to be a great warrior in the Ethiopian tradition. He fought against the remnants of the Falashas, and then against the Gallas. He subdued both, but the Gallas soon recovered. Serse Dengel also turned his attention to the Turks, who had sent a military force to the highland plateau and taken Debaroa, the capital of Bahr Negash Yeshaq, who had by then deserted to the Turkish side. Serse Dengel defeated the Turkish army, killing both the Pasha and Yeshaq, and restricting the Turks to Arkiko and Massawa.

Serse Dengel's reign provided a respite for the country. He was succeeded by Yakob and by Za Dengel. When Susenyos ascended the throne in 1607, it was only to usher in a new and different era of turbulence.

After the victory over Gran a remnant of a hundred or 150 Portuguese soldiers stayed in Ethiopia, intermarried and integrated into the population. They brought back Joao Bermudez, who was a Jesuit, and claimed to be Archbishop of the Ethiopian Church. He made himself so objectionable to both the court and the people that he was expelled from the country. The Society of Jesus then sent another Bishop with an expedition. Gelawdewos explained to them that he already had a monophysite Abun from Alexandria and that he did not need another; after this incident he wrote the Confession of Gelawdewos asserting the beliefs of the Ethiopian Church.

The Spanish Jesuit Pero Paez was more educated and tactful than his predecessors. He had some knowledge of the language and customs of Ethiopia and by his courteous manner won the respect of his hosts. Emperor Susenyas became more and more amenable to the teachings of the Roman Catholic church. He permitted Paez to proselytize and to discourage the observance of Saturday as the Sabbath. Paez was succeeded by Mendez, who in 1626 accepted the Emperor's formal oath of allegiance to the Roman Catholic faith. Mendez then exerted pressure on the Emperor to proclaim Catholicism the religion of the whole people and then to abolish the practices of the monophysite Church, including baptism, circumcision, fasts and feasts, and ordination of deacons and priests. These measures caused an outcry from members of the clergy and the royal family and laymen opposed to the move. The opposition was strong enough to force Susenyos to recant and to announce in 1632, the restoration of the monophysite faith to the nation. Soon after he abdicated in favor of his son Fasiladas, who reestablished traditional union of the state, church and monarchy. He expelled the Jesuits, severing relations with the European power whose unwise interference in the religion of the state had been construed by the people as an act hostile to Ethiopia's independence. As a result, the country entered "a period of long isolation and suspicion of Europeans, and the growth of xenophobia."[7]

For the rest of the seventeenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth Ethiopia "remained hidden and concealed, brooding and sullen. Leaderless, it floated like a rudderless ship in a sea of uncertainty." Pedantic religious disputation occupied the minds of churchmen and rulers alike, a legacy of Jesuit interference.

Fasiladas attempted to come to terms with the Moslems whom he now considered a lesser evil than the Europeans. He built the great Gondar castles which still stand and reconstructed Aksum Cathedral which had been in ruins since the days of Gran. His son, Yohannes I, reigned for fifteen years and continued his father's building program, establishing a measure of segregation between Christians and Moslems.

Yohannes was succeeded by his son Iyasu I, the Great (1682-1706). Iyasu proved to be an excellent Emperor and can be counted among the great rulers of Ethiopian history. He temporarily arrested the decline of state and monarchy and freed himself of the court intrigues so characteristic of his time. He expanded the frontier southwards and introduced tax reform throughout the country. He also visited the colony of exiled princes at Amba Wahni and did much to improve their living conditions. He is described by contemporaries as a man of quick wit, affable and brave. Above all he loved justice, which he administered to his subjects with great exactness. They in return adored and respected him. Iyasu was deposed by his son Tekle Haymanot and was assassinated in 1706.

In 1721 a king of consequence emerged in the person of Bakaffa (1721-30). He attempted to suppress the conspiracies and rebellions of the scheming nobles. In disguise he travelled extensively through the country. His consort, Walette Georgis, who was renamed Mentwab, proved to be a wise and sagacious lady. After Bakaffa's death in 1730 the Empress exercised the regency until their son Iyasu II, came of age.

Iyasu II was a weak king and his domain did not stretch far beyond Begemeder and Gojam, although Shoa and Lasta paid token allegiance. Throughout the country local nobles had already begun to assert their semiindependence. At the bidding of his mother Iyasu married the daughter of a Galla noble. Although this was done as a political device to establish greater stability, it aroused the suspicion of the die-hard chiefs. When he died at an early age his son, Yoas I (1755-1769), ascended the throne and for the first time since 1270 non-Solomonic blood was admitted to the Ethiopian crown. The traditionalism of the nobles was deeply offended. Finally, Ras Mikael, to whom Yoas had appealed for aid, was a party to his assassination, replacing him with a prince from Amba Wahni, YohannesII. The Zemene Mesafint (Era of the Princes) was to extend from 1769 to the beginning of the reign of Tewodros in 1855.

During this period authority rested in the hands of local notables and military commanders who paid only lip service to the central powers. Such a man was King Sahle Sellassie of Shoa who negotiated and concluded a treaty with Queen Victoria of England without reference to the Emperor in Gondar. Others included Ras Ali of Begemeder, Deji Wube of Semien and Ras Goshu of Gojam.

The balance of power between them was delicate, allowing the Emperor to exist as a puppet.

During these years of internal strife the Church was very nearly the only common institution maintaining ecclesiastical tradition and functioning "as the repository of the national culture and thus (embody) a strong sense of historical continuity."[8]

The expansion of the Gallas into Ethiopia meanwhile continued unchecked; Egyptian policy reawakened fears of Moslem expansion, and the European powers had begun to make their presence felt on African soil. This combination gave rise to the powerful figure of Emperor Tewodros II (1855-1868) and marked the emergence of modern Ethiopia.

When Kassa, the future Tewodros, was born in 1818 there was no central authority in Ethiopia. Son of a lowly family in Kuwara in the province of Begemeder and Semien, Kassa was brought up first in a monastery on Lake Tana and later in the home of an uncle. From the start he was a restless youth. He went into the bush, attracting followers and gathering increasing momentum. He bided his time and eventually became so popular in the district that he aroused the jealousy of the Queen Mother in Gondar. She sent an army to crush the son of a "kosso vendor" as she called him. The expedition failed. Kassa not only confirmed his right to rule over his district but gained the hand of the daughter of Ras Ali. Further civil strife followed, each war leaving him stronger than before. By 1854 he was already ruler of both Gondar and Gojam and his only serious rivals for power were the King of Shoa and the Ras of Tigre both of whom he eventually surpassed. On February 7, 1855 he was crowned Tewodros II, Emperor of Ethiopia.

On his accession Tewodros set himself definite objectives. He intended to break the power of the nobles and centralize the national administration, to destroy, convert or expel non-Christians, to expand the frontiers of Ethiopia and to modernize the military and civil administrative apparatus. He was ambitious, straightforward, fanatical and a zealous Christian.

It soon became clear that he was an emperor who could attract and hold the loyalty of his subjects. By 1860 he was at the peak of his power; he took Shoa without a war, capturing young prince Sahle Mariam (the future Menelik II), whom he treated kindly. After the deaths of his first wife and some of his advisors however, he seemed to have allowed worst instincts free reign, becoming unmanageable and sometimes utterly cruel. When a letter that he wrote to Queen Victoria on the relations of England and Ethiopia was not duly answered he suspected a slight to him and the Ethiopian people. He threw the British consul in jail and then the emissaires from England sent to plead for the consul's release were also jailed.

In 1867 a British expeditionary force arrived in Massawa. It took them a full year to travel the 325 miles from the Red Sea to Magdala, the emperor's capital. During the journey they were guided and helped by various Ethiopian individuals who desired to see the emperor fall. On April 10, 1868 the two forces faced each other. The modern weapons of the British forces mowed down the Ethiopian army. When the emperor saw the situation was hopeless he took his own life. Thus ended one of the truly great Ethiopian leaders, whose desires and ambitions continue to inspire following generations. Tewodros can justly be called the founder of the modern Ethiopian state.[9]

Following the death of Tewodros the country was plunged into another struggle between the nobles. Four years later, in 1872, Ras Kassa of Tigre was crowned as Yohannes IV. This new emperor was faced with enormous problems from the start, "through the whole of his reign he was almost ceaselessly distracted by the aspirations, military and commercial, of outside powers."[10] The first threat took the form of an Egyptian invasion through the Red Sea, then under the suzerainty of Turkey. The invasion was repulsed when the Egyptian forces were routed in 1875 and 1876. Then the Italians were repulsed at Dogali. The Suez Canal had been opened in 1869, and then the scramble for Africa had begun. Eventually the emperor lost his life to a stray bullet after successfully defeating the Dervishes at Metema. Yohannes was perhaps as brave as his predecessor, but was never given the chance to show his ability to the full.

The strongest contender for the throne was Menelik, whose main rival was Ras Mengesha of the north, the seat of power now shifted from Tigre to Shoa province. Earlier Menelik had left the problems of the northern most provinces in the hands of the Emperor who had been struggling to contain the Italians and the Mahdists. The respite from the problems of the north had given Menelik ample time to expand the frontiers of Ethiopia to the west, south and east. He had gained a vast empire which now had to be organized and governed.

Menelik had been King of Shoa since 1865. On the death of Yohannes in 1889 he became emperor. During his 24 years as King of Shoa he had an opportunity to think over some of the problems that his predecessors had had to contend with. The mistakes were made, and their victories noted and analysed. So when the opportunity came he was ready to act.

Menelik's policy for Ethiopia included containing the European powers, safeguarding Ethiopia's independence, centralizing the state administrative machinery, permanent acquisition of the neighboring Moslem and pagan areas and fostering social reform.

For the next twenty-four years, from 1889 to 1913, these policies were successful; Menelik accomplished his tasks well. During his time the infrastructure for the development of modern Ethiopia was laid. It was during this period that the first motor car appeared, post and telegraph services were set up, the first cabinet was appointed and, most important from our point of view, secular education was introduced. "Under Menelik's reign the presitge of the country had grown, the foundations of a modern state had been laid, and the Emperor's conduct had been distinguished by wisdom and moderation."[11]

Menelik was succeeded in 1913 by his grandson, Lij Iyasu Mikael, who was subsequently deposed and replaced by Menelik's daughter, Zewditu, as Empress. Unfortunately neither Iyasu nor Zewditu proved a worthy successor to the great emperor. However, when the Ethiopian notables assembled in 1916 to depose Lij Iyasu and crown Zewditu as Empress, Dejazmach Tafari, son of Ras Makonnen and great grandson of King Sahle Sellassie, was created Ras Tafari (Regent) and heir to the Ethiopian throne. The future of Ethiopia was in the hands of this remarkable man.

Born in Hararghe in 1892 and educated first there and later in Addis Ababa, the young man exhibited unusual intellectual powers and great personal dignity and tact. He was brought up in Menelik's palace and these qualities were undoubtedly noticed by the emperor. During his regency he initiated a number of lasting reforms. In 1930 he became Emperor Haile Selassie, gaining supreme power in the country.

In 1924, during his regency, he undertook a European tour accompanied by high-level officials and he was able to see, first hand, the progress that European states were making. While in Europe he ordered school equipment for the opening of the Tafari Makonnen School the following year. From now on the story of Ethiopian education was to be intimately related to the story of Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia.

During his heyday as emperor, Haile Selassie was regarded as a shrewd and respected leader of his country. His problems, and there were many, appear to be limited to his longevity. He stayed in power for over forty years as head of state, government, the church, the military, and the judiciary system. With the progress of time, his strategies of state administration as well as skills became increasingly archaic and untenable. Still he clung to absolute power until he was dethroned by the armed forces on September 12, 1974. Subsequently the monarchy was abolished and the other religious, political and economic institutions have been fundamentally and perhaps irrevocably transformed.

At this writing Ethiopia is being governed by a provisional military council headed by Lt. Colonel Mengistu Hailemariam. The future course of direction remains uncertain.

Notes

1. Edward Ullendorff, The Ethiopians: An Introduction to Country and People, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 47-48.

2. Ibid., p. 49.

3. Ibid., pp. 53-54, 55 and 57.

4. Ibid., p. 69.

5. Ibid., p. 70.

6. Ibid., p. 73.

7. Ibid., p. 78.

8. Ibid., p. 82.

9. See A. H. M. Jones and Elizabeth Monroe, A History of Ethiopia (London: Oxford Press, 1965), pp. 127-134; Jean Doresse, Ethiopia: Ancient Cities and Temples, trans. E. Coult (London: Unwin Brothers Limited, 1967), pp. 198-200.

10. Jones and Monroe, A History of Ethiopia, p. 135.

11. Ullendorff, The Ethiopians, p. 94.

Chapter II

INDIGENOUS AND CHURCH EDUCATION

Any attempt to study the contribution of traditional religious institutions towards Ethiopian education must include Christianity, Islam, Judaism, and paganism. All of these religions have coexisted in Ethiopia for centuries and have founded schools for their adherents' children. Christianity is predominant in the northern, northwestern and central regions, while Islam is dominant in the east, south and west: Judaism is limited to Lake Tana and the Semien region of the province of Begemeder and Semien. Paganism is mainly confined to the southern, eastern, and western regions, including parts of central plateau. Any account of Ethiopian education must recognize the contribution made by these different religious, linguistic and cultural communities.[1]

However, the most important single religious institution has been, and continues to be, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. As the established church its contribution to culture and education has been immense. We will, therefore, confine our attention to the traditional church system of education.

We cannot date the beginning of church education exactly. It may have originated in the Aksumite Kingdom with the introduction of Christianity at the court of King Ezana in the fourth century.[2] In subsequent years expansion and modification continued until the period from 1200 to 1500 when church education enjoyed its golden age. From the 17th century on the pattern of education seems to have improved little.[3]

Nonetheless it is true that "In the course of their long history of Christianity, the Ethiopians evolved their own peculiar system of education. Like church education in other parts of Christiandom it was designed primarily for the training of the priesthood but served also to diffuse and preserve all aspects of Christian culture."[4]

Objectives of Church Education

The main aim of education is to prepare church functionaries in the various ministries that fall under the jurisdiction of that institution. Thus the priests, monks, debtrawoch,[5] and teachers were trained in a church system of education to enable them to serve in any of the church's programs.[6]

However, church education also endeavoured to produce civil servants, judges, governors, scribes, treasurers, administrators and all the technicians of the state. There was no other source of trained personnel than the church school system. Most civil servants on all levels shouldered dual responsibility, serving church and state at the same time. This applied to everyone, from the lowliest scribe to the head of state or church. Some rulers, such as Zara Yakob, were actually priest-kings. Most Ethiopian rulers were and are zealous heads of both state and church simultaneously. Even the modern constitutions of 1931 and 1955 stipulate that the emperor must not only confess the Orthodox faith but is also the "defender of the faith."[7]

Traditionally state and church have cooperated. For example, King Lalibela (1180-1200 A.D.) built the churches that still bear his name. Other wealthy state officials invested large sums in building and rebuilding churches and monasteries in cooperation with their subjects.

It is reported that Iyasu the Great (1682-1706) made the city of Gondar the center not only of religious activities but of secular learning and culture by attracting to his court outstanding scholars like Kifle Yohannes of Gojam.[8] During the reign of Iyasu the Great over five hundred scholars lived in Gojam, while the church of Debre Berhane Sellassie in Gondar had a famous library with a collection of religious books[9] started by Iyasu II. The library is reported to have contained 981 books and manuscripts. The learned King Gelawdewos spent three thousand ounces of gold on the collection of Ge'ez manuscripts. He also sponsored translations from Arabic to Ge'ez of works like Haimanote Abaw (Faith of the Fathers) and Metshaf Kandil (Order of the Extreme Unction for the Sick) as well as the books of Berhan and Yoseph. He also wrote the Confessions of Faith.[10]

Elements of Church Education

The Grades

The age when a child may be admitted to the first grade of a church school varies, but as a rule between seven and twelve years old would be considered appropriate. The length of time it takes to graduate depends on the intelligence and motivation of the child, his health and the type of program the student has chosen to follow. A pupil who wished to continue in higher education might follow a schedule like that outlined in Table 1.

Table 1

Time Sequence of Learning Programs

1.	Reading, writing, oral learning, until the Psalms of David are read (Dawit Medgem)	- 2 years
2.	Singing (Kum Zema)	- 4 years
3.	Kidase and Saatat	- 6 months
4.	Advanced singing (Mewaseit Zema)	- 1 year
5.	Liturgical dancing and sistrum holding (Mergedim)	- 3 years
6.	Kine and Law	- 5 years
7.	Interpretation of Old and New Testaments	- 4 years
8.	Interpretation of the works of learned fathers and monks	- 3 years
9.	Merha Ewur (Book of the Blind)	- 6 months
10.	History	- 1 year
11.	Handicrafts, writing, parchment making, preparing writing stones, book binding, drawing, etc.	- 4 years
	Total	- 28 years

Basically the curriculum of the church schools consists of Ge'ez and Amharic languages, Ge'ez and Amharic literature, poetry (Kine), church music (Zema), world history, mathematics (Abushakr), philosophy, biblical exegesis and history, doctrine, history of the church, liturgics, civil and canon law, Christian ethics, and pastoral theology.[11]

Of course not every student completes the course. Only a small percentage can survive the long and arduous journey through this formidable curriculum. Some of those who stay through to the end must specialize in certain fields. To understand the sequence of learning better it may be useful to divide it into two stages.

First Stage of Education

The first stage is called Yenibab Bet and when the child has passed through it he is considered to have mastered the fundamental techniques of learning. In principle a church school at this and subsequent stages is open to girls as well as boys, but in practice only boys whose parents are members of the Orthodox Church are admitted. Church schools cannot therefore be considered impartial or democratic since they do not serve the whole nation.[12] At the age of five or so the child is taken to school by his parents and given to the master who stands in loco parentis to the child as long as he remains at school. Fortunately for the child the school of reading is usually located in or near his village. The master may cajole or beat the child as he sees fit.

There are four stages in the elementary school. First the child masters Amharic syllabary which is similar to the Ge'ez syllabary. It consists of 265 characters. To learn it he follows the teacher chanting in a high-pitched voice and pointing to a board or chart, or to his personal fidel (Amharic alphabet). After memorizing the characters the pupils must be able to identify any of the characters at random by going vertically or diagonally from a given point.[13]

He then proceeds to the next stage where he is taught Fidel Hawaria (Epistle of St. John). He says the letters of each word aloud until he can combine them to form the word. He continues until he can say all the words.

In the third stage he begins to read Gabre Hawaria (Acts of the Apostles) using a similar method. In modern times writing is normally introduced at this stage, but the difficult skills of calligraphy were traditionally taught at a more advanced stage. Pupils also learn to read Amharic and Ge'ez at this stage. The student must memorize Wudase Mariam (Praises to Mary) and Melka Mariam (The Physiognomy of Mary), books of verses dedicated to the Holy Virgin, and other books such as Melka Yesus (The Physiognomy of Yesus). Only pupils who have passed from the most elementary form of saying letters, then words and the sing-song to straight fluent reading of the Ge'ez text are qualified to join the memorizing classes. As a rule memorizing classes are held in the evening beginning at about seven o'clock in the evening and finish at nine. The master presides over the reading sessions while the pupils stand in front of him through the entire period. Total enrollment seldom exceeds thirty or forty pupils but to accommodate all the students some of the advanced pupils assist the master in teaching the novices.[14]

At about nine the stone bell rings and the class adjourns standing together to recite the Lord's Prayer in Ge'ez. Then the pupils say goodnight to the master, kiss the ground and go home. Those that stay on the school premises eat dinner in groups, go over their memorizing lessons again and then retire for the night. Meanwhile the master concludes his private prayer, eats dinner and retires to his simple private quarters.

The routine continues day after day except on holidays and Sundays. On holidays there are no classes but senior pupils are expected to assist in church services, as a form of inservice training.[15]

Handwriting skills were often postponed for many pupils. But during the last century or so rudimentary writing has been taught during the senior year of primary education or early in the secondary stage. In addition to mastering handwriting, the pupil learns to prepare his own ink and pen from local materials. The ink is made out of the soot that collects at the bottom of cooking pans and is brushed off with a feather and mixed with the juice of the leaves of certain plants. It is then allowed to ferment in a specially prepared horn ink pot before it is used or sold.[16]

The pen is fashioned from reeds by the pupils and their master. Then the Kelem Abat (Master of the Ink) patiently demonstrates how to write the letters until the pupils have mastered it. For three or four months they practice on slates or cheap parchment until they have complete calligraphic command.[17]

All of this is accomplished in the "house of reading" or primary school. As a rule it takes two years for a pupil to graduate from the primary school. The general end of elementary education comes when the pupil can read Dawit three or four times fluently. The term Dawit degeme (he read the psalms) is synonymous with he has finished elementary education. This is the terminal point for the vast majority of pupils and may qualify them for a career in the church or civil service.

When the good news of graduation reaches the pupil's family a big feast is prepared. The master is invited to the feast as well as members of the family and other relatives and friends. The master may ask the pupil to recite passages from the psalms of David for the group. This is followed by gifts to the master as well as the pupil from the parents.[18] From now on the young man is a member of an intellectual elite, whether he chooses to continue his learning or enters the service of the church or state.

Secondary Education

Having completed Yenibab Bet, the more ambitious student may proceed to the school of Zema or church music. The core of the curriculum in this school consists of church music, dancing and beating time. This school is usually headed by a Meri Geta or parish head.[19]

Entry to the school of Zema is much sought after by ambitious students because of its usefulness in preparation for a career in the church, in composing for the begena (lyre), or in improving patriotic songs and funeral dirges. It is also important for those pursuing other advanced fields of study, for example in Kine or the scriptures.[20] An additional attraction of the school of Zema is that control of the land is often related to service in the church. Land is owned or held ex-officio by the priests and deacons in return for services like bell-ringing or reading the Haimanot Abaw. Naturally this provides an additional incentive for parents to send their children to these advanced schools. This of course is not to assert that all individuals are so motivated, or to doubt the sincerity of those who desire to lead a life of devotion to learning and scholarship.

The study of Zema may be divided as follows. For about four years the students study the Tsome-Degua, the Meiraf and the Degua, fundamental books of religious music composed by Yared, the legendary founder-scholar of Ethiopian church music, in the sixth century A.D. A six-month course in Kidase (mass music) and Saatat (special religious music to be recited during the night) follows. The study of the more refined and complex music, the Zema and Mewaset (funeral music), for one year and a three-year course in Aquaquam (religious dancing accompanied by drum and sistra) complete their training.[21]

The chief hymn book, the Degua, is divided into two parts. In the first of these the hymns are addressed to specific persons or things; in the second they are more general in character. Small signs or letters are written above and below the lines to indicate how the piece is to be recited or sung. Meiraf is a collection of hymns and chants for the year with musical notation. The Mewaset is a book of anthems for the whole year. Egziabher Negesse (God Reigned) is another collection of hymns to be recited or sung on saints' days during the year. Finally there is the Gubae Melake, a large collection of general hymns. Among other works composed for special occasions are: Gabre Haimanot (Work of Religion) for passion week, Negese Mariam (Sayings of Mary) for the festivals of the Virgin. These homilies are read on saint's day.[22] The student of the school of Zema must master these works by heart.

The Zema classes usually have an enrollment of thirty to forty students. In addition celibate monks in the vicinity may want to attend classes to hear the recitation of the scriptures.

Classes begin at about eight in the morning immediately after early morning service. When the stone bell rings or at the clapping of hands, the students assemble around the master who is seated on a sheep or goat skin (agoza) spread on a slightly elevated earthen dais. After communal prayers the students break up into groups. Three of the most advanced students stand in front of the master, one on each side and the most advanced of all in front. Each recites from a different book of Zema. Meanwhile other advanced students teach the less advanced ones until their turn comes to stand by the master and recite. The master sees to it that each group gets its share of recital either with him or with senior students each day.

Classes continue in this fashion until 4:30 or 5:00 in the afternoon. Then students are released to eat or to search for firewood. A few however remain behind to take part in evening prayers conducted by the master.

The evening session begins at about 7:00 when the bell rings. It lasts for three or four hours. Then the students retire for some four or five hours sleep, rising again at cockcrow. Then the cycle of activities is resumed. If a student did not recite the previous day, he gets the master's attention first thing.

On Sundays and holidays, when classes are not in session, the students go to church to watch the clergy perform the rituals.[23]

After he has gone over halfway through the Zema school, the student may choose either to complete the course or to enroll in the next stage of the school of Kine (poetry) or even to attend the two schools concurrently under two different masters. If the student chooses this last alternative he must find a center where both branches of learning are offered. The larger centers usually have qualified masters in each area or a single master qualified in both. As the student inquires about centers known for their excellence in the advanced studies of the Zema and Kine he will ask qualifications, character, and reputation and also the possibility of working for his living while attending the school.[24]

The city of Gondar is the finest center of learning for Aquaquam. However, city life is distracting and it is difficult to live there by begging. Therefore, surrounding centers such as Azezo, Chilga, Dambia, and Wogara often meet students' needs better. Nonetheless, after mastering the rudiments of Aquaquam in one of these centers the student must still proceed to Gondar to finish his studies. When this becomes necessary the wise student brings enough food and drink to last him at least a year. Depending on his intelligence, motivation and background it will take him anywhere from a little over one year to ten years to complete his studies.[25]

By this time the student begins to acquire a higher social status. In many respects he is a master in his own right now and is treated as such by his peers and his masters alike. He is no longer expected to run errands, fetch firewood or water for the master, wash the feet of any guests or call the master "Yeneta" (My Lord). He now has more leisure than ever before in his life. He studies in the various departments under different masters and the method of instruction begins to reflect the student's maturity.[26]

Even after he has gone through the school of Zema the student is still considered ignorant for he cannot understand Ge'ez and therefore does not comprehend what he reads. He proceeds to the next stage where he learns the meaning of Ge'ez.[27]

Life in the school of Zema has been rigorous and has demanded much of the students. It has taken him between fourteen and twenty years to complete the course. If he has been successful and if his health is still good, he may want to proceed to the next and most challenging stage of all. This is the school of Kine.

The School of Kine

The centers for Kine are in Chilga, Fogara, Wogara in Begemider and Semien. Province, Wadla, Lasta in Wollo province, and certain places in Gojam and Tigre. The centers in Gojam are the best known. Before the student decides which school to go to he makes inquiries regarding the qualifications, character, and reputation of his prospective teachers and whether he will be able to earn enough to support himself. After making his decision the student takes formal leave of the Zema school, or may even disappear without a word.[28]

When he arrives at the center of his choice the master questions him on his background and gives him formal permission to join the school. He is assigned to an assistant (usually a senior student in the school) who will introduce him to the school and the community and help him to learn the rudiments of Ge'ez vocabulary, and to analyze and learn by heart classical poems. This may take from seven to ten days.[29] The student begins to understand what he has often heard before, that Kine is similar to higher mathematics. It is an exhausting and difficult task.

After this introduction the student begins to read Gubae Kanna (Congregation of Kanna) before his master. From there he gradually proceeds to the reading of Mawadis (hymns of praise).[30] For the first time he begins to understand what he sings or reads in Ge'ez, the "Latin" of the Ethiopian Church and nation. Soon he begins to compose simple couplets after the style of Gubae Kanna[31] in Ge'ez and proceeds to advanced forms of composition in traditional styles.

As a rule a student of Kine gets up early and goes to the neighboring woods or hills to compose his poem for the day.[32] In the evening he recites his composition aloud to the master in the presence of other students. Except for the master absolute silence is observed. The master listens attentively, making comments or corrections as the reading proceeds. Everyone including the author listens to the reading and to the corrections, and takes note lest he repeat the mistake on another occasion. In this way each student compiles his own book of poetry. Occasionally the master reads a composition of his own to the students, encouraging and challenging his students to emulate his style of composition and recitation.

The influence of Kine is tremendous, whether the student wants to pursue his studies further or leaves to get a job. Germa Amare has observed:

> The study of Kine derives its significance from the fact that this is the most highly refined expression of Ethiopian culture. Which it is said, is characterized by ambiguity vagueness and secretiveness. Kine may be defined as the art of detecting others' ambiguities (in communication) while increasing the subtleties of one's own. This art is acquired through the mastery of two types of poetry, Semena-Work (Wax and Gold)....[33]

Depending on the student's health and industry, and the level he wishes to attain, he may study Kine for a period of from one to five years.[34] After this all students begin to specialize.

Higher Education

The question has been raised from time to time as to whether the system of Ethiopian Church education is equivalent to that of other cultures, especially in regard to higher education. Mulugeta Wodajo[35] thinks it has not necessarily always been so, while Germa Amare disagrees.[36] However whether the terms used are synonymous or not, it can be said that the concept of higher education did exist and still exists in the church system of education. It is rather a question of whether to include the school of Kine, the advanced forms of Aquaquam and other branches of the Zema school under the description of higher education. it is not easy to provide an answer to this problem. For our purposes, however, we will draw a line at the end of the school of Kine.

By the time the student completes the school of Kine and is ready for the next stage he is a mature individual who has passed for a number of years through a trying educational experience. The process itself is perhaps designed to distinguish by elimination the serious scholar from the rest. The choice whether or not to enter the next stage, the Metshaf Bet (House of Books), is entirely his own. If he decides to do so he must choose again which center to join and at whose feet to study.

The House of Books

By entering the House of Books the scholar declares his attempt to reach the educational summit.

Again he will find that Gojam and Begemeder are major centers, Gojam for the study of the Old Testament and Begemeder for the New Testament. Arriving at the school the student is accepted as a 'guest of God,' treated politely and given permission by the master to join the class. Here the teachers may be monks, hermits or married clergy. The hermits and monks support themselves either on small payments from the students or through alms from the community. These teachers either lead communal lives or get elderly women to do simple housekeeping. Married masters, on the other hand, live either on farms or support themselves with contributions from local people and students. If the master lives on a farm his students will help him during sowing and harvesting.

Of course the student population that survives this far is small. But the few individuals that do are treated with full respect, and the master himself may even begin to think of them as his peers. As a student of the scriptures the scholar may get part-time work in the local church and will be paid in cash or kind. He may alternatively resort to making and selling mats and straw umbrellas in the local market. In this way he can defray some of the expenses of going to school.

In the House of Books the student, sitting in front of the master, slowly reads passages of his choice from the scriptures aloud. The modern master will then translate it into Amharic and interpret and amplify upon it, and upon the existing commentaries. Profound and detailed study, analysis and interpretation of the scriptures and the commentaries follow.

Different schools of thought on the study of the New Testament exist at Gondar. These are commonly known as the Laie Bet and Tach Bet or Upper House or Lower House. The student may join either of these houses or he may enroll in both, although not at the same time.

Students who enter Metshaf Bet may specialize in any of the following four areas: the Old Testament, the New Testament, Church Dogma and Philosophy, or Astronomy. Although they are expected to specialize and most do choose one of these areas, some scholars excel in all four and are called Arat-Ayna or "four-eyed ones." These are limited in number and perhaps only three or four of them may exist in a given generation. They are greatly admired and are much sought after as teachers.

After completing his New Testament studies the student may read the Fetha Negest (Judgement of the Kings), the Ethiopian traditional code of law, and may proceed to the study of the Haimanote Abaw (Faith of the Fathers), and the Likawint (Church Fathers), the Metshaf Menakost (Book of the Monks) which defines the rules and spiritual discipline governing the life of monks and the Merha Ewur (Guide to the Blind) which deals with the computation of the Ethiopian Church calendar and affords mathematical training. Some or all of these writings must be mastered by the student.

To graduate from the House of Books may take thirteen or more years,[37] but the long, arduous journey is now over. After graduation the young scholar, who is probably about 35 years of age, is permitted to teach in churches or monasteries.[38]

The study of history and astronomy may also be undertaken as part of the advanced program. There are no organized schools for the study of history. Instead the scholar visits historical places and converses with learned men. It may take him a year or so to visit the necessary historical sites, churches and monasteries.[39]

The study of the sciences and of astronomy is minimal. Science is represented by two works written in the eighteenth century. They seem to have been derived from Arab and Syrian sources, although there is evidence that they have been modified, for example the prescriptions for treatment of hair, skin and eye diseases seem to be Ethiopian. The astronomical works seem to have originated from similar sources, again with modifications and adaptations to suit local conditions. Aside from these, scientific studies do not seem to have ever been pursued, perhaps because "Works of science do not exist in Abyssinian literature. As the heavens and the earth are ruled by God all enquiries into the working of the heavenly bodies and the laws of nature were and are regarded as sinful."[40]

Literature

The study of the fine arts, literature and handicrafts is part of the curriculum although not a requirement. These subjects were undertaken either for the material benefit of the needy scholar, for religious reasons, or to please an aesthetically-minded monarch or governor. Whatever the motivation, generations of scholars have produced work, which even today, after neglect, insects and climate have taken their toll remain a measurable part of the nation's cultural heritage.

As Liq Seltanat Habtemariam Workneh noted, although the origin of Ethiopian writing is unclear[41] or even how variant styles developed, it is evident that the art was always taken seriously. Calligraphy, word division and different signs for the comma, semi-colon and full stop followed prescribed rules, and the standard was very high indeed. The goal was uniformity to facilitate certification of authenticity in a time when printing was unknown.

The first group of books to be copied in the standard form were the Holy Books, followed by those works dedicated to and in praise of Martyrs (Gadla Kidusan). Books of philosophy and history followed. From these further copies were made following strict rules. The work was tedious and time-consuming; it took a year to copy an average-size book. In addition most scribes had to prepare their own inks and parchments. In this way the monasteries and some parishes and churches became centers of religious, philosophic and scientific investigation and production. Some of these copies are to be found in libraries and museums both within Ethiopia and in Europe. Most of them are still in good condition even after years of neglect and mistreatment.

Fortunately for the contemporary scholar and for posterity, the kings and queens and other people of means took an active interest in works of art and literature. It is not uncommon to find, "written by order of ....," in the text or column of a book commissioned by the nobility in veneration of a church they built or a monastery they established, or in fulfillment of a solemn vow made to a particular saint.

With or without such patronage, monks and scholars used to devote their lives to literary activity and the production of books.[42]

Some critics of Ethiopian literature and painting complain that it is too stereotyped and allows little scope for individuality. They object to the fact that authors or painters preferred to remain anonymous and that subject matter has been so narrowly circumscribed "by the force of tradition."[43] As one writer puts it "The effect of this literature has served rather to buttress conformity, by rekindling identification with the sacred symbols of the society. Ethiopian religious literature does not invite introspection; it is a corpus to be venerated and solemnly rehearsed."[44]

It is true that the primary creative urge was religious rather than aesthetic for patrons as well as artists. Anonymity was essential; for as a writer or painter to display his name was considered most immodest. An author would usually begin by invoking the name of the Trinity and if he lived long enough to complete his work he might record his gratitude to God for having sustained him and scribble his name at the end.

The works were deposited either in the churches or monasteries where students and scholars could have access to them.

Painting and Drawing

The graphic arts have a long history in Ethiopia. There is some evidence that in pre-Christian times works of art were exported to Egypt, but there is little information about the character of these paintings. After the introduction of Christianity, Byzantine and Syrian influence becomes apparent, but with the passage of time Ethiopian traditional art has developed its own color, theory, terminology and symbolism.[45]

Most early Ethiopian paintings have religious themes, which over the centuries has led to a stifling repetitiousness and rigidity. One convention will serve as an example of how individual creativity was restricted. By tradition any figure painted with only one eye showing, in profile, was an evil person, i.e. Satan, the Jews crucifying Christ, and so on. However, saints, angels, the Virgin, or Christ himself were always shown full-face, with both eyes visible. Numerous other equally limiting conventions could be cited. Even the position of a painting within the church was prescribed. For instance, pictures of the life of the Virgin were always hung on the south wall; pictures of Christ and the Apostles had to be placed in the east corner. Such paintings would be venerated by the faithful.[46] Even the order in which the lines were drawn and the figures painted, as well as the colors to be used, was dictated by procedures which had to be strictly followed.[47] Different media had different sets of rules. The illumination of books, the decoration of margins and covers, and the production of full-scale illustrations, at first delicate and exquisite, gradually fell into the same stifling conformity as full-scale painting. Nevertheless, some of the greatest masterpieces of Ethiopian art were produced in the sixteenth century by painters working entirely within the established conventions. However, Levine is probably correct when speculating on what might have been produced had generations of artists been allowed to give free reign to their individual spontaneity and creativity.[48]

The preparation of brushes, parchments and colors was a complex and skilled business and took up considerable time. The painter or scholar who needed, for example, black ink, had to obtain nine different herbal ingredients, which had to be fermented for at least three months. Parchment was made from sheep or goat skin and involved making and using at least ten different kinds of tools.[49] The fact that many ancient paintings are still fresh and unfaded is a testimony to the patience and care of these men. It was possible for some of them to buy prepared materials, but most students underwent extensive training in the techniques of mixing and preferred to use their own materials.

Professional artists were men who commanded repect, both at court and in the community at large. Rewards were generous: money, livestock, dairy produce, clothing, grain and land.[50] The title of aleqa[51] was one which conferred high status, even if not all artists received such plentiful remuneration for their works, and it was certainly true that public recognition, the respect of important personalities and the opportunity to amass material possessions were strong incentives to encourage the students through their long and arduous period of training.

Students learned to make ink by mixing soot, roasted wheat, leaves, and gum in precise quantities; they prepared parchment from goat or sheepskin with hand-made tools. The parchment could be used to carry medicines, or for paintings and holy writings. A bright student could give private tuition to slow learners among his fellows, or could prepare drugs from various herbs and sell them. He could make parasols, umbrellas or mats from reeds found in the vicinity of his school, prepare coffins and tailor clothes. He was taught how to make all kinds of pouches and bags for food, books, or anything else that had to be transported.[52] In fact, almost anything for which there was a demand was made in order to ensure the students' academic survival.

Handicrafts

Most students in the traditional church system of education earned their living by begging. But as they moved through the system they had to begin to pay their way by working. Handicrafts therefore, developed a double purpose, as part of the curriculum and as a means of earning a living while in school.

Qualifications To Teach

Requirements and rewards for teaching at different levels of the church system of education varied from one region to the next. Only a general outline can be provided here covering the most widely practiced traditions.

As far as general qualifications were concerned, a teacher at any level had to be well-educated and upright to ensure a high standard of instruction and the moral well-being of his students. A teacher might be a monk, a hermit, an aleqa or a priest. An aleqa (head of a parish) or a priest might be married. But hermits and monks had to be celibate and devote their lives to teaching and to welfare. Moreover, in addition to instructing their students, teachers rendered many services to the church and to the sick and poor in the community where they lived. Most were proficient in Zema and quite a few were masters of scripture interpretation, philosophy, history and the arts, as well as being men of high personal standards.[53]

Teachers who conducted classes in the Kes Bet (School of Priests) concentrated on the fundamentals of reading, writing and religion and were not expected to be especially learned so usually they were priests or debtrawoch who lived in the same village. No one bothered to require any certification of their teaching ability. At the Zema Bet level, the teachers of Degua, Aquaquam and to a lesser extent of Tsome-Degua had to have certificates for which they worked for seven years. The teacher at this level was and is crucial to the system since he teaches not only writing and reading at advanced level, but also the practice of church services and Zema. The teacher at this level had to be of a high moral standard so that students would imitate him.[54]

Kine was considered the gateway to Ge'ez and hence to the mysteries. It was the criterion of an able mind in a crowded field. It is reported that some teachers of this school were not eager to reveal their knowledge to their students and that they thrived by challenging colleagues to debate some subtle point of learning. At times they used to travel from center to center pretending that they were students in order to show off to the audience at the expense of a rival teacher. Although teachers of Kine were, as a class, mature men, they used to behave childishly.

At the same time these teachers, as well as their students, knew that mastery of Kine was only an ability to read and interpret the Holy Books and to understand the hymns, prayers and rituals of the church. Anyone who does not know of Kine and Ge'ez while serving in the church leads a humiliating life.

Teachers in the Metshaf Bet (House of Books) were a class apart. They were wise men who had acquired knowledge from life and from books. As a rule they were the most respected members of the community of scholars. When any argument on matters of learning or theology occurred they were the arbiters. They were able to interpret the books with meticulous care so that neither the language nor the content was distorted. Even their disciples commanded respect in the community.[55]

Here was a university where the whole approach to learning, including the qualifications of the professors, methods of teaching and learning, and the attitude towards the leadership of the community of scholars reflected maturity of mind and the ideal of democracy in action within its walls.

The Financial Structure

There were teachers who received remuneration in kind or in cash and there were others who did not receive any type of salary or remuneration at all. The question of payment must have been a problem because the teacher did not always know who to charge for service expenses; he could not ask the church because there was no central administration to supervise teaching or to accept responsibility for operating costs. He could not charge his students because they lived at subsistence level on what they were given and when he was through with his education he would disappear without even saying goodbye.[56] The master had to look elsewhere to find means of support. He might make and sell handicrafts, cultivate a piece of land or farm where students could lend a hand during the planting and harvesting. In some cases he might receive a stipend from the national treasury, from the king's private purse or from some wealthy man's private coffer. Other teachers wandered from place to place, begging their meals from the families in the area.[57]

At the lower level the teacher-priest was often married with a family and a farm which he cultivated with the help of students. In the Metshaf Bet most of the teachers were celibate monks and hermits and demanded no remuneration from any quarter. They made and sold mats and parasols, wrote parchments and manuscripts, bound books or carved the Tselat (Holy Tablet) at modest prices. In this way they were also able to take care of a needy student. Mostly they were concentrated in monasteries, although sometimes they were to be found in churches or villages. They observed all the prayers and fasts.

Other teachers supported themselves by begging for grain, preparing food or clothing. Sometimes the essentials of life were provided unasked by lay members of the community. Some were hired by wealthy lords to teach their children in their private compounds. This group of teachers led a comfortable life, provided with room and board and an adequate salary.[58]

Some masters were treated differently. For instance, the princes of Gondar used to give a fixed amount of grain annually to the teachers of the Four Congregations, (these were the four major church schools in Gondar whose leaders got some cash subsidy from the government). Since 1939 E.C. the emperor paid the salaries of the occupants of the traditional chairs in Gondar. These teachers have led and are leading comfortable lives in contrast with their colleagues who live and work elsewhere.[59] Most teachers have indeed followed the divine injunction which says, "What you have received freely, give freely."

Student Life

The particular ways in which students lived while attending school may have varied slightly from one region to the next, or from one grade to another. However the following description applied to the majority.

A student may have gone to school voluntarily, may have been sent by his parents, or even have disappeared to attend school away from his village against his parents' will. If he attended a school near his village, he could perhaps live with his parents. However, most students preferred living away from home because staying at home with parents and relatives interfered with full-time study, and because of the challenge of life in an unknown part of the country. Such a student has been compared to a bee, which leaves its warm comfortable hive to explore fields and high mountains, bravely enduring the privations of the climate to collect nectar from the flowers and prepare sweet and life-giving honey. Moreover for poor students it was less humiliating to be away from home, begging among strangers rather than among old acquaintances and friends.

Often students would set off in groups of two or more after they had made vows that henceforth they would stick together and help one another in health and in sickness and support one another both morally and materially. Usually their destination was known only to the students.[60]

Setting out on such a journey the student needed to take such essential items with him as a stick to defend himself against dogs and wild animals, clothing consisting of one gabe or shemma (shawl), a pair of trousers, a shirt, a sheepskin on which to sleep, a Kimichana (gourd water container) and an akofada (bread pouch).

Once enrolled in the school of his choice the student would discard the homemade gabe for a debelo (sheepskin). This was the mark of a student as well as a good protection against inclement weather. It was warm, and it did not need washing.[61]

Begging was usually undertaken in the afternoon since the mornings were devoted to study. In the lower grades students might just go to the nearest village to beg, but in the school of Zema begging areas were assigned to groups of students. Sometimes a student might wander into another's territory. When this happened quarrels often flared up among the students to be settled only upon the intervention of the master of the school.

The begging formula usually ran as follows: "For the sake of the Merciful Mary, (or for the sake of God the generous) please remember my daily bread." On holidays the begging formula changes to suit the occasion.

Back at the hostel the returning student would be warmly welcomed by his fellows, who had returned from their own begging expeditions or had stayed behind to do the cleaning.[62]

Students of the House of Books are mature men of 30 to 38 years and because of a life of devotion to learning without hope of material reward, they are held in high esteem by members of the outside community. They are assigned to live in special villages, or they might serve as tutors or confessors with the permission of the head teacher, in which case they can make enough to live on from their charges.[63]

The life of the student was a vigorous one, yet a scholar who knew the system well says,

> The life of the medicant students is a model of comradeship based on humility and concern for one another's welfare. It is for this same reason that life in monasteries can be more attractive than life in the secular world. For it is a group life of cooperation: one of the group would put his sheepskin mantle on, sling his leather pouch on his shoulder, hold his long walking staff firmly in his hand, and go marching forth on a begging expedition. A second one would go to fetch water from the stream; a third would go to the woods to collect firewood; a fourth would stay behind to sweep the little hut and prepare red chili or linseed sauce for dinner.[64]

Results of the System

The system under discussion was permeated with the ideas of the church leaders. These men, here as elsewhere, were conservative in thought and deed. Therefore the philosophy behind the whole approach to education reflected their attitudes.

According to the ideal, a child is supposed to be quiet, polite, shy, unquestioningly obedient and uncomplaining, respectful towards church and government officials and his elders. These ideas are instilled in the child's mind both at home and in school. While class is in session no student may rise, move, or let his eyes wander about the room without the permission of the teacher. If a child disobeys or absents himself from class he receives a severe beating.

If a child gets into mischief or quarrels with another child he is severely punished or is sent out to fetch water or firewood for the teacher.[65]

The concepts of obedience and politeness are exercised daily. At eight o'clock in the morning the teacher sits on a raised dais, books piled by his side and a sturdy rod at the ready to be used on any student who displeases the teacher. The student salutes the teacher by kissing his feet and the ground in front of him. At the end of the day the students repeat their respects after wishing the master good night.[66]

In the traditional education system the personality of the child is of no importance, as Levine has observed:

> The traditional system of formal education is no less indifferent to the personality of the learner (not less than the homes with their strict emphasis on obedience, courtesy and unanimity). The atmosphere of the schools where reading is taught is harsh and primative. Pedagogy at levels of instruction is based on repitition and memorization, with strict adherence to the conventions preferred by the teacher.

Levine continues that traditional formal education,

> in no ways seeks to cultivate the individual, but aims solely to prepare cultural specialists who will be able to perform the rituals and perpetuate the teachings of the Ethiopian church. The instruction of noble children, finally in the arts of riding, swimming, shooting, and playing lyre has more to do with the transmission of the manners and skills appropriate to a position of high status than with a concern for personal development.[67]

Germa Amare elaborates this:

> The purpose of church education is not to extend man's understanding of the world, but rather to lead men to accepting the existing order of things as it is, to preserve whatever has been handed down through the years, and in turn to pass it on unchanged to the next generation. For these reasons unquestioning submissiveness both to the social and natural order is considered the highest virtue.[68]

It might be true, as the critics point out, that this type of education has tended to stifle healthy curiosity and independent thinking on the part of the student. But we cannot forget that this was a system of church education, with all its implications.

It must be pointed out that this emphasis on absolute obedience and conformity is not always insisted on with the same intensity. From the school of Kine onward through the House of Books some leeway was provided for the discussion of different viewpoints, and the student's personality was not as harshly repressed as it was in lower grades, although the stifling experience of those grades may have already done lasting damage. At any rate, the harsh discipline governing behavior as well as the rigor required of the scholar proved essential for endurance with courage and excellence in many undertakings.

Notes

1. J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam In Ethiopia (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 5.

2. Haile Gabriel Dagne, "Language in Ethiopia" (Unpublished paper, April 1970), p. 1; Germa Amare, "Church Education in Ethiopia," Journal of Ethiopian Education 1 (June 1967): 1.

3. Haile Gabriel Dagne, "Language in Ethiopia," p. 1.

4. Richard Pankhurst in Imbakom Qale-Wold, Ye Ethiopia Bahil Lematinat Yetesebesebu Tshihufoch: Sele Ethiopia Bete Kristian Timihortoch, No. 1 (June 1965) p. 1.

5. Debtrawoch are deacons or cantors who are often better educated than the priests but continue to serve under them.

6. Germa Amare, "Church Education in Ethiopia," p. 4.

7. Ethiopia Constitution 1955. Revised Constitution of Ethiopia (Addis Ababa: Berhanena Selam Press, 1955), s.v. "Defender of the Faith; Ethiopia Constitution 1931, The Constitution of Ethiopia (Addis Ababa: Berhanena Selam Press, n.d), s.v. "Defender of the Faith."

8. Germa Amare, "Church Education in Ethiopia," p. 4.

9. In 1886 Tewodros stripped Gondar of its remaining wealth, including the treasures from the forty-four churches and about 900 precious manuscripts, and took them to Makdala. At the conclusion of the British expedition under Sir Robert Napier in 1868, some five hundred manuscripts were taken to England. See Doresse, Ethiopia: Ancient Cities and Temples (England: Elerk Books, 1967), pp. II and 198.

10. Germa Amare, "Church Education in Ethiopia," p. 4.

11. Aymero Wondemmaganahu, ed., A Short Introduction to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Orthodox Mission, 1965), p. 32.

12. Germa Amare, "Church Education in Ethiopia," p. 2; Haile Gabriel Dagne, "Language in Ethiopia," pp. 1-2.

13. Maaza Bekele, "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia: Its Foundation, Its Development, Its Future, with Emphasis on Primary Education" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1966), p. 19; Mulugeta Wodajo, "Postwar Reform in Ethiopian Education," Comparative Education Review 2: 3 (1959): 18; Germa Amare, "Memorization in Ethiopian Schools," Journal of Ethiopian Education 1, (January 1963) : 28, refers to 265 characters; E. Sylvia Pankhurst, Ethiopia: A Cultural History (London: Lalibela House, 1955), p. 235 refers to "twenty-six consonants and seven vowels"

14. Maaza Bekele, "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia...," pp. 19-21.

15. Imbakom Qale-Wold, Traditional Ethiopian Church Education (New York: Columbia Unversity, Teachers College Press, 1970), pp. 5-6.

16. Ibid., p. 7.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

19. Germa Amare, "Church Education in Ethiopia."

20. Ibid., p. 17; see also Aba Kidane Mariam Getahun, Tintawi Yekollo Temari (Student of Traditional School) (Addis Ababa: Tensae Zegubae Printing Press, 1954 E.C.), pp. 39-40.

21. Imbakom Qale-Wold, Traditional Ethiopian Church Education, pp. 11-12.

22. E.A. Wallis Budge, A History of Ethiopia, I, 2 Vol. in 1, (Oosternout: Anthropological Publications, 1966), pp. 570-71.

23. Imbakom Qale-Wold, Traditional Ethiopian Church Education, pp. 17-18; see also Aba Kidane Mariam Getahun, Tentawi Yekollo Temari p. 40.

24. Imbakom Qale-Wold, Traditional Ethiopian Church Education, p. 23.

25. Ibid., pp. 21-23.

26. Ibid., pp. 22-23.

27. Aba Kidane Mariam Getahun, Tentawi Yekollo Temari, p. 40.

28. There are a number of reasons for silent departure. The most obvious one is that the student does not want to reveal his whereabouts lest relatives exert pressure on him to stop his schooling, come home and settle down.

29. Imbakom Qale-Wold, Traditional Ethiopian Church Education, p. 7. ff.

30. Aba Kidane Mariam Getahun, Tentawi Yekollo Temari, pp. 41-42.

31. The original Kine poetry, which is believed to have originated in Kanna, Amare Sayint, Northern Shoa.

32. A story is told of a student who, clothed in his usual sheepskin debelo was so completely absorbed by what he was doing that a fox in the forest mistook him for sheep and attacked him.

33. Germa Amare, "Church Education in Ethiopia," p. 3.

34. Imbakom Qale-Wold, Traditional Ethiopian Church Education, pp. 25-28; Aba Kidane Mariam Getahun, Tentawi Yekollo Temari, pp. 41-42.

35. Mulugeta Wodajo, "Ethiopia: Some Pressing Problems and the Role of Education in their Resolution," *Journal of Negro Education* 30:3 (1961).

36. Germa Amare, "Church Education in Ethiopia," p. 3.

37. Aba Kidane Mariam Getahun, *Tentawi Yekollo Temari*, p. 44-46.

38. Aba Kidane Mariam Getahun, *Tentawi Yekollo Temari*, p. 46.

39. Imbakom Qale-Wold, *Traditional Ethiopian Church Education*, p. 31.

40. Budge, *A History of Ethiopia*, 1:574.

41. It was probably started in the twelfth century.

42. Habtemariam Workneh (Like-Seltanat), *Tintawi Ye Ethiopia Timihirt*, pp. 263-237.

43. Donald N. Levine, *Wax and Gold* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 267-269.

44. Ibid., p. 269.

45. Habtemariam Workneh (Like-Seltanat), *Tintawi Ye Ethiopia Timihirt* p. 274.

46. Ibid., pp. 274-275.

47. Ibid., pp. 270-274.

48. Levine, *Wax and Gold*, pp. 267-269.

49. Habtemariam Workneh (Like-Seltanat), *Tintawi Ye Ethiopia Timihirt* p. 273; see also Asefa Liben, "Preparation of Parchment Manuscripts," *University College of Addis Ababa Ethnological Society Bulletin* No. 8 (July 1958), p. 5 ff.

50. For details of the kind of payment for different commissions, see Habtemariam Workneh, *Tentawi Ye Ethiopia Timihirt*, pp. 273-274.

51. Ibid., p. 273.

52. Aba Kidane Mariam Getahun, *Tentawi Yekollo Temari*, pp. 37-38.

53. Imbakom Qale-Wold, *Traditional Ethiopian Church Education*, p. 9; see also C.H. Walker, *The Abyssinian at Home* (London: Sheldon Press, 1933), p. 12.

54. Habtemariam Workneh, *Tintawi Ye Ethiopia Timihirt*, pp. 278-280.

55. Ibid., pp. 281-282.

56. Ibid., pp. 282-283.

57. Ibid., p. 276.

58. Imbakom Qale-Wold, Traditional Ethiopian Church Education, pp. 9-10.

59. Aba Kidane Mariam Getahun, Tentawi Yekollo Temari, p. 34.

60. Imbakom Qale-Wold, Traditional Ethiopian Church Education, pp. 13-15.

61. Ibid., pp. 16-17; Aba Kidane Mariam Getahun, Tentawi Yekollo Temari, p. 26.

62. Imbakom Qale-Wold, Traditional Ethiopian Church Education, p. 282.

63. Ibid., p. 19.

64. Ibid.

65. Walker, The Abyssinian at Home, p. 13.

66. Levine, Wax and Gold, p. 287.

67. Ibid., p. 267.

68. Germa Amare, "Church Education in Ethiopia," p. 4.

Chapter III

RENEWED CONCEPTIONS OF EDUCATON

As we have seen, education in Ethiopia was for centuries in the hands of private institutions, primarily the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. To a limited extent Koranic and Falasha communities also operated school systems for their adherents, but the Ethiopian Church always assumed praise or blame for tne success or failure of educational activities. The church guarded its responsibility with jealousy and vigor. Yet even here it cannot be said that the church alone attempted the bulk of educational endeavors. Given the nature of intimate and often harmonious relationships that existed between the church, the state and the monarchy, the latter as guardian and defender of the faith has contributed to the church education system not only moral but material support. In addition to the rulers, influential personalities had in the past prided themselves on being patrons of education, the arts and literature. Some of them had promoted the production of books and paintings, albeit from religious motives; others had supported a teacher or two as the latter conducted classes for children of a given village or community. Still others have employed resident teachers for children of wealthy landlords as well as the offspring of their dependents. Yet with all these reciprocal relationships between them, never once, until the beginning of the present century, had any ruler wanted to establish and operate a secular system of education. Had one tried perhaps he would have aroused the indignation of the church as Emperors Menelik and Haile Selassie did later but at least some of the important kings and emperors could have survived the opposition. Besides, as Mahiteme Sellassie has noted, the Emperor of Ethiopia has always had absolute power over the temporal as well as the spiritual realm of the country. He is vested with the power to promote, demote, to give or to deprive, to bind or to set free, to kill or to save, according to whatever criteria he wishes to follow for the moment.[1] Although the emperor's powers can be exaggerated, nevertheless it is true that the emperors in our tradition have been surrounded with an aura of sanctity. With this power, had he wanted to, any emperor could have established a system of secular education. That this was not done is perhaps attributable to one of several factors. The church was the center of all activities, spiritual and temporal, and hence it was assumed that she knew best what was needed for the country. Isolated from Europe and the world, the emperors were aware of the importance of secular education. They did not have enough time to think about social problems including education, because they were always involved in guarding the state against external aggression and internal subversion. Lastly, knowing the power of the church and what it could do politically, they did not wish to antagonize it by engaging in radical adventures.

At any rate, the church system of education, more than sixteen hundred years old, persisted, meeting the manpower needs of church and state alike. It was true that in the sixteenth century, when the Jesuit missionaries entered Ethiopia, the enterprising Pero Paez organized a small school for Ethiopian boys. A Lutheran missionary is said to have organized lessons in Hebrew and Greek for boys in 1634. But these schools were set up primarily for proselytizing purposes and left no lasting mark on the country.[2]

Education Abroad

Foreign Missionary and Individual Sponsorship

In the middle of the nineteenth century educational activity was sporadic. We hear of individuals going abroad through private or foreign mission sponsorship. Two half-caste brothers who had studied abroad became prominent during the reign of Emperor Tewodros II. One of them was Mahidere Qal who served as interpreter for the emperor and is reported to have been at Magdala during the fighting with the British forces.

Mahidere Qal was first taken by a private traveller to Paris where he studied at the College of Henri IV for three years. He then transfered to a Protestant college in Malta and from there went on to England. On his way home in 1852 he stayed in Egypt and then returned to Ethiopia in 1856, just after the coronation of Emperor Tewodros. The young man served the emperor faithfully, and after Tewodros' death, continued to serve Emperor Yohannes IV, for whom he performed several important missions.

Another half-caste who studied abroad was Mercha Worqu, son of an Armenian blacksmith and an Ethiopian mother. He studied in a missionary institution in Bombay and is reported to have mastered Hindustani as well as English. Upon returning home he founded a school for about seventy Ethiopian boys with some funds obtained in Bombay. But the school did not last very long. Mercha served both Tewodros and Yohannes as an interpreter for diplomatic missions in Addis Ababa. He received some publicity when he was sent to England on a two-man mission for Emperor Yohannes. His brother, Burru of Walqait, studied in England and spent three years in the home of a clergyman becoming fluent in both English and Arabic. He too acted as interpreter for emperors Tewodros and Yohannes. Somali Ali was a Christian youth who travelled in India, Egypt and Syria and later served Emperor Tewodros well during the dispute with the British.

In the late 1860s several young Ethiopians went abroad to study. Emperor Tewodros' son, Lij Alemayehu, born in 1860, was taken to England by Lord Napier, the commander of the British expedition, and was looked after by Queen Victoria. He died in England at the age of eighteen.

The Protestant missionary Waldmeier also took some boys to Europe. In 1819 it was reported that there were eight boys in two missionary schools in Jerusalem and several more at the Chrischona Missionary Institute and at other schools in Switzerland, the total number being perhaps just over a dozen.

The students in Switzerland consisted of several converted Falasha, Mikael Aragawi of Dembia, Agaje Sachulu, Hailu Wosen, Desta Gobaw, and two brothers from Azezo, Semani and Sembetu Daniel as well as two non-Falashas, Debtras Wolde Sellassie of Hamsien and W. Schimper, the half-caste son of a German botanist. The Falasha boys, who had been at Bishop Gobat's School in Jerusalem, were looked after by an Englishman while the remainder were supported by the bishop himself. All of them were under the general guardianship of Martin Flad who taught them German at his home in southern Germany before their arrival in Switzerland. Mikael Aragawi, Agaje Sachulu, the Daniel brothers and Hailu Wosen were in Switzerland from 1870 until 1873, when Hailu died of tuberculosis brought on by the cold weather, and the rest were advised to return home. Desta Gobaw went to Switzerland later and was at Chrischona from 1873 to 1877.

Mikael Aragawi, one of the best known of the group, returned home in autumn 1885 and was imprisoned at Gondar. On his release he was appointed head of the mission to the Jews and spent the rest of his life teaching and doing missionary work. Semani Daniel was closely connected with the Protestant missionaries who Emperor Tewodros imprisoned. In 1894, after completing his studies at Chrischona, he and Agaje founded a mission school in Azezo. They both died in 1878 or 1879.

The most important of the mission-educated boys of this time was Gebru Desta, a Christian youth of Begmeder, who had been with the Protestant mission to the Falashas. After the battle of Magdala the missionaries took him to Bishop Gobat's school in Jerusalem; in 1873 he went to Basel where he stayed until 1878. On completing his studies there he returned to Gobat's school as a teacher, then joined the missionaries in Zanzibar where he was instrumental in securing the release of some Ethiopian slaves. Later he joined a British medical mission in Aden. On learning of the Italian occupation of Massawa in 1885, he returned home, but he was received coolly by Emperor Yohannes who was suspicious of missionaries. The emperor even suspected "him of being an agent of the Italians, but Gebru finally won his confidence and was charged with several important missions."[3]

Prior to taking up these responsibilities young Gebru was appointed by the missionaries to work in Tacussa near Lake Tana and ran a school there from 1873 to 1880, when he was requested by Negus Tekle Haymanot, governor of the Galla region of Gunuru, to transfer his activities there.

After Yohannes's death Aleqa Gebru went to Harar to distribute bible tracts on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Governor of Harar, Ras Makonnen, appointed him Chief of Police there. Soon Emperor Menelik summoned him to Addis Ababa and made use of his services for many years thereafter. He is reported to have accompanied the emperor to the battle of Adwa in 1896 and was made responsible for the Italian prisoners of war. He pointed out to Menelik the diplomatic benefits to be gained by treating the war prisoners in a humane way. In 1898 Aleqa Gebru was appointed mayor of Gondar. For a time he was the victim of intrigues, arising primarily from French sources who disliked his British affiliations. A British report of 1902 notes that he was imprisoned for several years and his property was confiscated. However, he passed the period of confinement in literary and scholarly pursuits and later became interpreter at the German legation. On the promulgation of the first constitution in 1931, Mayor Gebru was appointed vice-president of the senate. After the Italian occupation in 1936 he went to Gore in an attempt to organize guerrilla resistance. Another mission-educated boy of the time was Hawage Yoseph who studied in a Protestant college in Malta.

It is of interest to note at this juncture that foreign-educated youths returning home often met with a cool or even hostile reception. As Pankhurst has noted:

> The critical attitude with which these early returned students were regarded is apparent from an incident, recalled by Flad, when the Emperor Yohannes dismissed Aregawi and Agaji from his presence, commenting unfavorably on the fact that they had adopted the European fashion of wearing shoes. 'If you appear again before me....come barefoot. We Ethiopians do not have shoes; dress yourselves according to the custom of the land.'[4]

A remarkable young man who was taken to England at the end of the battle of Magdala was Hakim Workneh, known as Doctor Martin to Europeans. Born in Gondar in October 1863 he accompanied his parents to Magdala when they were taken there from Gondar with other citizens by Tewodros.

The four-year-old Workneh was playing with his fifteen-year-old aunt when she saw the British troops coming. The girl fled in terror, leaving the child behind. The British soldiers assumed he was an orphan and took him to England with them. From England he went to India where he graduated from medical school. Later he returned to England where he did additional work in surgery, working afterwards in Burma as a medical officer and civil surgeon. Some thirty-two years later he came back to Ethiopia and worked for Emperor Menelik, then for Ras Makonnen in Harar. In 1902 he returned to Burma to resume his work taking five Ethiopian boys with him. He came back to Ethiopia and worked in the British legation taking care of the emperor who was ill. Afterwards he returned again to Burma but while he was there he heard of Menelik's death and the subsequent accession of Ras Tafari to the throne. He requested leave but was refused by the British authorities, whereupon in 1919 he resigned and returned to Ethiopia for good, having spent twenty-eight years in service. In Ethiopia the fifty-six year old physician, "jealous as ever to assist his country, undertook medical work, ran farms and flour mills, and developed the hot mineral springs at Filwoha. He persuaded the regent to open a new school, the Tafari Makonnen Lycee...and acted as its director from its opening in 1925 until 1930. He also himself started a school for girls."[5] Later he became governor of Chercher where he initiated the "package" approach to community development and later still he was appointed ambassador to London.

Among other youths who studied abroad, one was sponsored by the British government in 1884 and two studied in Russia; the boy in a monastery and the girl in a nunnery. There seems to be no record of what became of these two.

The French scholar Halvey took a young man to Egypt where he took rabbinical studies, the first non-Christian Falasha to study outside Ethiopia. This young man came to be known as Aleqa Daniel.

Foreign missionary organizations were also active in sending students abroad. A Monseigneur De Jacobis took twenty-three Ethiopians to Rome as early as 1841, while in 1869 another eight young men were installed in and around a Capuchin institution, St. Michael College, near Marseille. The Swedish evangelical mission, Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiflelsen also educated a few students overseas. One of the first, Nesib, was rescued from the hands of slave-traders and later became very active in the work of the mission in Ethiopia and undertook the translation of the bible into Gallegna. Four Eritreans were also sent to Sweden. Kidane Haile Mikael studied there from 1881 to 1886 and on his return became a teacher at Belessa; Twelde Medhin, 1883-1887, was ordained during his stay; Markos Germay, 1884-1888, married a Swedish girl and was ordained there; Natnael Hagena, from the Kunama tribe in northwestern Ethiopia, died there in 1888.[6]

This is only a partial list of the young people who went abroad to study under private sponsorship or with the help of foreign missionaries.

In all likelihood their training consisted for the most part in religious education. On their return home they were expected either to teach in the mission schools or to propagate their faith on behalf of the sponsoring organization. But there were others who worked full-time for their emperors. Whether their presence in the country was felt or not, whether they took an active part in education and state affairs or not, the momentum had been created. From then on there was only one direction for Ethiopian education—forward.

Government Education Abroad

The reign of Menelik and the establishment of Addis Ababa as the capital of Ethiopia towards the end of the nineteenth century not only expanded education, but modernized it as well. The emperor, although of limited education himself, must have been aware of the importance of education for the modernization of the state apparatus. Menelik, as pointed out in the first chapter, had set himself objectives which included centralization of the government; the overhaul of the administrative apparatus; the containment of colonial pressure; and the reform and improvement of the social conditions of the people of Ethiopia.

With these aims the value of education was not lost on the emperor: "We need educated people in order to ensure our peace, to reconstruct our country and to enable it to exist as a great nation in face of the European powers."[7] When asked later about the possibility of sending some students to America, the emperor replied: "Yes that will come; our young men must be educated."[8]

For the time being at least Menelik decided to educate students abroad. In 1894, two years before the battle of Adowa, he arranged to send three young people to Neuchatel in Switzerland with his Swiss advisor, Alfred Ilg. The three young men, Afeworq Gebre Yesus, Gugsa Darge and Kelew Zamanuel, were in Turin throughout the 1895-96 war between Ethiopia and Italy, which caused them some embarrassment as they feared they might be considered disloyal to their country.[9] Afework, half Gondare and half Gojame, was born in the Zege[10] peninsula in 1868 and studied literature and painting. On one occasion he was commissioned to paint the church of Saint Raguel at Entoto, but he incurred the wrath of Empress Taitu by working in the church with his shoes on, as well as for being "too European" in manner. He married first a Swiss and later an Italian lady and was well known for his writings in Amharic, Italian and French. Both of the other students, Lij Gugsa Darge, son of Menelik's uncle Ras Darge, and Lij Kelew Zamanuel, died young in Rome and were buried there.

Soon after the departure of the three mentioned above, more students, all from Shoa, were sent to Russia. Gizaw studied medicine, Azmatch Genno and Semu Negus studied literature, and Tekle Hawariat, sent by Ras Makonnen, studied military science specializing in engineering.

On returning home Gizaw and Dagne, who were known as Hakimoch, played an important role in the establishment of the Menelik II Hospital. Tekle Hawariat was associated with some of the Russian liberals of the time. After learning Russian in a family, he joined the Mikhail Ovskaia Artillery School in Saint Petersburg and on graduation was given the rank of colonel. After staying in Russia for about seventeen years he returned home and worked at first in the Franco-Ethiopian Railway Company. Later he was responsible for development work in the Chercher area of Hararghe province. He was sent to France and England by Ras Tafari to study agriculture and published a book in Amharic on the subject. Later he held a number of important positions and was instrumental in the drafting of the first constitution of 1931. He delivered an excellent speech introducing the constitution to the Ethiopian notables. At one time he was minister of finance and later became ambassador in Paris and delegate to the League of Nations.[12]

Three other students who went abroad with government scholarships were the satirist and poet, Tessema Eshete, and Astatke Wolde Tsadik and Yemane Berhan who went to Germany to study motor mechanics. Five young men who were taken to Burma by Dr. Workneh included Hakim Tedla Abebyehu, Semen Makonnen, Yohannes Gebre Mariam and Ashenie.

Other Education Abroad

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, while Menelik was trying to send a number of Ethiopians overseas for their education, his endeavors were supplemented from other sources. The British and Sudanese governments had arranged for the admission of about a dozen students to Gordon College in Khartoum. An international Jewish organization, the Alliance Israelite Universelle, which had been active in this area, renewed its vigor and sponsored two students, Tamrat Amanuel and Gete Ermias in Europe. Tamrat took Semitic studies in Florence, France and Germany, while Ermias specialized in rabbinical studies and attended schools in Italy, France and Germany as well as at Jerusalem. Tamrat Emanuel, who later became a professor, founded a school for Falashas in Addis Ababa.

Other Ethiopians travelled abroad during this period to undertake research and to teach in the field of Ethiopian languages, history and ecclesiastical affairs. Aleqa Kifle Georgis went to Jerusalem and then to Rome where he taught the Italian Ethiopicist Guidi, and helped him with the preparation of a dictionary, as well as with the translation of the Fetha Negest. In 1906 Feseha Georgis, a debtra, went to Rome where he taught Ethiopic grammar and rhetoric and studied Latin and Italian. Subsequently, he wrote essays on the queen of Sheba, a history of Aksum, and other works in Tigrinya. Gebre Medhin Digani went to Italy at the same time, taught in Naples and Rome, and published a collection of Tigrinyna anecdotes and proverbs. Other scholars included Aleqa Wolde Amanuel, who travelled to Jerusalem, Aleqa Tekle Tsion, Aleqa Taye of Gondar, who went to Germany to teach Ge'ez, Amharic and Ethiopian history, and who wrote a history of Ethiopia and worked with the German Ethiopicists Littman and Mittwoch. Another young man, Gebre Heywot Baykedagn, also went to Germany.[13]

The influence of the foreign-educated in the times of Tewodros, Yohannes, and even Menelik was not as significant as one would expect. Several reasons may be adduced for this but mainly that many of the students were objects of suspicion because of their affiliation with foreign missions, foreign ideas, or foreign religions. Given the attitude that prevailed then, these suspicions were real and hard to overcome. Another factor may have been that the job market, including the civil service, lacked system and there was little awareness of the need for or importance of skilled manpower. At any rate, even the limited expertise available was under-utilized. Of course this is not to deny the fact that there were some who played important roles, either in government departments or in private organizations. Men like Afework Gebre Yesus and Gebre Heywot showed that in spite of a lack of appreciation for what they represented, they could contribute immensely to the well-being of the country.

Education Within Ethiopia

After the first quarter of the nineteenth century Protestant as well as Catholic missionaries began to penetrate Ethiopia and to operate some schools, albeit of limited and narrow conception. An appraisal of the activities of various mission bodies prior to the 1935 Fascist invasion of Ethiopia has noted that: "The various missions do a certain amount of educational work, but not a great deal; their curriculum is suitable only for training youths to be interpreters, and thus their contribution to the problem of the education of the masses is not as yet of much value. Unfortunately dogmatic religion rather than useful education seems to be the aim of at least some of them...."[14]

A recent writer has added: "Christian missionaries were not as important in founding secular education in Ethiopia as in other African countries."[15] While this may be true in terms of a comparison with other African countries, it is important not to underestimate the contribution of the missionary societies to education in both nineteenth and twentieth century Ethiopia.

Emperor Menelik was tolerant of missionaries and even encouraged some of them to operate schools and hospitals. The same applies to Emperor Haile Selassie I, who tacitly encouraged the educational activities of missionaries in Ethiopia. This of course does not mean that fear and suspicion regarding foreigners, including missionaries, was entirely absent among the general population, in particular the Orthodox clergy.

In the 1830s the missionaries Isenberg and Krapf ran a school for thirty to forty boys in Shoa. A generation or so later, during the reign of Tewodros, Martin Flad ran a small school at Awora and later at Magdala, teaching perhaps twenty boys at one time. Mission-educated Ethiopians also became active in teaching. In 1881 Sembetu ran small schools for thirty to forty boys at Jenda and Azezo and Negus Tekle Haymanot was so impressed that he wanted the young man to operate a similar school in Guduru.

One of the most important missionary organizers, the Swedish Evangeliska Fosterlands Stifeelsen, after entering Massawa in 1866 established a school in Monkullu. Another school was opened in Asmara in 1897. The school had four classes and an annex for instruction in typography, bookbinding and carpentry. There was also a girls' school established at Belessa in 1890. It taught primarily household arts as well as Tigrinya and some Italian. Similar schools for boys as well as girls followed in other parts of Eritrea.

To sum up, by 1905 there were one hundred students in these schools, eighty-eight men and twelve women in retreats and 144 other people in contact with mission stations.[16]

By this time the Catholic mission had also been reopened. By 1872 they had established a seminary at Keren, Eritrea and by 1880 the enrollment had reached thirty to forty boys. There was also a day school for fifty to sixty boys and girls, and an orphanage with thirty to thirty-five inmates. The children at the orphanage were fed, clothed and cared for by seven Lazarist Fathers and nine Sisters of Charity who were stationed at Keren. However, there appears to have been problems of placement after the children had been reared and educated in the missions. "Outcast from their own people and unable to find employment among Mussulman authorities (i.e. under Egyptian rule) they are thrown on their own resource, which proves more fatal to the women than to the men."[17]

The Lazarists also ran a school in Akale Guzay, where about twenty boys were taught to read and write Amharic and Tigrinya, the brightest pupils being sent on to the seminary at Keren. There were other schools at Massawa, Halai and Harar. In Massawa the Catholic missionaries had, in 1880, some fifty pupils of both sexes most of them freed slaves.

The activities of the missionaries were interrupted for a time when the Dervishes invaded the area in 1885. The teaching personnel had to leave temporarily but they were soon back at their posts. With the arrival of the Italians in Eritrea the young people who had been trained in printing, carpentry, metalwork, agriculture, needlework, and languages, as well as religion readily found employment. But the coming of the Italians at the same time marked the end for the Lazarists, who, being French, were inimical to Italian policy. On September 13, 1895 the pope transferred the work to the Capuchins and on January the following year the Italian government banished the Lazarist Fathers and Sisters of Charity on the pretext that they tended to reduce the prestige of the Italian government in Eritrea. As we shall see, similar action was taken following the 1935 invasion of Ethiopia. The Lazarists, however, continued to run schools in other parts of Ethiopia.[18]

The Italian presence in Eritrea affected educational activity there significantly. New education had to be provided for the children of Italian soldiers, administrators and settlers. The records show that by 1905, 754 Europeans in the colony were under age of fifteen. Different schools for the two groups, Eritreans and Italians, were set up. The various types were government schools for Italian children, missionary schools for Italian children, traditional schools for Ethiopian children (run by the local church or Moslem communities) and Roman Catholic or Swedish mission schools for the Eritreans or "natives." Thus, by 1907, the following schools existed: for Europeans, in Asmara: elementary government school, elementary Catholic school, Catholic orphanage; in Massawa: elementary Catholic school, Catholic orphanage; in Keren: elementary government school, elementary Catholic school, Catholic orphanage; in Adi Ugri: elementary government school; in Saganeite: elementary Catholic school, Catholic orphanage, and for the "natives" in Massawa Catholic, in Monkullu, Swedish; in Ghinda, Catholic and Swedish; in Asmara, Catholic, Swedish and Dominican Father Bonomic; in Beresa, Swedish; in Zazzega, Swedish; in Himberti, Swedish; in Belesa, Swedish; in Saganetti, Catholic; and in Assab, Swedish. Thus there were eight Swedish and five Roman Catholic mission schools for the "natives." The report mentions fifty-eight "native" schools scattered over the area, which were presumably traditional Ethiopian schools.

In addition, after the Italian occupation of Eritrea, the military authorities established schools for the ascari, or local soldiers. The schools were first established at Assab and Massawa but were later relocated in Arkiko, Asmara, Keren and Addi Ugri. The curriculum in these schools included rudimentary courses in Italian, Arabic and Amharic, as well as a little arithmetic and geography.[19]

Educational activities by missions were to continue in Ethiopia proper at an even faster pace during the first two decades of the twentieth century, side by side with the government system.

The State System

It may be recalled that up to this time there was no state education in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Church was responsible for educational activities but this type of education was limited both in terms of its breadth and its curriculum. For instance, it was limited to children of the Orthodox Christian faith, excluded by and large, female children, consisted primarily of religious instruction, and was not necessarily responsive to the manpower needs of a state whose population included Christians, Moslems and animists. As we saw, sporadic attempts had been made by European missionaries, who were already identified with European intrigue and subversion in the minds of Ethiopian Christians. The effectiveness of these missionaries must have been very limited. Then began the attempts by Emperor Menelik to send young people overseas. It was the first attempt by an Ethiopian ruler to interest himself in education on behalf of the state and independent of the church's wishes. Now we enter into an even more significant stage in the history of educational endeavor in the country. This time a state system of education was to be operated within Ethiopia itself.

By 1905 the emperor had already started a school in the palace, primarily for the sons of the nobility, under the direction of Kagnazmatch Ispa. The subjects taught included reading, writing, calligraphy, religion, Ethiopian history, law and Ge'ez.[20]

Through the suggestions of young Ethiopians who were working in various capacities in the country, Menelik became conscious that no progress could be made without the help of educated manpower. Accordingly, in 1906, he arranged with Abuna Matheos to hire Coptic teachers from Egypt to work in a school he was to open in Addis Ababa. In 1906 some ten Coptics arrived and were stationed in Addis Ababa, Harar, Ankober and Dessie under the general direction of one of their number, Professor Hanna Saleh Bey. The curriculum included French, English, Arabic, Italian, Amharic, Ge'ez, mathematics, science, physical training and sports.[21] The teaching force was made up mostly of Coptics from Egypt and a very few Ethiopians. Board and tuition were free.

Fortunately for Menelik and for the cause of a state system of education, the ground for such an undertaking was well prepared beforehand. Towards the end of the nineteenth century and in the first few years of the twentieth, both the emperor and the Empress Taitu had been active in the building of new churches or rebuilding old ones and ordering governors and military officers to do likewise in their respective provinces: "The foundation of religion and the sign of Christianity is the construction of churches. Anyone who refrains from building churches in order to spare energy or money will be deprived of his money and rank on earth."[22]

With the interest he thus demonstrated in the well-being and prosperity of the Church, Menelik's credentials as a staunch supporter of the Orthodox faith were unassailable. And his credibility served him in good stead when he tried to bring about reforms which otherwise would have been stifled by suspicion and intrigue.

Even for an emperor of Menelik's stature, the decision to open and maintain a school independent of the church proved to be very taxing. He therefore had to take deliberate and cautious steps forward. It has to be remembered, in addition, that by this time the emperor had suffered a series of strokes and was not up to an all-out fight with church leaders.

Thus when the decision was made in 1907 to appoint some ten ministers to be responsible for various departments of government, even though the emperor was well aware that education was properly a function of the state, he left responsibility in the hands of the church. However, in cases of schools that taught modern subjects, the Ministry of Health would assist the church. This seems to have satisfied the claims of Abuna Matheos who had insisted on church responsibility for matters pertaining to education.[23]

However, in 1909 Professor Hanna Saleh Bey, the Egyptian headmaster of the Menelik School, was appointed director of education. A proclamation was issued in 1908:

Proclamation Concerning Religion and Ministry of Religion

> Article I
> Religious matters shall fall under the Abun. He is the Head of religion.
>
> Article II
> The Ministry of Religion shall serve as liaison between the Abun and the Government and shall govern the clergy.
>
> Article III
> The main function of the Ministry of Religion shall be to look after the interests of the church and the clergy.
>
> Article IV
> The Ministry of Religion shall look after the schools.[24]

Thus the Abun was left as head of the schools in addition to his usual responsibilities. The proclamation was very general, and in places, perhaps, deliberately vague.

The emperor set aside a time from 2:00 to 2:30 every Monday afternoon to receive progress reports on education.[25]

Two years earlier in 1905-6, the emperor had issued another proclamation calling the attention of his people to the importance of education:

> Until recently anyone who was clever and working with his hands was looked upon down; therefore no one tried to learn and advance. If we continue along this harmful path, the churches will be closed and even Christianity may disappear.
>
> In other countries, not only do they learn, even more they make new things.
>
> Therefore, from now on after reaching the age of six, boys and girls must be sent to school. As for parents who would not send their children to school, when the former die their wealth, instead of reverting to their children, will be transferred to the government. My Government will prepare the schools and the teachers.[26]

Another problem connected with education, and one that needed urgent action, was the negative attitude of the majority of Ethiopians towards skilled manual labor. The emperor wanted to change this self-defeating and negative attitude by setting a positive example himself and through legislation. Thus the emperor could be seen engaging in any manual work that happened to be at hand, whether it was cutting grass or carrying stones for church construction. Furthermore, he set up a number of royal workshops near his palace where he could constantly supervise them.[27]

In 1908 he issued the following proclamation:

> Let those who insult the worker on account of his labour cease to do so! Until this time you called blacksmiths tayb; those who wove the shamma you called shammane; those who wrote you called tankway, or witch doctor; those who worked for the church you called debtra. The farmer, who produced all our food and is known to be better even than the King, you called gabare; the merchant, who bought gold you called neggade gataba atabi, and insulted him on account of his trade. The lazy man whose son is ignorant causes trouble by insulting the clever man. All mankind is descended from Adam and Eve; there was no other ancestor.
>
> Discrimination is the result of ignorance. God said to Adam: 'In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread.' If we do not carry this injunction, if everyone is idle, there will be neither government nor country. In European countries when people undertake new kinds of work and make cannons, guns, trains and other things; they are praised and given more assistance, not insulted on account of their craft. But you by your insults are going to leave my country without people who can make the plough; the land will thus become barren and destitute.
>
> Hereafter anyone who insults these people is insulting me. From this time forth anyone found insulting another on account of his work will be punished by a year's imprisonment. If officials find it difficult to imprison such persons for a year let the former be arrested and sent before me![28]

Thus the emperor reinforced his actions with a series of proclamations, trying to minimize actual and potential opposition on the part of those who had much to gain by maintaining the status quo, and much to lose by a program of modernization.

The thinking of the general public regarding modern education was vividly described to this author by an eye witness who was a day student at the Menelik II school in 1924. Here is his report:

> Although there were a few other nationalities as teachers in the school most of them were Egyptian Copts. The reason why the Copts were chosen as teachers was to minimize the fear that the foreign teachers might engage themselves in religious propaganda. Furthermore, eventhough these teachers were of the Orthodox faith they were forbidden from giving religious instruction in classes and they were also limited in their contact with the general public unless that contact was strictly for education business.
>
> Although the school was opened primarily for the children of the big people, little by little most of the students in the school were children of the poor families. But sometimes the sons of some *dejazmaches* or *rases* attended also. The sons of the wealthy would rather spend their time in learning how to fight, and ride horses. Education was considered fit only for the children of the poor who would not have any other means of earning a livelihood, hence unnecessary for the children of the rich people.
>
> Even the children of the poor were not free to attend school either because of financial constraints or religious pressure. The former was overcome when the government made it possible for the poor children to be either boarders at the school or receive cash in lieu of boarding privileges.

The general public did not have any concept of any other type of education outside of the church school system. The practice then was to send one's children to *Kes Temari Bet*; sending one's children to a modern school was tantamount to practicing an un-Ethiopian act. The reason was that since the teachers in the modern school were mostly foreigners, and foreigners in the public mind were associated with Catholics, attending a modern school was similar to accepting Catholicism, hence betrayal of one's honor and religion. Modern education was left for those foreigners and less patriotic Ethiopians who would follow in their steps. Parents, generally speaking, considered sending their children to such a school as handing them over to the hands of unbelievers. Parents who dared to send their children to such a school incurred difficulties, in addition to being considered as having changed their religion which was very bad in itself. They were also viewed as instruments in the hands of aliens. The church leaders especially thought modern education was something evil and should be avoided by all true Ethiopians. In this respect the leaders of the organized church in Ethiopia interfered with the government plan to expand modern education.

As far as teaching/learning was concerned, says the same source, there were hardly any books for use by the pupils. Instead the pupils copied from the board or took it from the mouth of the teacher. Moreover the instructions were all academic. No vocational education was offered.

Students who completed the program offered in the school either obtained jobs as clerks, accountants, or worked in government departments in other capacities. A few of the graduates were sent abroad but those sponsored by the government for this purpose were mostly the children of the traditional nobility. The young people from poor families when they got the chance, got it from foreign missionaries or foreign private individuals.[29] Emperor Menelik had also established schools at Ankobar, Harar and Dessie in 1908.

The Menelik II School is important not only because it provided education in line with the demands of its time, but because it ushered in a new era of modern thinking in the country. From now on the Ethiopian scene, in theory and in practice, was to be altered dramatically. People of wealth and influence began to talk of the importance of education for the progress of the state and the nation. Politicians seized on this opportunity and capitalized on it.

Emperor Menelik suffered a series of strokes, beginning in 1906 and getting worse by 1908, which left him half paralyzed. Until his death in 1913 little progress was made in education or in modernization in general.

Emperor Menelik II was succeeded by his grandson Lij Iyasu, a young man lacking in experience. Education during this time received no attention worth speaking of. The only exception was the work of the first Minister of Education, Melake Tsehai Esidrous whose functions were not defined vis a vis the Ministry of Religion.[30] Lij Iyasu was succeeded in 1916 by Empress Zewditu Menelik, daughter of the Emperor Menelik. At the same time Dejazmatch Tafari Makonnen became Ras Tafari and prince regent of the Ethiopian throne. Empress Zewditu was a devout and religious lady but no politician. Perhaps she was unable to grasp what was going on around her, surrounded as she was by many of the old politicians from the days of the great Menelik II. With a lesser figure like the empress the power-struggle among them intensified. However, in 1921 E.C. she did issue a proclamation requiring all parents to teach their children the rudiments of reading and writing:

> Every parent is hereby required to teach his child reading and writing through which the child may learn to tell the difference between evil and good; the fear of God and Emperor. Any parent refusing to do so will be fined fifty dollars which money will go to the churches to be used to feed and clothe the poor.
>
> Every Soul-father (family priest) is hereby urged to advise all your confessants (charges) to teach their children. After having advised them two or three times, if they still refuse to heed to your advice, notify the local government representative that they are transgressors of law.
>
> Those of you who are leaders of parishes in rural as well as urban areas, in addition to your regular responsibilities in the churches, teach the children of your respective communities how to read and write...If you fail to teach you will be deprived of your positions entrusted to you.
>
> Every parent after you have taught your children how to read and write, make him attend your choice of any of the local trade schools of our country lest your child will be faced with

> difficulty of earning his livelihood. If you fail to do so you will be considered as one who has deprived one of limbs and accordingly you will be fined fifty dollars which money will be used for the education of the poor.
>
> This proclamation applies to those between the ages of seven and twenty one years. A parent will not be held for any child of his who is over twenty one years old.[31]

We are not sure of the reason for this legislation nor do we have any record of its impact on the Ethiopian scene. Its overall aim, however, was very progressive and has significance for Ethiopia even in the 1980s.

Nongovernment Schools

Among the more important schools run by missionary societies at this time was one established in Addis Ababa in 1907 by M. Felix de Nole, on behalf of the French community, for Ethiopian children. It was run by the Brothers of Saint Gabriel and was similar to one in Dire Dawa at about the same time. On November 24, 1912 the Ecole Francaise was opened in Addis Ababa. This was run by the Brothers of Saint Gabriel under the guidance of a local committee composed of Ethiopians, Greeks, Armenians and Lebanese as well as Frenchmen. It was presided over by a Franco-Ethiopian Railway Company representative. We are told that the first students included Ethiopians, Frenchmen, Greeks and Armenians. By 1924, the enrollment was 150, all male, of whom 100 were boarders. Fourteen hundred students had graduated by that time. Students came from all social classes and entrance to the school was free. The pupils studied "reading, writing, arithmetic, French language and grammar, hygiene, geography, chemistry, physics and natural sciences, drawing, music, history, accounting, geometry, algebra, and moral instruction, and devoted an hour a day to Amharic. On graduating they mainly entered government service or became interpreters."[32]

In Eritrea the Mission die Minori Cappouccini also established a school of arts and crafts at Saganeiti in 1914. It had eighty-two pupils, mostly day-students.[33]

The opening of schools such as that of the Alliance Francaise aroused interest among progressives. An anonymous Ethiopian commentator remarks:

> The construction of schools is more important than anything else. Learning means the foundation of civilization, of wealth, of honour, of purity, of good character. If we examine the history of former times we will ascertain that a learned man is more honoured than an unlettered one. Our evidence is the Holy Bible. It enumerates for us Moses and Solomon. If we say 'Let us count the learned men (lit. Professors) of modern times we will need several months and years to arrive at their number. If we travel round and look at large cities we find that they (i.e. the people) erected perishable memorial statues to the savants, so that, the statues being a testimony for them all, they would be (the savants) eternally blessed (i.e. praised). Let us regard the kings of Europe. Behold, they spend every year many million dollars to fill the whole world with knowledge and science. As a proof of this, behold! the French Government (or country) being imbued with love for the youth of Ethiopia, constructed this house (i.e. school) so that our nation may make progress in knowledge. In this work all the honoured diplomatic corps (lit.

> masters of the kings) have given aid, and many merchants, thinking that it would be useful to them, have assisted. It is indeed a useful work my (dear) sirs, I beg you to aid in their work those who after much thought have commenced to construct for us this school, so that many schools may be built in our country, and learning everywhere increased. With the exception of learning, everything when it becomes abundant becomes cheap, but learning increases in value.
>
> Please see (dear) Sirs.
>
> Do you think it ignorance which has constructed for man's advantage cannon, aeroplanes, telegraphs, railways, submarines, and which has entracted from wood and earth (i.e. organic and inorganic substances) the different kinds of drugs there are in the world! Or is it ignorance which has extracted from the bowels of the earth all these things that are useful to mankind! No!
>
> Now, why should we be the last of all in introducing knowledge (in our midst), and what is it that prevents us from sending our children to school? If we do, and if this does not suffice let us continue to open many schools, so that after a short time we may see youths who cause their fathers to be praised for their (i.e. of the children) knowledge. So that he may boast saying: 'I have sown one fertile seed and gathered ten thousand fold!'
>
> And now may learning last for ever and science reign! Let us say: 'May God lengthen the days of the people who assist learning', and now let us joyfully bless (praise) together.[34]

Mention has also been made of the work of the Swedish mission. Arriving in Addis Ababa in 1904 Missionary Cedrqvist reported home to his headquarters: "I am very grateful that I have never met any obstacles on the part of the Emperor."[35] The mission soon opened a school for a few students in Addis Ababa using English as a medium of instruction. It was soon dubbed "the English School." To begin with students were reluctant to attend. But then Emperor Menelik's proclamation was announced and that encouraged many to attend the school.[36]

Early Modern Period 1916-1935

By 1922 the only school in Ethiopia was Menelik II School in Addis Ababa. The other schools started at Ankober, Dessie, and Harar, had disappeared. Even Menelik School was by now declining, perhaps due to lack of leadership after the emperor's death and to the ensuing political instability. Mosley observes, "There was already one school in Addis Ababa (the institution, founded by Menelik, which Tafari had attended for a time) but it was now directed entirely by priests and its educational standards were low."[37]

Another measure of the weakness of the Menelik School is its staff; by February 1929 we observe only one teacher for each of the five courses offered — Ge'ez and Amharic, French, English, fine arts, and gymnastics and formation — much lower than when the school opened two decades before.[38] However, weak though the school might have become, its influence both as precedent and active contributor was to be significant.

Tafari Makonnen School

As a boy Ras Tafari, the future Emperor Haile Selassie I, first studied Amharic and religion under the direction of a priest and then received instruction from one of the French fathers at Harar. Later he studied at Menelik II School in Addis Ababa. His presence at Menelik's court had "given the Emperor that shrewdness, tolerance, and human insight which are an integral part of his character."[39]

Commenting on the education of the future emperor in Addis Ababa, a biographer added:

> Tafari had not much to learn in French (at the Menelik School)--- but he widened his range of reading and branched out into mathematics and economics, geography and history. He was the school's star pupil, and not simply because he wanted to please the Emperor; he found a stimulating and exciting new world emerging from his books and lectures, and his hours in the classroom whetted an appetite for education — and for educating others — which has never left him.[40]

As regent, Tafari Makonnen found the opportunity to put some of his ideas into effect. In 1922 he ordered the construction of a school. In 1924 he went to Europe on a state visit, and among other things, arranged for the purchase of books and school equipment. While in Europe he sent word urging the people in charge of the construction of the school to speed things up. Upon his return he wanted to see classes start, but he must have met severe opposition from well-established persons who sensed a threat to the status quo. Commenting that the Tafari Makonnen School lay empty for two years, Mosley adds that among the opposing groups were directors of the Menelik School who saw the new school as a dangerous rival. With this in mind they went to the empress and Fitawrari Habte Georgis and charged that the new school was an attempt to force Ethiopian children to abandon their own religion in favor of Catholicism.[41]

At any rate the school was erected at a cost of some 130,000 Ethiopian dollars. The school campus comprised twenty-five hectares of land, fenced with stone walls on all sides. The school supplies and stationery ordered had arrived from Europe and also the French teachers. This time religion was not a consideration in recruiting teachers.

The administrator was the indefatigable and versatile Hakim Workneh, the principal was a Frenchman, and French, the language of diplomacy, was the language of instruction. The courses offered included French, Arabic, mathematics, chemistry, history, geography, gymnastics, and sports, as well as the national language, Amharic.

There were two well-constructed buildings, one to house classes and offices, the other one a dormitory for boy students. On the whole the school was spacious, with "many large well-lit classrooms, a library, a laboratory, refectories, dormitories, ample gardens and recreation grounds."[42] Most of the students were boarders.

On Easter Monday, April 27, 1925 the regent, Ras Tafari Makonnen, visited the Tafari Makonnen Lyceum, perhaps to inspect whether it was ready for the afternoon gala. In the afternoon he returned to the school campus accompanied by cabinet ministers, nobles, and the Diplomatic Corps. The guests were first treated to an open air display put on by the school children. Later they all moved into the assembly hall of the school, and His Highness the Prince Regent stood up to deliver a memorable speech:[43]

"Thanks be to Thee, O Lord our God, infinite and omnipresent, that thou has led me to finish what by Thy will Thou didst cause me to begin, and that Thou has granted me to speak of this.

"Of Ethiopia's greatness and antiquity, and especially of the long year when, surrounded by pagans, she struggled for her faith and her freedom, we ourselves her own children, can indeed bear witness: Moreover we hear people of foreign lands the world over declaring, in speech and writings, the beauty of her terrain and the grandeur of her history. But it is not what she was that can profit Ethiopia, but what she may become. Conformably with all those nations of the world which have full confidence in their political stability and in their economic welfare, that knowledge must be sought and found whereby Ethiopia too, an African state which has preserved her independence, may be led towards progress and may attain political stability and well-being of her people. The task may then be undertaken; but before a task can be undertaken tools must be prepared.

"To promote pride in Ethiopia's freedom and independence, and in the maintenance, honoured and respected, of her frontiers, as well as to produce a confident firmness in the hearts of her people, education is the tool. Every one knows that in former days the Emperor Menelik II, in order that his people might become civilized through knowledge, founded a school. To learn requires diligence and an honest intelligence.

"Everyone who loves Ethiopia should concern himself with founding schools to help scholars who are not his own children and to ensure that his own children receive education. Nowadays if you ask anyone in the course of conversation he will not fail to declare, 'I love my country Ethiopia.' This will so far be a mere form of words: for wherein lies the token of love unless in succoring in their need those he calls 'friend,' and in standing by them in times of distress?

"Now, therefore, anyone who says he is a friend to his country Ethiopia has the duty to show the token of his love by helping schools — by getting schools built so far as lies in his power, and by having his own children educated. It may be said that all who do this truly display their love of country.

"The man who approves the education of his children and of his social circle, and who assists the schools, first of all gains benefit for himself. Secondly, he will live happily with no occasion to see the downfall of his children or circle; thirdly, he will demonstrate his sincere love of his country.

"To neglect the exercise of the intelligence, created by God impartially and to give oneself up to stupidity, is true slavery, wherein one will be leaving unfulfilled the commands of God and will not escape the judgement of mankind.

"You boys whom I have today gathered into this school, and all who enter it in days to come, know -- or will learn in the future -- that many books have been written to the effect that knowledge is a benefit to mankind. Knowledge is a treasure that must be grasped and which no one can confiscate, it is a diamond without price which prevents the breaking of heaven's decrees and preserves from the path of destruction. Knowledge allows you to inherit the kingdom of God, which the mind of men cannot conceive; and is a counselor in time of adversity.

"So may God grant you to attain a wisdom and knowledge such as I have described.

"This school is an instrument which will operate on our country's behalf through the knowledge which God gives to each of you according to your lot, once you have matured in wisdom and have become vigorous in intelligence. So I beg of you to help the school which nurtures you, giving you the food of knowledge: to see that it does not shrink but expands, that it does not fall but grows in strength.

"Only my heart and my Creator know how joyful a day for me is this day; and as God has vouchsafed to me the joy of seeing this school opened, my hope is that He will let me see your service to your country on the completion of your studies, as well as the expansion of education in Ethiopia and the multiplication of schools.

"I have seen in Europe the way in which very many scholars are taught and boarded in great schools. This progressive result has been achieved by the possession of wealth, for which knowledge is the instrument. But however ambitious the desire and intention may be, a great enterprise cannot be carried through all at once. Thus from small beginnings we shall arrive at great results and benefits for our country. To be able to say we have 100,000 scholars we must start with one; to say we have 20,000 schools, we must start with one. It is certain that you are taking your place in the numerical series of scholars and schools in Ethiopia. This school, then, is an exemplar; and there is no doubt that it will fulfil the hopes that I expressed a few months ago.

"In a school there will be sweetness and bitterness alike, so I ask you who are here now, and those who will be coming to listen to my advice and to carry out the regulations I have drawn up for the school.

"In this school it is not only foreign languages and learning that I have instituted, but there will also be study of our country's holy books and monophysite faith. One who proposes to devote himself to foreign learning when he has not properly mastered the language and literature of his own is like a boat without a rower. Be diligent in your study of your country's knowledge and learning.

"Lastly I would tell you this: when the holy man David said, 'The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vanity,' he was referring to the man who, in all he learns guides his thoughts and knowledge towards deceit. The man who seeks true wisdom is like the servant in the Gospel who, when his master gave him five talents, made them into ten, and on delivering them was praised and given authority over many cities. Be like him, I beg of you, and not like the servant who was also given one talent which he put away and buried and on delivering it, was cursed and condemned to live in torment. And now I pray that by his compassionate will God may let your minds be based upon twin foundations - fear of God and love of country; and that He may likewise cause all our hearts to rest herein. God save the Empress. Long live Ethiopia."[44]

Thus the regent outlined the objectives of this important school. It was to be a school where knowledge which was a necessary instrument for attaining wealth, political stability and progress for Ethiopia, could be had. Ethiopia had achieved greatness in the past said the regent, but the tools of change were to be the educated intellects which this school was to produce.

After the regent's speech, Hakim Workneh Eshete, administrator of the school, spoke incisively:

"May I be permitted to speak to the students of this school on behalf of the Prince Regent and Heir to the Throne, who being mindful of the need of education and good upbringing of the children of our country, and with great kindness and liberality has established this school. My friends, education is very essential for our nation. For a nation of twelve to fifteen million people one or two schools are not enough. But we hope, following the example set by our Crown Prince, many of the wealthy people will open many more schools for our boys and girls so that at least a few thousand children will get the opportunity to learn. Establishing free schools throughout the breadth and length of the empire was really the responsibility of the government. But regrettable that they did not see the need (to do so). A few hundred years ago Ethiopians were considered educated people according to the standard of the time. But for different reasons we regressed (in education) until now we find ourselves among the backward nations. To be backward means not to have knowledge, education (learning), wealth and civilization.

"Therefore we do not command respect in others, and we even fear for our freedom. Those people who are not knowledgeable of world history, or the law of nature, may think that the way we have lived for the last three hundred years and we are living now is good enough and that this condition would not be known to others. But this is our great mistake. If you ask why, the answer is because it has been a well-established law (of nature) that any individual or nation cannot stand where it is for a long time. Either it progresses or regresses and falls backward. If it regresses then it will be overrun by those nations that are more advanced. We do not need to go very far to draw some example. Let us look at the Gallas, Wollamos and others around us. Why do you think we are able to rule over them? The reason is that they were not as wise, powerful nor as civilized as we are. This is a well established law all over the world. If we do not think a similar fate will happen to us sooner or later as we come in touch with people who are more advanced than we are, we are mistaken. The law of survival of the fittest is as true as the law that man struggles to live. If we live in this world, and if we are like other human beings, it is sure we cannot escape this law. If we deceive ourselves by thinking we can escape this, sooner or later we will find ourselves in a sad and regrettable awakening.

"My friends, let us wake up now while we have time, and let us brace ourselves to work before it is too late. Now when I see your hopeful faces reaching out for enlightenment and education, it is an assurance to me that you and your parents are aware of the importance of education. It gives me hope for the future of our beloved country. What spared the life and freedom of the Japanese people from destruction was that they became aware (of their backwardness) in time and made up their mind to win the battle for life and freedom. Hence getting the civilization of Europe to work for them and getting it in time was essential. To that end they worked hard, so much so that the progress that took several hundred years for some people was attained by Japan in a span of sixty years. Today the Japanese are as powerful and as civilized as any European nation. Let us follow this amazing example when the whole nation became far-sighted and determined (to achieve progress), so that we too may become a thinking, powerful nation so that we can preserve our ancient independence; by seeking our shortcomings and ignorance we may rectify them quickly.

"Some people in our country tell you that God will not betray us, He will protect us. But I tell you God helps those who help themselves, but those who disregard enlightenment (knowledge or learning) are doomed to destruction and defeat. Therefore my children, my advice to you is for you to become truly educated people by working hard day and night in the learning of languages, history, geography and mathematics; and not to learn only one foreign language so that you can earn your livelihood as interpreters. Moreover, be men of justice and religion. Some of you here today are advanced in age, and I am afraid you may not be able to advance very far in your education because starting late. But at least some of you, by working extra hard, will be able to redeem some of the lost time.

"Now to conclude my speech I beg of you grown up people to be careful in your talk and manner so that you will set good examples for the younger children amongst you. The other time I was talking with one important man about the need of education (for our country), he said that if those who have learned foreign languages behave as any other man and if they are not trustworthy, education is not of any use for the Abyssinian. I felt very sorry when I heard this, but I told the man that education does not mean only learning a foreign language, as our children have been doing up to now. I told him that education occurs when it touches the person deep into the inner core of his personality and influences his mind (thinking) and his whole being. Little learning is a dangerous thing. There is a Greek proverb which says that from the fountain of Piraeus (ፒሬዎስ) either drink very well or do not taste (touch) it. (This is a Greek proverb which says if one tastes only little of the Piraean water he will die, but if one drinks plenty of it, the water gives him health, energy and knowledge). My friends, think of this and drink plenty of the fountain of knowledge, and drink from it for a long time. During your years of learning, by following the teachings and commandments of our Lord Jesus Christ, Praise Him. It is not enough to be called Christians; you have to demonstrate your religion by your thoughts and actions.

"Now permit me to give you some guidelines hoping that they will be of some benefit to you:

1. Be truthful and just.
2. Be clean in words and deeds.
3. Be upright and respectable.
4. Be kind, be free from the sin of jealousy which abounds in our country today.
5. Love your country and be ready to give your life for it.
6. Honor your father and mother and those who are your elders.
7. At play or work, be always very kind (generous).

"In short do to others what you would like others to do to you. Be truthful.

"And now wishing success in your work, I will commend you to your teachers. I have no doubt that your teachers will do their best to see that you will grow in health and enlightenment.

"Blessed be our kind and generous Prince Regent. May God grant him health, wisdom and energy. Long live the Prince Regent."[45]

This speech was delivered by a man who had lived for over thirty years in Europe and the Far East, studying and working. He knew what was happening in the outside world, and now he was back in his native land trying to rekindle in the hearts of his people the desire for education and progress. His speech throws some light on the thinking then prevalent in parts of Ethiopia and in particular amongst the ruling circle, as well as on the outlook and composition of the new Tafari Makonnen Lyceum. This speech merits lengthy analysis, but space does not permit.

A foreign observer who visited the new school soon after the inauguration, commented "The small though very admirable beginning made by Ras Tafari is a step in the right direction." But he doubted that this kind of venture could be put to work on a large scale until the government had, "put their financial house in order, a proceeding which would involve the reform and reorganization of the central and local administration, which is hardly likely to be undertaken in a hurry."[46]

He also doubted whether there was any real general demand for education within the country in spite of statements to the contrary.

> The big chiefs do not want their sons to be educated; one of the most important chiefs remarked the other day in reply to a question as to

> why he would not send his sons to be trained in Europe or have a European tutor for them; 'No I will not have my sons taught these things, for when they have learned them, they will also have learned to despise their father.'
>
> And the sons themselves of wealthy chiefs do not care about learning either; they are the least keen of all the boys at Ras Tafari's school. They like to learn English or French, but beyond that, they say, they need to know nothing -- they have their fathers' lands to inherit and to rule, and ample wealth at their disposal, what more do they want? Whereas their less fortunately endowed brothers at the school, having more incentive, acquire more, and when they grow up and realize that there is the knowledge, that the power is in the hands of others, less capable and more reactionary, they begin to appreciate the disabilities under which the country labours with its incubus of ecclesiasticism and reactionary aristocracy, one of two alternatives may well eventuate. Either a serious social upheaval will take place, with the attendant risk to Abyssinian independence of civil war, or reaction will so assert itself that a collision with the outside world becomes inevitable.[47]

The French teachers told Ray that "the subjects the children were really keen on was their languages, English and French; they learned these with amazing rapidity, especially the younger ones, some of whom in two or three months had learned to read aloud in these tongues. The average child would — learn as much in two years as an ordinary European child would in three." They were also "learning history, geography, and arithmetic, and trying football, about which I am bound to say they seemed to have confused ideas. Unfortunately, they would take no interest in gardening or crafts, which seemed a great pity."[48]

Courses in arts and crafts were added later. In the June 1972 report of the school's administrators we find that in the year just ended, courses in weaving, carpentry and tailoring were offered. There were eleven boys in the carpentry class. Moreover, one of the students was earning fifteen dollars working in a tailor's shop while he continued to attend evening classes.[49]

The school was much more French-oriented than the old Menelik School. The medium of instruction was French and there was a succession of French principals: Jean Guillion Thomassini, Gariox, Hagar and in 1935, Dennis Garringue. At that time three of the classroom teachers came from French Lebanon. They were Salhb, the history and geography teacher, Selim Abi Chacra, the physics and chemistry teacher, and Albert Adem, the French and Arabic teacher. The four Ethiopian teachers on the staff taught Amharic and elementary French. The pupils sat for an annual examination at the French Legation for the French government's Certificate of Competence in Primary Studies.[50]

Dr. Workneh Eshete served as the first administrator of the school for five years until he was succeeded by Dawit (Oqubagzi), a foreign-educated Ethiopian from Eritrea.

In the meantime the regulations for the school were ready. In November 1926, the regent declared:

> I, Tafari Makonnen, Heir to the Throne of the Empire of Ethiopia, realizing the importance of education for the effective

> functioning of Government, church or private business, I have established this school.*

Then he announced the rules and regulations that were to be the basis for policy-making. The following positions in the school were provided for:

One deputy administrator
One director
Two French teachers
Two English teachers
One Ge'ez teacher
One Amharic teacher
One gymnastics and sports teacher
One art (drawing) teacher
One carpentry teacher
One treasurer
One cashier
Two washers
Two cooks
Two waiters
One tailor
Two kitchen and dining hall supervisors
Two water drawers
Two janitors and messengers
Two guards.

Provision was made for future changes as the need arose. The regulations, consisting of fifty-three articles, covered all aspects of the school, students, teachers, administration and physical plant. Initially fifty students were enrolled in the school but later in the year the number increased to 184, and in 1928-29 had reached two hundred as Table 2 shows.

Initially it had cost some 130,000 Maria Theresa dollars to build and equip the Tafari Makonnen School. During the ensuing years expansion and operating costs required a significant amount of money. To meet the mounting costs nine months after the establishment of the school a special education tax of 6 per cent ad valorem was imposed on all imports and exports. The tax was expected to yield $240,000/year, perhaps 3 times as much as the costs of the school.[52] However, we have no information on whether this was realized or not.

The first official financial report available is one given by Dr. Workneh, the administrator of the school, at the end of June 1927. The report shows that the income from all sources for the two year period since the school became operational was $128,348. Expenses for the same period were: staff salaries, $30,926; student maintenance (clothing, board and housing) $21,500; for additional buildings and ground improvements, $39,775; miscellaneous expenses $4,029; total expenses $95,230; favorable balance $33,118.[53]

Following the financial report and speech by the regent, donations were made by some of the wealthy people present. Dejazmatch Birru donated the following items to the school: Ten Wokait of gold; ten cows; one hundred sheep and three yokes of oxen. Other contributors were Dejazmatch Habte Mariam ($200), Dejazmatch Aba Shaoul ($50) and a foreign guest ($100).

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*(Translated by the present author from Lekre Negar by Mahteme Selassie, pp. 612-613)

TABLE 2

ENROLLMENT AT TAFARI MAKONNEN SCHOOL[51]

Year	Total	Boarders	Day Pupils	Comments
1925 (April)	80	30	50	There are 4 French and 3 English classes for the first time, 30 students from Wollega, 18 from Gojam join the school.
1925-26	184	118	66	
1926-27	234	84	150	Six sewing machines bought, handicraft classes begin.
1927-28	170	-	-	
1928-29	200	-	-	144 following French classes, 76 others attend English classes. Empress visits the school for the first time.
1929-30	347	122	125	Of 12 classes, six are held in French and six in English.
1930-31	-	-	-	5 students sent to Beyrouth to study.
1931-32	300	-	-	At year end 19 boys sit for the fifth form exam of Paris. 17 of them pass. Former students to Beyrouth.
1932-33	-	-	-	
1933-34	-	-	-	3 students go to France to study.
1934-35	-	-	-	Rumors of war. On February 11, 1935 several of the best boys of the school chosen for the Genet Military School.
1935-36	-	-	-	Number of the students at the school declines because of the declaration of war. The school director leaves for Mai Chew with the emperor. Classes continue with reduced numbers. On April 22, 1936 the country is occupied by the Fascist enemy and the school closes down when Addis Ababa is overrun.

Source: Sylvia Pankhurst, Ethiopia: A Cultural History, pp. 587-592.

The financial report for the following year presents another impressive record: balance brought forward from the previous year, $33,118; income from the regent's private purse, $49,504; student fees, including money paid by the regent on behalf of poor pupils, $9,267; gifts from individual citizens, $8,850; income from the sales of vegetables, sweaters, shamma, $1,897; total income for the year, $103,218. (The report specifies that out of the total $8,850 of donations received $6,650 was given by Dejazmatch Habte Mariam in the form of two hundred wokait of gold.

Expenditures for the same period consisted of: staff salaries, $19,067; student maintenance, $25,064; the construction of new buildings and the maintenance of existing ones, $24,081; miscellaneous, $2,119; total expenditure, $70,313; cash in hand (budget surplus) $32,905.[54]

Unfortunately, detailed information does not continue right up to 1935, but from the general sources it seems that the school operated on a sound financial basis, drawing support from the regent, the state treasury and voluntary contributions from citizens.

Knowing the obstacles in the way, and to drive his points home, the regent continued to deliver speeches on the subject. One such speech was delivered at the second annual prize-giving ceremony at the Tafari Makonnen School:

"Although in past times in our land of Ethiopia there were a few people who had, of their own enterprise, gone to foreign countries and come back with some knowledge of language yet, owing to their being no schools for languages established in our country, considerable difficulties arose over this question of language. Later, however, the Emperor Menelik II, convinced of the necessity for Ethiopia to have plenty of young men who knew foreign languages, in 1900 (Ethiopia calendar, i.e. 1907-8), established a school for foreign languages and had many boys taught.

"It was because I too was convinced that it would be a great benefit for Ethiopia that I established this school for foreign languages. When this school was founded there were only thirty boys; now after two years, it is very gratifying that the number of boys learning here amounts to 180, and I thank God for it. And if this process persists, at the end of five years there should be a thousand pupils being educated here.

"I tender my thanks to all those who have made gifts of money to assist this school; and I hope that in the future they will recognize the advantages of education; establish schools in their several provinces. I also thank the Chief Administrator of the school, Dr. Workneh, and all the teachers. Then I wish all the pupils long life so that after completing their education they may serve their country.

"I pray God to grant long life and health to Her Majesty the Empress Zewditu, peace and prosperity to our country."[55]

About a week later, at the prize-giving ceremony at the Menelik II School he expressed similar sentiments:

"Although as the world knows, our land of Ethiopia has been from ancient times a self-sufficient and independent state, in 1915 (Ethiopian calender, i.e. 1923), she became a partner in the community of the nations of the world, by joining the League of Nations and declaring her membership. We are all convinced in our minds that in order to strengthen this partnership we must increase the number of schools. The Emperor Menelik II, after ruling for many years in accordance with the traditions of our country, on initiating relations with foreign states recognized that the educational system of our country was by itself insufficient, and that it was necessary to bring it into line with theirs. He therefore established this school to meet the immediate need for foreign languages. As an example to the clergy and people he caused all the boys who had, as relatives and connections of his, be brought up in the palace, to enter this school. I myself was one of the boys who were there at the start when this school was founded. No one can doubt that the children of Ethiopia are lovers of learning and that their minds are open to receive education. A fact which confirms this is that besides the boys whom we have chosen from time to time to send abroad, there are many boys who have run away from their fathers and mothers and gone abroad for education of their own volition. There are many, too, who have, by their own will, effort and perseverance, obtained education here in our country, and have succeeded in becoming serviceable to their country.

"Then again there are many who have come hither, alike from rural areas and from towns, with the idea of getting education: if in the future they can receive it in their own districts through an increase in the number of schools, it will be an advantage for them. This would also be a source of pride for their government and of happiness for their fathers and mothers. Nobody is blind to the fact that the uneducated is a curse to his father and mother while the educated is a blessing to them. Further, as there is a great profit in being taught in Ge'ez and Amharic, the learning of our country, it will be necessary for all the governors to provide this education by setting up in their respective provinces schools for reading and writing; only when the pupils have received enough education to prepare them for foreign studies should they come hither. My reason for establishing this rule is that any one of us who proposes to study foreign knowledge without being versed in the learning of our country is like a man who builds a house on loose gravel.

"Indeed those who have already in our own times become as it were pillars of our state - men like Dr. Workneh, Nagadras Afa-work, Blata Heruby, Kantiba Gabru, Aleqa Taye, Ato Wolde Mariam and many others besides — succeeded in fitting themselves for service by studying in the first place the learning of our land Ethiopia: it was not by devoting their energies and efforts solely to the study of foreign tongues.

"The advice I offer to you, pupils of this school is this: it is a double joy for a father to his children's children, so become yourselves teachers of that knowledge you have acquired according to the natural endowments which God has given you: I beg you to be servants working for the state, not mere seekers of the days' advantage.

"If you devote your energies and efforts and studies to the acquiring of adequate knowledge, those who despise you will respect you, and those who hate you come to love you; and bear in mind that as your honor increases you will be all the happier. We praise you both teachers and pupils for the labors you have performed thus far.

"Your Imperial Majesty: All the schools in Ethiopia would be glad if as a mother takes an interest in all her children, you could go and visit them all. If Ethiopia attains a high level of culture, we shall derive advantage from the resulting development and advancement of the state, a consideration which it is my duty to recall to mind.

"May God grant to Ethiopia good fortune and prosperity, and long life to the realm: I pray God the Omnipotent that He fulfil my desire.

"On behalf of Her Majesty the Empress and on my own behalf I thank the foreign envoys, and all the noble lords and ladies for coming to honor this school by their presence."[56]

A year later, on August 6, 1928 at another prize-giving at Tafari Makonnen School, the regent pointed out once more the need for greater participation by nobles and wealthy people in the advancement of education. He also mentioned the possibility of establishing a national university on Ethiopian soil at some future date. As we will see, his desire for an Ethiopian university was to be satisfied some twenty-three years later, in 1951. At a July 7, 1928 ceremony, the regent declared:

"Although the greatness of Ethiopia and the history of all her achievements may be found fully recorded in the books of many learned men, I constantly revert in my speeches to this theme of her past history, to show how the dissensions that arose within the country in former times pulled her back and prevented her regular breathing; now, however, through the education of her children, her voice is beginning to grow stronger and she is getting back her breath satisfactorily. Her history is being revealed in her deeds and glimmers of light may already be seen.

"The reason why I have summoned you to assemble here today is that you may trace the approach of the time when this light of Ethiopia will be clearly revealed, and that by considering what is being done each day you may become sharers of our joy. The following circumstance provides a proof that the revelation of Ethiopia's light is approaching.

"At the time when the Menelik II School was first opened, the number of pupils was very small: and even those were sons of the nobility who were being brought up by the Emperor in the palace, and were under strict orders to attend. Now however the number of boys being educated at the Menelik II School has reached four hundred, and they have come of their own accord from various towns and rural districts, yearning for knowledge and seeking education.

"After a farmer has sown the seed in his field, he observes simply that it has sprouted and grown: he does not know how much it has grown each day, how much it had added to its height. But as he inspects his field each morning and evening, he finds the seed has progressed from shoot to flower and flower to fruit: great then is the farmer's joy. So when we see these boys who are pupils at the Menelik II School learning diligently year by year, growing in knowledge and increasing in numbers, our hearts overflow at the thought of their becoming a great pride to their country Ethiopia.

"Such of these boys as prove to have learnt with diligence and to excel in their studies, it is my full intention to send abroad for a university education. I hope however, that for future generations of pupils there will, before long, be established a university for advanced studies here in their own land of Ethiopia.

"And now I must thank the teachers of the Menelik II School and their assistants for the assiduity with which they have performed their tasks. Finally I thank the Diplomatic Corps for coming hither to see the growth of Ethiopian children in education and knowledge and to rejoice with me thereat."[57]

The Expansion of Education

The ground for public participation had been prepared with care. The public in Addis Ababa began to clamour for education. Examination of the press during the 1920s and 1930s shows unmistakably that many of the leading personalities had begun to see the importance of education for national development. An article that appeared in the newspaper Berhanena Selam on July 5, 1920 E.C. urged people to approach the regent with requests for a law for compulsory school attendance, "so that education will flood our country fast, and quench the thirsty land, so that we may rest under the shadow of the plant and eat of the fruit thereof, let us approach the Prince Regent and beg of him to promulgate a decree making school attendance compulsory in every province of the country. Ethiopia is naked. She will not come to know her true state of existence until she gets education that makes her aware of her true state of existence..."[58]

Others urged the cooperation of the people and the political leaders in establishing and operating schools. Another article that appeared in 1929 suggested reform of the curriculum. Arguing that a nation without a uniform language tends to be divided among its many tribes it appealed to the empress, the cabinet ministers and administrators, as well as to the prince regent, to take the following steps:

1. Amharic should be taught in the Menelik II School.
2. Foreign teachers working in urban as well as in rural areas should be required to teach Amharic as well as foreign languages.
3. Ethiopian geography should be taught in every classroom.
4. As an incentive for students who excel in geography and mathematics money should be made.
5. A wise chief, who loves his country should be appointed as Minister (of Education).
6. At the end of each school year the results of the schools should be evaluated.
7. If friendly Governments agree, foreign teachers should be imported to educate the children who are already proficient in reading and arithmetic.
8. When a child has completed the courses at any of the schools he should be helped to proceed to the higher grades without wasting any time.
9. As far as possible children should be taught within the country instead of sending them abroad. Importing foreign teachers instead of sending students abroad will be cheaper in the long run.[59]

However, some people had misgivings about the purpose of studying foreign languages and other subjects connected with them. They thought, for instance, that the reason why students were keen to study French and other languages was because they were planning to become interpreters when a foreign power occupied the country. Such misgivings were frequently expressed and were rebutted. By the 1930s, as we can see from the newspapers and from interviews with students or teachers of the time, the attitude of many Ethiopians towards education was changing fast.[60]

The regent continued to send the most promising boys overseas, most of them at his own expense. Some of the older people, including the empress, objected to this move for fear of travel across the slave-trade route which had in the past jeopardized the safety of young Ethiopians on their way abroad. In addition the idea of a long absence from home alarmed many of the older generation. In spite of these misgivings Ethiopian youths continued to be sent abroad during the regency of Emperor Haile Selassie I. On December 17, 1926 despatching twenty-one students for study abroad, he advised them:

"In our country, of which it can be said there are several million inhabitants, we have not as you know, enough schools teaching languages and arts to cater for many children. Nevertheless, in the schools that have been established there are more than a thousand pupils; and if this number is small, it is no matter for surprise, for we hope that by God's goodness the numbers will grow.

"It is some five or six years since we started to send students to Europe, as you are now going thither. We have heard no bad reports against any of the boys who had gone hitherto. You must not forget the saying, 'Unity is strength, disunity is injury.' With the aim of bringing honor and praise upon the name of Ethiopia, pursue your studies with becoming humility and diligence. If on the contrary you behave badly, it will certainly be not only yourselves who are abused but you will be a discredit to your country. We have chosen and despatched you so that you may help your country with the fruits of your education. If you learn well and your character is admirable, you will be an honor alike to yourselves and your country; and you will further encourage our hopes.

"You should behave in the presence of foreigners as to make them express the wish, 'since these few boys we have seen are of such intelligence and character, we should like many others to come for us to teach them.' At the same time, however, I must tell you not to forget, while you are in the foreign country whither you are bound, the reading and writing of your own country's language: to help you in this I am giving you some of the various books which I have had printed, and I recommend you to pay them diligent attention and profit thereby.

"I further suggest that, since a person's faults are not known to himself, you choose three from among you, outstanding in knowledge and personality, who will observe your shortcomings and advise you about them; this will be a safeguard for you.

"I pray God on your behalf that you may return safely to our undying Ethiopia and may become a help to her. Goodbye."

The students were sent to many different countries to Europe, to the Middle East, to other parts of Africa and to North America. Many Ethiopians went to Egypt and Lebanon but a number of these later transferred to Europe or the United States. One of the first went to the Lycee Francaise in Alexandria and later continued in France. The largest group of Ethiopians of the twenties and thirties went to France, where a score of them studied political science, law or economics. At that time French was Ethiopia's principal foreign language. Many of these young people were killed during the Fascist occupation but the few that escaped became prominent in the civil service and in literature. Among them is the present prime minister of our country, Ato Aklilu Habte Wolde. Other young people studied in England, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium and Italy. About forty Ethiopians studied at the Pontifico Collegio Ethiopico, established by Pope Benedict XV in 1919 to replace the old hospice for Ethiopians. A group of twenty-two Falasha boys went abroad through the good offices of Faitloitch and Professor Tamrat.

Inevitably education for women was slow in developing. Princess Tsehai Haile Selassie, Yemisratch Imru and Amsale Heruy studied French in Switzerland and returned home in 1928. Later Yewubdar Gebru and Senedu Gebru studied at Saint Chrischona in Switzerland. Woizero Senedu continued her studies in Lausanne. During the Italian invasion of Ethiopia she joined the resistance forces in the western part of the country and was subsequently imprisoned in Italy. She afterwards wrote a play based on her experiences in prison. Senedu Gebru became the director of Itegue Menen School for Girls, and eventually the first Ethiopian woman member of parliament.[61]

Although Eritrea was still an Italian colony, a number of Eritrean youths were able to participate in scholarship schemes. They included Lorenzo Taezaz, Dawit Ogbazgie, Daropaulos, Sereqe Berhan Gebre Egzi and Ambai. Mahiteme Sellassie gives a list of those who studied abroad between 1916 and 1935:

Haile Mariam Gessesse
Hewot Wond-Yirad
Legesse Gebre-Mariam
Melaku Beyan
Mehari Kasa
Meshesha Haile
Mengistu Yeshak
Mekuria Wolde Sellassie
Makonnen Chekul
Makonnen Desta
Mishka Babachief
Mahiteme Sellassie Wolde Meskel
Markos Paulos
Moges Wolde Yohannes
Sabagadis Sebhat
Sirak Heruy
Sara Worqneh
Seyoum Reta
Shaoul Ayele
Besah Wured Habte Wold
Befekadu Wolde Mikael
Bahiru Kaaba
Berhane Sellassie Yibsa
Benyam Worqneh
Tesfaye Zafiro
Terefe Bantiyiwalu
Tedla Haile Georgis
Tegn Kasa
Tadesse Molla
Tadese Bizuneh
Tadese Zewolde
Tewodros Worqneh
Alber Muslim
Amanuel Gebre-Sellassie
Asrat Mulugeta
Araya Haile
Asfaw Wolde Georgis
Abebe Mesay
Abebe Degefa
Abraham Adgeh
Andargachew Mesay
Aklilu Habte Wold
Ayele Sebehat
Ayana Biru
Eyasu Mengesha
Eirgete-Qal Wolde Tsadik
Engida Yohannes
Elizabeth Worqneh
Kebede Beyan
Kasa Abraha
Kifle Nesibu

Haile-Qal Yoseph
Lemma Belaineh
Lorenzo Taezaz
Muhamed Mehadi
Mesfin Zeleke
Mengiste Ab
Menkir Gebre Yesus
Mekbibi Damite
Makonnen Deneke
Mulugeta Gebre Meskel
Mikael Tessema
Mamecha Yigezu
Menasse Lemma
Sereke Berhane Gebre Egzie
Seifu Mikael
Samuel Gebre Yesus
Sileshi Yigezu
Senedu Gebru
Belay Aminte
Bekele Kiros
Binega Tesfa Mariam
Bisrat Mesay
Berhanu Wandim
Tesfay Kejella
Tesfa Mikael Haile
Tedla Haile
Tekle Roro
Tadesse Mulugeta
Tadese Tesema
Tadese Yakob
Tadege Defereshoa
Aleme-Worq Beyene
Amannuel Abraha
Ambai Wolde-Mariam
Asheber Gebre Hiwot
Araya Abebe
Abebe Reta
Abebe Wolde Georgis
Abebe Gebre-Tsadik
Abraham Bekru
Akale Worq Habte Wold
Ayele Haile
Ayalew Yimer
Agegnhu Engeda
Emru Zeleke
Endial Woldemariam
Engida Tsige Hanna
Elias Hailu
Kalid Mahidi
Kachik Bogosia
Kifle Ergetu

Kosrof Bogosia
Wolde Kidan Beyan
Wolde Georgis Tedla
Worku Gobena
Zeryhun Dominiko
Zewde Beyene
Yakob Gebre Leul
Yilma Beyene
Yohannes Redda Egzie
Desta Gebru
Dagne Wodajo
Gelaglae Desta
Gebre Meskel Habte Mariam
Gebre Mariam Amentie
Gebre Yesus Bitu
Gebre Tsadik
Getachew Zewge
Getahun Tessema
Tsehai Haile Sellassie (Princess)
Tsegae Markos Wolde Tekle
Fekade Sellassie Heruy
Wolde Sellassie Zeleke
Wolde Gabriel Wolde Sellassie
Wolde Endeshaw
Wakjira Serda
Zewde Belaineh
Yewubdar Gebru
Yilma Mengesha
Yilma Deressa
Yohannes Borru
Damitew Zamanel
Dawit Oqubaegzio
Gebre Meskel
Gebre Medhin Awoke
Gebre Egzie Amentie
Gashaw Zeleke
Getahun Chekol
Girmachew Tekle Hawariat
Gobena Ayano
Tsegae Mengesha
Feleke Wolde Hanna
Fasika Habte Mikael[62]

This list does not claim to be exhaustive.

In the meantime education at home continued to expand. The nongovernment schools, run in the main foreign missionary societies, expanded faster than the state-supported schools. However, Rey noted in 1926-7 that owing to the mistakes made by missionaries to Ethiopia in the sixteenth century their efforts to establish a foothold had met with minimal success. The various missions were doing some educational work, but not a great deal: "Their curriculum is suitable only for training youths to be interpreters, and thus their contributions to the problem of the education of the masses is not as yet of much value." This and other factors, including the suspicions of the hosts, prevented the rapid development of the educational efforts of the missions.[63]

Despite the problems pointed out by Rey, Professor Pankhurst insists that the missions were making progress. The Evanglika Fosterlands Stifteelsen (or Swedish Evangelical mission) was established in Eritrea by1866, and Addis Ababa by 1905, but because of local opposition did not start real educational work until 1924. By this time they had established eight schools; three of the most important ones reported a total of 115 pupils, ten of whom were girls, and between ten and fifteen day-boys. The girls were instructed in dressmaking, while the boys were taught religion, Church history, Amharic, Galligna, English, French, history, nature study, arithmetic, geometry, gymnastics and singing. All students were officially required to do some manual work while in school but lack of funds and space prvented any work from being carried out in reality. The Evangelical Mission was also working in several centers in northern Ethiopia.

The Bibletrenga Vanner Mission (or Friends of the Bible) came to Eritrea in 1912 and to Addis Ababa in 1921. It maintained three schools with a total enrollment of 125 pupils. Some manual work was expected of the pupils and they had to pay for their textbooks if they could. Instruction was carried out in Amharic and English. The girls were taught religious knowledge and needlework and the boys reading, theology, history, mathematics, geography, Amharic, English, French and the Bible.

The Seventh Day Adventist Mission was established in Eritrea in 1907, and came to Addis Ababa soon after. They opened a school in Addis Ababa in February 1923 and another at Addis Alem. The school in Addis Ababa had sixty pupils, forty of whom were boarders. Students came from all classes. Those able to pay for their maintenance were allowed to do so but most of them were subsidized by the mission. No fees were charged for tuition. Instruction was in Amharic through interpreters for Europeans. The courses included reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, hygiene, gymnastics, drawing and singing. The United Presbyterian Church of North America opened a school at Sayo in 1922 with eighty-three pupils, all boys, who were taught in Galligna.[64] The French and Italian Catholic Mission also continued to operate schools primarily in Eritrea. Thus, the opportunity provided by a more tolerant social climate, the educational efforts of the missionaries began to be felt in Ethiopia.

With the accession to the Ethiopian throne of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I in 1930, the tempo of educational progress quickened, and education began to be coordinated under the guidance of a central office. Blatengeta Sahile Sedalu, a graduate of the Menelik II School, became the Minister-Director of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, and Blata Kidane Mariam Aberra, the Director General; Ato Tsegaye was the Secretary General. In addition to the education tax, the Ministry now received two percent of the National Treasury revenue. Zervos has pointed out that the structure of the administration was similar to that found in Britain or Italy.[65] This was not the case in grade structure. Ernest Work, an American who was brought in in 1930 to advise the government, suggested that the educational system should be "neither French, Italian, English nor American," but Ethiopian. He advised that Amharic should be used as the medium of instruction in Ethiopian schools. But first the language needed streamlining to make it less cumbersome, if necessary even altering the basic characters. A committee would be established to supervise modification and adaptation so that instruction and book production would be possible. Secondly, the curriculum should be relevant to the needs of Ethiopian children. "Ethiopian boys and girls should be educated in their own languages, learn about their own country and men and interesting things, as well as the world in general." As soon as possible, the teachers should be Ethiopians. To achieve this, a university needed to be established, if possible, with foreign private aid, one of whose branches should be a college for teacher education. A definite plan of education was needed, providing for six years of elementary education for all. Above this and branching off from it provision should be made for industrial and trade schools, including agriculture and homemaking. In addition to these schools, and after the six years of elementary work there should be the possibility of study for five or six additional years for those who desired to go into business and the professional world. Finally, the opportunity to obtain a university education should be available. These suggestions would not be implemented soon nor was there any assurance that they would work for Ethiopia.[66] They were brilliant suggestions and in fact they describe what we find ourselves trying to do forty-one years later. But, as Work was aware, there were forces in Europe which were trying to use Ethiopia as a political pawn, forces that were exposed to full view in 1935.

The state schools now began to expand faster. Before the outbreak of the Fascist war in 1935 there were about eight or nine schools in operation. Menelik II School gave primary and secondary instruction in French, English, and Italian by three different departments. The director was an Egyptian, M. Georges Abdel Malek. Tafari Makonnen School offered elementary and secondary instruction in

French and special courses in Arabic. The director was a Frenchman, M. Carrigue. Itegue Menen School for girls was founded by Empress Menen in 1930 and offered primary and secondary instruction in French. Mme. Carrigue, a Frenchwoman, was the directress. The curriculum at the school included science and mathematics as well as drawing, dressmaking, household management, and physical training. Like the students of the Menelik and Tafari Makonnen Schools, the pupils sat an annual examination for the French Certificate in Primary Studies. Haile Selassie I School was founded in 1930 by the emperor and gave technical and linguistic training in French. The subjects studied included mathematics, physics, chemistry, civil engineering, veterinary science, pedagogy and modern languages. The director was M. A. Malheme, a Lebanese.

Elementary schools in Addis Ababa included: Saint George School, founded in 1929 with two sections, for boys and for girls. Instruction was in French. The director was the Ethiopian Aleka Youftane. The Orphanage of Our Savior for Boys was founded in 1932, and taught handicrafts. Lij Haile Mariam was the director. The Boy Scouts school was founded in 1934 and its honorary president was H. I. H. Makonnen Haile Selassie, Duke of Harar. The language of instruction was French, and the director was the Lebanese M. Fredric Kamel. Kabana School was founded in 1935 and taught in French. The director was Professor Tamrat, an Ethiopian.

Schools in the Provinces

There were two schools in Harar, one founded by Emperor Menelik II in 1908 and the other by Emperor Haile Selassie I in 1930. Both were primary schools and used French as a medium of instruction. In 1933 the two schools amalgamated and were renamed Ras Makonnen School. The school director was a Frenchman, M. Morel. The Dire Dawa elementary school was opened in 1929. The Woizero Sehene School in Dessie was founded in 1928 with money left by the late Woizero Sehene. The Tafari Makonnen elementary school in Gore was established in 1928. All these schools taught French. The Tafari Makonnen School in Jijiga, built in 1929 used English as the medium of instruction. The Haile Selassie Elementary School in Nekemtie, Wollega, was built in 1929 and also used English as the language of instruction. The Asbe Tafari Elementary School in Asbe Tafari, Harar, and the Haile Selassie I Elementary School in Ambo Shou were founded in 1931 and 1932 respectively. The Asbe Tafari School used English and the school at Ambo taught in French. The Medhane Alem School in Jimma, Kaffa, built in 1932, used French; the Gojam Elementary School in Debre Markos, built in 1934, used English; the Gondar Elementary School, established in 1934, used English; the Sellale School used French as a language of instruction and was built in 1935. The Adwa and Makele schools were founded in 1935 and both used English as a language of instruction.[67]

A long time resident of Addis Ababa commented on the general situation at this time: "It was quite remarkable to the resident of many years' standing that whereas in 1920 the boy on his household staff who could read and write was a notable exception, in 1935 among the same society there were few young men and boys who had not mastered the elementary processes of reading and writing the Amharic script..."[68] This was remarkable progress in a quarter of a century. But now the clouds of war were gathering over Ethiopia. There were twenty-one government schools functioning in the empire, employing about thirty foreign teachers in addition to Ethiopian nationals. The total enrollment was forty-two-hundred students plus a number studying abroad and those enrolled in church and mission schools.[69] At this point the Fascists struck and brought education in Ethiopia to a complete halt.

Notes

1. Mahteme Sellassie Wolde Meskel, Zekre Neger, (1962 E.C. 2nd ed.): p. 52.

2. Ethiopia Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Education in Ethiopia (Addis Ababa, 1961), p. 4.

3. Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia," Ethiopia Observer 6:36 (1962), p. 251. This article by Dr. Pankhurst is the best single source available regarding nineteenth century Ethiopians educated abroad.

4. Ibid., p. 251.

5. Ibid., p. 253.

6. Ibid., pp. 253-254.

7. Ibid., p. 256.

8. R.P. Skinner, Abyssinia of Today (London: Longmans, 1906), pp. 101-102, quoted in R. Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education ...," p. 257.

9. Ibid., p. 256.

10. In the books he wrote he always identified himself as "Zebbere Zega" (a native of Zege).

11. R. Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education ...," pp. 256-257.

12. Ibid., p. 257. In December 1954 I met Bejourwand Tekle Hawariat in Aden, while on my way to Australia and later on in 1967 in Herna Harar where he now lives. He related to me that being admitted to the rank of officer in the Russian army for a foreigner was an unusual practice for that country. That this was done in his case indicated that he was esteemed very highly and conferred upon him the high military rank. He also told me that upon returning to Ethiopia he found out that the court was surrounded by self-serving men and the fact that he was not useful in serving as interpreter in the French or English language was considered as a failure. Therefore he proceeded to Europe once more where he shunted between Paris and London until he mastered the languages and then returned home.

13. Ibid., pp. 257-258.

14. C.F. Rey, In the Country of the Blue Nile (London: The Camelot Press Limited, 1927), p. 208.

15. Kobes Jasperdean, "Modernization in Ethiopia 1916-1966: Politics and Education," (M.A. Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University), p. 62.

16. R. Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education ...," p. 254.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., pp. 254-255.

19. Ibid., p. 256.

20. Ibid., pp. 258-259.

21. Ibid.

22. Mahteme Sellassie, *Zekre Neger*, pp. 526-527.

23. Ibid., pp. 53-54.

24. Ibid., p. 502.

25. Ibid., p. 60.

26. Ibid., pp. 600-601.

27. Teshome Wagaw, "Some Notes for the World of Work" (Unpublished paper, March 1971), pp. 1-21.

28. R. Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: Haile Sellassie I University Press, 1968), p. 45. For the Amharic version of this proclamation, see Mahteme Sellassie, *Zekre Neger*, (1946), pp. 421-422.

29. Ato Yigzaw Goshu in an interview April 1971, Addis Ababa.

30. Mahteme Sellassie, *Zekre Neger*, p. 54.

31. Ibid., p. 621.

32. Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education ..." p. 259.

33. Ibid., p. 259. See also "Alliance Francaise," *Ethiopia Observer* 4: (January 1960):61-63.

34. J.I. Eadie, *An Amharic Reader* (1924), pp. 110-111, quoted in Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education ..." p. 260.

35. Per Stjarne, "The Swedish Mission in Ethiopia," *Ethiopia Observer* 4 (1960):78.

36. Ibid., p. 37.

37. Leonard Mosley, *Haile Sellassie, Conquering Lion* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 122.

38. Mahteme Sellassie, *Zekre Neger*, pp. 608-612.

39. Christine Sandford, *Ethiopia Under Haile Sellassie* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1946), pp. 26-27.

40. Leonard Mosely, *Haile Sellassie, Conquering Lion*, p. 44.

41. Ibid., p. 122.

42. S. Pankhurst, *A Cultural History of Ethiopia* (London: Lallibela House, 1955), pp. 534-535 and 586-589.

43. Ibid., p. 587.

44. Berhanena Selam, 22 May 1925. The English translation was done by Stephen Wright and appeared in Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia," Ethiopian Observer, 6:3 (1962):266-267.

45. "Hakim Workneh's Speech delivered at the dedicatory service of the school established by HIH The Crown Prince of Ethiopia," Berhanena Selam 6 May 1917 E.C. Translated from the Amharic text by the present author.

46. Rey, In the Country of the Blue Nile, p. 209.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., p. 30.

49. Berhanena Selam, 30 June 1919 E.C., pp. 213-215.

50. R. Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education ...," p. 267.

51. Ibid.

52. C.R. Rey, In the Country of the Blue Nile, p. 195: see also Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education ...," p. 267.

53. Ibid., (June 30, 1919 E.C.) Note: All figures in this section have been rounded off to the nearest dollar. It is assumed the money used was the Maria Theresa dollar in all instances.

54. "Student Prize," Berhanena Selam, 5 July 1920 E.C.

55. "Speech by the Crown Prince of Ethiopia, HIH Tafari Makonnen," Berhanena Selam, 30 June 1919 E.C. English translation by Stephen Wright in Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education ...," pp. 267-268.

56. "The Menelik II School Students Awarded Prizes for Excellence," Berhanena Selam, 21 July 1919 E.C. English translation by Stephen Wright in Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education ...," pp. 268-269.

57. "The Menelik II School Students Given Awards," Berhanena Selam, 3 August 1920 E.C. English translation by Stephen Wright in Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education ...," p. 269.

58. Berhanena Selam, 18 April 1920 E.C.

59. Hailemariam, "Better Education," Berhanena Selam, 22 March 1919 E.C.

60. Tefera Belihu, "Response to the Misgivings Expressed Towards Those Who Study Foreign Language," Berhanena Selam, 21 January 1917 E.C.

61. For a detailed report of these and other youth who studied abroad during this period see, Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education ...," pp. 271-279.

62. Mahteme Sellassie, Zekre Neger, pp. 604-607.

63. C.F. Rey, In the Country of the Blue Nile, p. 208.

64. Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education ...," pp. 266-267.

65. Adrien Zervos, L'Empire D'Ethiopia: Le Miroir De L'Ethiopia Moderene, 1906-1935 (Alexandrie, Eqypte: Impr. de L'Ecole Professionnelle des Freres, 1936), p. 223.

66. F. Ernest Work, Journal of Negro Education 3 (January 1934):56-68. Maaza Bekele, "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia: Its Foundation, Its Development, Its Future, With Emphasis on Primary Education," (doctoral project, Columbia University Teachers College), pp. 281-284.

67. Adrien Zervos, L'Empire D'Ethiopia ..., pp. 229-230, Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education ...," p. 279, Sylvia Pankhurst, Ethiopia: A Cultural History, pp. 535-538.

68. Christine Sandford, Ethiopia Under Haile Sellassie, p. 67.

69. Adrien Zervos, L'Empire D'Ethiopie ..., p. 230 and Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education ...".

Chapter IV

SCHOOLING AND THE OCCUPATION

Italy first gained a foothold on Ethiopian soil in 1869 when an Italian Lazarist missionary called Guiseppe Sapeto, acting as an agent for the Rubattino Shipping Company, bought the port of Assab. This transaction had the tacit approval of the Italian Government and by 1880 the port was effectively occupied by the company. The Italian government bought the port of Assab from the company. This move was met with disapproval by the Italian public which was interested in the Mediterranean, and not in the Red Sea. Mancini, then foreign minister, pointed out that Italy's interests in the Red Sea did not mean that she was giving up her hopes in the Mediterranean but rather the Red Sea might provide the key to the Mediterranean. It happened also that in the same year France annexed Tunisia which Italy had coveted for herself. In 1885, Italy, with British encouragement, took possession of Massawa and by 1890 had gained enough territory in the area to 'justify' the establishment of the colony of Eritrea.

Italy did not confine herself to the Red Sea. In 1891 she extended her protection to the sultanates of Obbia and Miguirtini in northern Somaliland, and to the coastal stretches of southern Somaliland. By military occupation and by trade agreements of 1892 and 1905 with the sultanate of Zanzibar, Italy established the colony of Somaliland. According to the 1915 Treaty of London concluded between Italy and Britain in 1924 the latter transferred to Italy 33,000 square miles of land on the western bank of the Juba River. The addition of this territory further strengthened Italy's position in the Indian Ocean.

In the meantime Italy tried to expand southward at the expense of Ethiopia. Eritrea was no longer considered a key to the Mediterranean, but a stepping stone towards the colonization of Ethiopia itself. Ethiopia had concluded a treaty with Italy by which Ethiopia might use the mediation of Italy in dealing with foreign powers. The Italian government claimed to understand this clause to mean that Ethiopia was obliged to use the good offices of Italy in her overseas transactions. As a result of this misunderstanding, deliberate or not, the Battle of Aduwa was fought between Ethiopia and Italy in 1896. Italy sustained a crushing defeat from Ethiopian arms. This battle won international respect for Ethiopia and humiliated Italy, planting the seeds of trouble which were to bear fruit thirty-nine years later.

After Aduwa the British and French sought influence at the court of Menelik II. Favors were granted to both, but Italy was completely ignored. In 1906, however, the emperor suffered the first of a series of strokes and fearing a civil war in Ethiopia, Britain invited France and Italy to take common action after the emperor's death. By the tripartite agreement of December 1906 Italy and its partners granted one another "sphere of influence" in Ethiopia. Italy's colonial appetite was reviving.

Not satisfied with the 1906 agreement, in 1919 Italy suggested to Britain a joint consultation regarding interests in Ethiopia. This was disregarded by Britain at first, but in 1925 an Anglo-Italian agreement was concluded confirming Italy's exclusive right to the exploitation of western Ethiopia and to build a railway across Ethiopia connecting Eritrea and Somaliland. The treaty recognized Britain's right to build a barrage at Lake Tana and a road from the Sudan border to the barrage. The two imperialist powers did not see fit to consult Ethiopia. When the agreement was published Ethiopia protested vigorously to the League of Nations, an action which resulted in the nullification of the Anglo-Italian treaty. In 1928 Italy concluded a treaty of friendship, conciliation and arbitration with Ethiopia, but when the economic gains expected by Italy as a result did not materialize she resorted to other aggressive means. In 1934 the Wal Wal incident occurred and in

1935 open war broke out between Ethiopia and Italy. Ethiopia appealed to the League of Nations for intervention against Italian aggression but without success. The war began in October 1935 and was over within seven months; Italy with her modern weapons, machines and poison gas gained a military victory; Marshal Badoglio entered Addis Ababa on May 5, 1936. On May 9, 1936, the Fascist leader, Mussolini, announced the annexation of Ethiopia to Italy and the foundation of the Fascist empire. By Royal Decree (Law No. 1919 of June 1, 1936) Eritrea, Italian Somaliland and Ethiopia were merged into Italian East Africa which was sub-divided into six regions. (See Table 3.)[1]

Table 3

The Six Regional Governments of Italian East Africa

(A. O. I.) 1937

Regional Government	Area in Square Kilometers	Population
Government of Eritrea	221,000	1,000,000
Government of Somalia	702,000	1,300,000
Government of Amhara	223,000	2,000,000
Government of Galla and Sidama	353,000	1,600,000
Government of Harar	202,000	1,400,000
Government of Addis Ababa	7,000	300,000

Source: R. R. De Marco, The Italianization of African Natives, 1943, p. xv.

Italian possessions in Africa were not limited to East Africa. Although her original interest was in Tunisia, Italy had settled for Libya. Through diplomacy and armed invasion Italy had been able to gain a foothold in what was later to be referred to as Libya, at the time a Turkish territory. Beginning in 1905, by 1911 she had already established schools and by 1932 the whole area was securely in Italian hands. The area of Libya was reported to be 1,754,000 square kilometers with a population of 772,999 people, as well as 112,694 Italian nationals.[2]

The Situation Before the Invasion

When Fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1936 the modernization of education was progressing; there were at least twenty-one schools in Ethiopia, three in the capital which held secondary classes. Eritrea, of course, had been a colony since the turn of the century when the foundations of modern education were being laid in Ethiopia proper. Some Eritreans had been able to cross into Ethiopia for education not only in the empire but also abroad. After their studies many of them became prominent national figures. The infrastructure of modern education was already securely laid in Ethiopia by the time the occupation took place. Unfortunately, and perhaps understandably, the kind of education provided by a national government for its free citizens was not to be reconciled with the plans of an imperialist government for its subject people. The administration, programs of study, content and methodology of instruction, all had to be reorganized according to a predetermined plan to achieve preselected goals. In order to understand this sudden shift of direction it is necessary to look at what had been happening in Eritrea.

The Organization of Government Education for the Colonies

After 1912 all Italian colonial education services were put under the direction of the Minister of Colonies, assisted by the Ministers of National Education and of Finance. In the Ministry of Colonies the particular office charged with the direction of colonial education was the Inspectorate of Schools and Archeological Services. This was located in Italy. The chief inspector was concerned with general policy matters regarding colonial educational institutions both public and private, budgetary matters and youth organizations as well as archeological services. Colonial education for East Africa in particular was administered by the six colonial governments through the Office of the Superintendent located in the capital cities.[3]

Education for colonial peoples was regulated by various decrees and laws. The decree of 1921 represented a pre-Fascist attempt to organize native education in Eritrea. The law of 1924, although intended for Libya, was significant in that it presaged the reorganization of education in the colonies along Fascist lines. The educational decree of 1931 was yet another attempt to systematize government education for the subject peoples of Eritrea, but it was considerably modified in practice. The Fundamental Law of 1936 made it mandatory to use the local language as the medium of instruction in each of the separate regions into which Italian East Africa was divided. Finally, the 1936 educational ordinance was the first to apply to education all over Italian Africa.

The Educational Situation in Eritrea During the Occupation

Eritrea, as we have seen, had not shared the educational experiences of the rest of Ethiopia. Italian colonization in Eritrea brought with it the need to provide education for the settlers. Richard Pankhurst states that in 1905 a census showed that there were already 754 Europeans under fifteen in the colony. Two years later four main types of schools are found in the territory; government schools for Italian children, missionary schools for Italian children, traditional Christian and Muslim schools run by the local people, and Catholic or Protestant schools for the colonial subjects.[4]

This dual system of education was to persist, not only in schools operated by the government but to a large extent in the missionary schools as well. Textbooks, methods of instruction, programs of study, teacher selection and the duration of schooling were always of inferior quality for the colonial subjects than for Italian children.

This of course was part of a deliberate policy for the colonies. As Jasperdean has pointed out Italy's aims in Eritrea were first to secure and organize it, then to develop it for a European population to exploit its natural resources so that it could continue to import Italian manufactures and produce foodstuffs for Italian domestic needs, and lastly to use it as a base for further expansion and conquest in Africa.[5]

From the start Italy wanted direct and complete political control of her occupied territories and so she began to pursue a policy of assimilation and adaptation. She attempted to change the mental outlook and perspective of the colonized peoples, to impress on them the power of the Italian colonial empire and to convince them that it was a privilege to be an Italian subject. Assimilation never meant the granting of political rights to Eritreans. Indeed, the meaning of the term was made abundantly clear by A. Malvezzi de Medici, a professor of colonial law. Assimilation, he said "...can only take place gradually, while absolute cultural equality with the Italians would breed in them aspirations and pretensions compatible neither with their true situation nor with the actual conditions of the colonies...The Italian government proposes to extend to the most advanced natives the opportunity to acquire an education developed in terms of their own traditional culture, which, while it remains distinct from instruction of the European type, at the same time permits them to know and appreciate the superior character of our methods and culture."[6]

Thus the fundamental educational approach for the colonized people was to provide rudimentary schooling appropriate to and within the sphere of native life. For a privileged few some form of advanced education would be provided so that the young natives would come to appreciate "the superior character of (Italy's) methods and culture." Education in the colonies was to be an arm for the extension, aggrandizement and security of the Italian empire, and only incidentally for the benefit of the individual.

Accordingly separate schools were established in Eritrea not only for Italian children but for the different ethnic and religious groups, i.e., native Catholics, Moslems, Coptic Christians. This segregated approach was allegedly in the interests of the different groups but the true intent was, of course, political.

According to the report of the Minister of Colonies, Colosimo, made in February 1918 to the Italian parliament, there were four government schools for the children of Eritreans in the colony. These were an elementary school at Asmara, the School of St. George for Coptic Eritreans at Adi Ugri, St. Michael's School for Catholic Eritreans at Seganaity and the Salvago Raggi School for Moslems in Keren. By 1926 the Victor Emanual II School with boarding facilities was partially operational and by 1933 there were seven government schools for Eritreans located at Asmara, Massawa, Adi Ugri, Seganaity, Keren, Assab and Agordat.

After 1935 Eritrean education was reorganized and expanded. According to Andrea Festa's report, twenty-six schools were established within a few months during this time. However, in most instances they had no buildings of their own but operated in private homes, old buildings, tents and huts.[7] They were, perhaps, put up in a rush to impress the Eritreans and the outside world of the benefits to be derived from Italy's "civilizing mission." The education offered to the local people was elementary and circumscribed; there was not even a single secondary school established for the Eritrean people.

Entrance Requirements and Program of Study

Entrance requirements to government elementary or arts-and-crafts schools were simple. The child had merely to present himself, accompanied by a parent or guardian. Since the Eritreans were far from eager about the type of education intended for their children, competition for places was not fierce. Graduation from any of these schools gave the individual a good chance of securing menial government employment. The two years of supplementary schooling offered at Victor Emanuel II School were designed to buy the loyalty of the children, and through them their parents, to whom the Italians did not have direct ideological access. The pupils at this school were of "proven worth," a phrase, of course, used not to mean individuals of scholastic competence so much as obedient, loyal sycophants who accepted the political reality imposed upon them. Graduates of the school at Asmara served as government colonial clerks and teacher-assistants.[8] Employment opportunities were very restricted:

> Under Fascism, all trades and crafts were closed to Eritreans...The surplus of Italian labour was so great that Europeans were employed on stone breaking on the roads. The only occupations open to the Eritreans outside their own community were those of office messenger, porter, stevedore, house or outdoor servant, odd-job man, and of course soldier in the colonial forces.[9]

It was, in fact, illegal to employ an Eritrean without special written authorization from the governor.[10]

In addition to the four-year elementary and two-year arts-and-crafts schools, Eritrean youths could join various militaristic organizations where they donned uniforms and took part in flamboyant Fascist-style military parades. As an additional inducement free board and lodging were provided for members.[11] Theoretically it was possible for an Eritrean to attend middle school (grades 4 to 8), but in practice attendance at this type of school was negligible.[12]

There were, in addition, private and semiprivate schools in Eritrea maintained by different religious societies and local groups. These schools were legally under government supervision, so the program of study was under strict surveillance by the colonial authorities who had the right to close any school which dared to operate on "principles contrary to public order."[13]

Apparently the Fascist regime found that some of the private and religious organizations did not strictly adhere to the dogma of the day. In 1932 the Swedish and American Protestant missions were closed by order of the Italian government.[14] A member of the Swedish mission reportedly complained that, "in December, 1935, all its missionaries were expelled and the properties of the mission taken by the Italian Government for their own use."[15] This step brought education in Eritrea more closely under Fascist control than ever before.

The reason offered by the colonizing power for their limitation of educational opportunity included the varied character of the Eritrean population, consisting of Copts, Moslems, Catholics and Protestants all at different levels of civilization, the difficulty of securing teachers, the aversion of many Eritreans to manual trades and the religious antipathies among the population which created a fear of sending children to the same school as children of other religious beliefs.[16] The colonial authorities were not frank enough to admit that the root of the problem was a lack of confidence on the part of most Eritreans in the type of education provided by Italy. As De Marco observed: "The evidence is not clear cut whether or not natives were satisfied with the educational system in operation...The difficulty experienced by Italy in convincing natives of Eritrea that instruction in agriculture and in arts-and-crafts was the best type of training for them demonstrated that Eritreans as a whole would be slow to patronize Italian schools."[17]

Andrea Festa, administrator and director of elementary education in Eritrea, stated that the program of study followed in Eritrea had these aims: to make the native child a "conscious propagandist" of Italian civilization so that it might reach the parents through the child; to inform the native child about Italy's ancient and present glory, so that he might become a 'conscious militia man' under the Italian flag, and to give him a knowledge of hygiene, geography, and history. Festa added that experience had already shown that the schools run on these lines had already produced effective "soldiers of Italy."[18]

The objectives were to be achieved through the following program of study: Italian, one local language, general culture, carpentry, saddle making, target shooting, riding, and military exercises, as well as arithmetic, penmanship, moral and physical education and gardening. The 1921 decree provided a two-year finishing program for a few of the pupils, in which they could receive instruction in telegraphy and typography.[19]

Education for girls was even more limited, both in extent and substance. Enrollment of girls was very small; the program of studies consisted of the rudiments of hygiene, general culture, Italian and housekeeping.

The length of the school year in Eritrea in 1931 was eight and one-half months. Opening and closing times varied from the lowlands to the highlands. Children attended school for five hours three days a week, and for six hours on the two days when physical training was offered. Total attendance per week was twenty-seven hours.[20]

The enrollment pattern of government and private schools in 1930 is shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Student Enrollment in Eritrean Schools in 1930

Schools	Classes	Enrollment	Males	Females
Government:				
Elementary and Vocational Schools for natives	32	1,177	-	-
Private:				
Catholic	27	1,346	829	517
Swedish Protestant	34	840	565	275
Adventist	3	51	27	24
Total Private Enrollment	64	2,237	1,421	816

Kobes Jasperdean, "Modernization in Ethiopia, 1816-1906: Politics and Education" (M.A. Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1966), p. 38.

The Fascist government did not make any important changes in government colonial education in Eritrea until 1931. In that year the various schools in the colony were reorganized into elementary and arts-and-crafts schools. In 1932 a Central Office of Primary Education responsible for technical and disciplinary supervision was established along with final criteria for the schools. Until then many primary schools had been operated by various Roman Catholic orders on behalf of the government; by 1932, however, all these schools were entrusted exclusively to Catholic sisters. Under the new arrangement the schools were divided into three groups: four-year elementary schools, arts-and-crafts schools offering regular elementary instruction for four years and four years of practical instruction starting at the beginning of the third year of elementary school, and two-year complementary schools to integrate and complete the information already acquired in the four-year elementary school.[21]

Table 5

Fascist Education Scheme for Eritreans
(1932)[22]

Elementary Course	Combined Elementary Arts & Crafts Course	Arts & Crafts Course
1st. year		
2nd. year		
	3rd. year	
	4th. year	
		5th. year
		6th. year

After the Ethio-Italian War military chaplains, officers, blackshirts and soldiers as well as some local people served as assistant teachers under the supervision of qualified Italians. Priests and nuns continued to serve. The nature of the teaching load is shown by the fact that four thousand pupils were instructed by 97 teachers (26 Eritreans and 71 Italians, of whom 55 belonged to religious orders).[23]

Teachers in the colony were able to assume more importance than at home. They were regarded as sentinels of Italy's interests in the colonies and they were expected to impress Italian values upon the minds of the children.[24] Teachers were also responsible for school furnishings, which had to include portraits of the royal family and Il Duce, and for distributing food and school supplies to the pupils. Teacher's salaries in the colonies were equal to those in Italy (although not for the Eritrean assistant teachers), plus hardship allowances.[25]

Discriminatory Policies

While the facilities and curriculum for Italian children corresponded to those provided in Italy itself, only second-rate programs were provided for Eritreans. Emphasis was on military drill and elementary training. This policy was designed to use the schools for preascari training and to prevent the creation of an educated elite who would compete for jobs with the Italians already in the colony.[26]

Underlying these policies was racial discrimination. The Four Power Investigation Committee clearly stated that under the Italian govenment an adequate system of primary and secondary education for Italians existed in Eritrea; "curricula in these Italian schools were established in accordance with the instructions of the Ministry of Education in Rome." The report adds: "under the Italian Government the Italian schools were in practice not open to natives. Up to 1938, half-castes who had been recognized by their fathers were admitted to Italian schools, but after 1938 they were denied admission." In the "native" schools, according to reports made by Eritrean teachers, an average of only one out of five students remained in these schools until the end of the school year. A single textbook is believed to have been used for each class containing a certain amount of general knowledge. There was also instruction in hygiene and physical training. It appears that when war broke out instruction was given almost entirely in Italian in the state-operated schools. "No education higher than elementary was available for the native...."[27]

A British government report gave more details: "under the Italians, native education served a political purpose. All instruction in the government schools was given in Italian, and such mission schools as were not repressed in 1932 survived only by agreeing to limit their teaching of Tegrinya and Ge'ez to religious instruction. The textbooks...glorified the Duce on almost every page. Military service was lauded. Boys were encouraged to become little soldiers of the Duce, the Fascist salute was compulsory, and at the morning hoisting of the flag Italian songs were sung."[28]

This shallow political discrimination was repulsive enough to send some of the more gifted youths across the Mereb to highland Ethiopia and consequently some of them were sent abroad for further studies. Among those who served Ethiopia with distinction on their return were Blatengeta Lorenzo Taezae, Blatta Ephraim Medhin and Blatta Dawit Ogubagzy.[29]

Sylvia Pankhurst has pointed out, "Under the Italians Eritrea had been educationally a desert."[30] The Italian government did not share this view, and De Marco remarked that "Apparently the Italian Government was well satisfied with its educational program for natives."[31]

The occupation lasted from 1936 to 1941. "As soon as the Italians occupied Addis Ababa in 1936," observed a foreign writer recently, "the task of building the new Ethiopian government school system was stopped for seven years. Tafari Makonnen School...serves as a typical example of what happened to the existing schools. Since much of the equipment was destroyed it was forced to close. Later, the Italians opened it for their students under the name of the Royal Lyceum Victor Emanuel III...This period was a hiatus in the development of Ethiopian education."[32]

Lamenting the fate of education under the Fascist regime Sylvia Pankhurst noted: "During the Italian occupation the schools of Ethiopia were closed and all genuine education for the Ethiopian people terminated. School buildings were used for quartering of Italian troops and later for the training of Italian children."[33]

Indeed, genuine education for Ethiopians was wiped out by the aggressors during the tragic years of occupation. They also systematically exterminated the products of the schools. In 1946 the Ethiopian delegation to the peace conference in Paris noted "The educational system suffered a terrible setback as a result of the Italian occupation when every attempt was made by the aggressors to stamp out from the life of the country all educated and intellectual elements and the previously established system of education then on a firm footing."[34]

It was not lost upon the Fascist tyranny that educated minds are the best shield a country can have. On one pretext or another all the educated youngsters were hounded and murdered. Only a few managed to leave the country.[35] When a bomb attempt was made on the life of Marshal Graziani on February 19, 1937 a massacre of educated men and women was set off. The Fascist leader had gathered a large number of Addis Ababans to hear a speech. Someone in the crowd threw a crude home-made bomb at the podium, slightly wounding Graziani and a few others. For the next three days, any black in sight was shot, bayoneted or locked in a house and burned to death. At least three thousand Ethiopians perished. Educated men and women were hunted down and killed in cold blood and at least 125 are known to have met their deaths. These were people educated at great expense and sacrifice, by Ethiopia to modernize their country. Two hundred ninety-seven monks and 129 deacons of the Debre Libanos monastery were put to death in an orgy of merciless destruction. All in all during the years of occupation about seventy-five percent of those who had some modern education were wiped out.[36]

Giving a different set of figures Mosley noted: "Practically all students in the country who had ever been outside of Ethiopia, and at least half of those who had attained school certificate standard in Ethiopian schools, were executed...In one month the cream of Ethiopia's educated youth was destroyed. That year (1937) altogether 3,000 Ethiopians went before Italian firing squads." Speaking on the same tragic destruction Sylvia Pankhurst added that seventy-five percent of the young graduates were murdered, young people who were in the hopeful vanguards of the young intellectuals who were to be the administrators and technicians of modern Ethiopia."[37]

The fate of the educated Ethiopians was later lamented by Emperor Haile Selassie I: "As you all know, before Ethiopia was invaded by the enemy, we did all that could be done to advance education in spite of all the difficulties that had to be encountered. The products of our schools have been put to trial, both in peace time as in time of Ethiopia's calamity. At this moment let us remember all those who have been hunted and murdered by the enemy."[38]

Aims and Purposes of Fascist Education

Italian educational policy was an extension of Italy's objective for colonizing the country. Italy had invaded Ethiopia to find an outlet for her rapidly gowing population, to find a market for her manufactured goods, to obtain raw materials for industry and an adequate food supply for her metropolitan citizens, and to "civilize the Abyssinian natives." She was not interested in developing the potential of the Ethiopians, who, if given a chance would compete for the jobs reserved for Italians, and in the long run would agitate for independence. Education for the "natives" must be limited to very few people as much as possible, its curricula highly circumscribed and its duration shortened to the minimum time possible.

At this point some misapprehension about education in Ethiopia must be dispelled; it has been contended that Italy never had a chance to develop education in Ethiopia during her brief and insecure stay here. Our argument regarding this assertion is not concerned with the extent of education, but with policy. In fact, if Italy had stayed in Ethiopia longer than five years she would have done more damage through her dehumanizing policies and contemptuous attitude towards the African personality, her ignorance of Ethiopian psychology and lack of experience in colonial administration, as well as through a deliberate unwillingness to recognize facts and situations for what they were.

The excuses given by Fascist officials for the subjugation of Ethiopia were window-dressing. Mussolini asked an audience of mothers and widows of fallen soldiers what crime Italy was committing except "to carry civilization to backward countries, to construct schools and roads..." During the campaign Marshal Badoglio declared, "We shall construct school buildings, and, besides educating the natives and their sons we shall seek to carry prosperity everywhere." Viceroy Graziani, the man responsible for the massacre of February 1937, is reported to have said: "We shall open schools in order that the Ethiopian people may come out of its secular ignorance and go towards the light of truth."[39]

Colonial educational policy was actually designed to Italianize the Africans as much as possible, without over-educating them and creating misfits in a society designed for the Italians. The primary objective was to produce soldiers for Italy and to create a reserve of artisans, farm laborers, interpreters, typists, bookkeepers, radio operators, record keepers, assistant teachers, and junior clerks. The emphasis was on the training of military personnel and on the arts and crafts of traditional economic life in the communities.[40] The colonial schools were expected to teach respect for authority, obedience, and discipline.[41] Schools were used for indoctrination, to make the people accept their inferior status without letting them analyze their true conditions of life under the totalitarian regime. The policies of racism, discrimination and inequality were stated time and again by Mussolini and his subordinates.

In a 1938 official Italian publication, Ethiopia, Mussolini declared that racial consciousness had "a definite relation to the conquest of the Empire (Ethiopia), because it is necessary to realize that the Empire is conquered by the sword, but is held by prestige. To maintain prestige we must have a strict and clear racial consciousness, which will stabilise not only the difference of race but also our absolute superiority." These words of the Duce were followed by other articles expounding the racist policy of the Italian government. Pietro Badoglio, Marshal of Italy and Duke of Addis Ababa, added sycophantically, "To the solution of the racial problem expounded with unequivocal clarity by the Duce, the destiny of our Empire is united. The sooner the full application of the wise decision already made is realized, the sooner our prestige, already clearly affirmed by the power and glory of the army will be profoundly felt by all the innumerable people for whom we intend to develop an era of civilization and beneficence under the invincible sign of the king and the Roman Lictors. Prestige means Roman solidarity within the Empire." The editor of this publication, Giuseppe Fabbri, tried to substantiate Fascist policy with historical evidence by citing the "mistake" made by ancient Rome when she educated the native chiefs of Britain, who eventually brought about her downfall. Editor Fabbri argued:

> "To affirm the superiority of our race, and to join it to the idea of domination is the basis of life in Fascist Italy. Rome gave birth to the idea of the State, and bore in mind the essential need of Roman supremacy as a race and as a society. This is why our power, spiritual, political and military should and must for ever rid the Empire of other peoples weaker and inferior to us.
>
> "The tribute imposed on the conquered population is the incontestable sign of the law of the Victor over the vanquished. By this symbolic act the people, especially the primitive, will understand that they are subjects and in their every act they will be impelled to bow down before the conqueror. From the moment the master fails to exact tribute, he annuls in the subject people the recognition of this duty, and overthrows the prestige of the master, which is simultaneously wounded in three vital points: in the mind of the subject people, in that of our Italian colonists in the conquered country, and in that of the Italian people at home in the Fatherland.

"When Caesar showed himself tolerant when confronted by the fact that the British no longer paid tribute to Rome, Cicero rose up and defined as anti-imperial and ephemeral the conquest of Britain. It was indeed from that moment that dissolution of Roman domination over those people began.

"We abhor the invasion of the colonial office by officials who employ natives, because that constitutes a formidable danger. The mentality of the natives is spoilt; they believe themselves equal to us when they see themselves invested with functions we are accustomed to fulfil. Moreover the native masses tend always to admire this kind of aristocracy of their race; to foment this germ is to destroy our empire.

"The office and the administration should seem mysterious to the native, a place where white people stay as at the altar; the documents locked in the cupboards should have the odor of sacred papers which natives must not touch. It is when natives are put in contact with such instruments of civilization that they cease to be sensible of the difference between themselves and us. It initiates, in fact a gradual process of assimilation, which finally develops consequences grave, if not fatal to our supremacy, because in order to retain our natural race superiority and to preserve it from being undermined we must maintain our prestige.

"The employment of natives in the administration must not be resorted to even though they might be useful to us before we have created staffs of Italians who know the local language and the habits and customs of the subject people.

"When we have developed such fascist experts they will be the watchful vanguard of our prestige.

"Our expansion in Africa must have a totalitarian character, and one of racial integrity, it must not aim at disseminatory culture, as the illustrious magnates of Africanism, who poison the air with their literacy baggage, perniciously desire.

"When Agricola followed the policy of spreading culture in Britain, encouraging the chiefs to push forward and educating their sons according to the Roman custom, and putting them on a level with the Roman colonist, he betrayed Rome, and prepared the fall of the Empire.

"Mussolini's plan for soldier-citizen is, and will be, the most solid defence of the Empire. They must remain soldiers in spirit, and when need be, in action, farmers, professionals, industrialists, officials, merchants, artisans.

"This military spirit will instal in the natives the firm and absolute sense of being always, and in every field of daily activity, a subject people."[42]

Further insights into the intentions of the Fascists regarding education for Ethiopians are gained by reading some of the confidential letters of high officials in the government. One by General Gugliemo Nasi, governor of Harar, complained that education for the colonial people was progressing too fast and called for a curb. The confidential memorandum, dated 5 June 1938, advised:

"On my visits, and from this bulletin, I continue to notice that Commissions and Residents have above all an ambition to extend elementary education for natives, and to teach our language to as many children as possible.

"This is a fundamental political mistake that tends to put individuals out of their class who, solely because they possess a veneer of education, will refuse to work in the fields as we know by our own colonial experience and by that of other countries. They are attracted to the towns, ask for Government employment, compete with the nationals in trades that should be reserved to the latter, forming a class of discontented or, even worse, of rebellious people.

"As I have already said on other occasions we should reserve the strictly necessary education for the sons of chiefs and more important notabilities only, because these can later on succeed to the duties of their fathers, serve us as interpreters and hold modest positions in offices.

"However, while for obvious reasons we cannot altogether close the door of public education to the youth of the lower social classes, we can and we ought to close tightly the door to special courses, eg., those for interpreters; and in general we should avoid propaganda and, still worse, pressure on families to send their sons to the Italian schools.

"This principle, which can be absolute in the country, ought of course for obvious reasons to be subject to many exceptions in the larger towns (Harar and Dire Dawa).

"Also, with regard to native orphans it is a mistaken policy, for the same reasons as mentioned above, to establish orphanages, because there, in the end, you will always give them habits that do not belong to their race or their social class.

"Instead, these derelicts should be cared for by entrusting them to relatives, [illegible] at any rate to native families, who under our control and for a modest monthly sum can bring them up in the very surroundings in which they afterwards will have to live and work.

"It is superfluous to add that the present directive is of a very secret character, and should be applied without divulging the real motives."[43]

A year later, on October 26, 1939 the Governor-General of Italian East Africa, the Duke of Aosta reiterated the type of curriculum that should be offered to the Africans. Addressing his memorandum to the governors of the six regions into which Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somaliland were divided, and calling attention to previous policies on the subject, he demanded that the schools established for the people of East Africa should aim at training pupils in agriculture or crafts. The full text reads:

"At the last meeting of the Governors full assent was given to the principle determining the directions issued several times from this Government General, that the schools of all kinds established for the subject peoples of Italian East Africa ought above all to aim at this goal to train the pupils in the cultivation of the soil or to become qualified workers (not specialized) in order to create gradually native skilled craftsmanship for all fields of labour where, for reasons of climate, surroundings or race prestige, the use of Italian labour is not admissible or convenient and for the purpose of reducing the cost of labour and production in general by makng use of native labour.

"Consequently, it is important that the respective governors taking into account the special conditions of their own territories, the native attitude to work and the schools for colonial natives, assigning to each of them the specialization that will most easily lead to the goal indicated above.

"It is also understood that, with the exception of the schools for agricultural instruction, where the greater number will be the economic and social advantages derived from these schools, for all the other, vocational schools and the 'cultural schools' reserved for the sons of native notabilities, the number of students should be decided, year by year, with regard to the employment possibilities in the industries and local occupations that can be held out to the students leaving each school.

"However, it is considered that as an experiment and with the adaptations that each government finds suitable, the study programs that this Government General has arranged and sent for approval to each Government, should be adopted for the scholastic year 1939-40.

"To the training planned in those programs should be added gymnastic-military exercises, in the form and with the teaching staff that each Government judges most convenient.

"At the end of the school year, and in all cases not later than July 31st next year, the Governments are to send in a full report, in which should be set forth the possible modifications to be made in the program and proposals for the establishment of other types of schools, called for by the special demands of local industries.

"In that way the Government General will have all the details necessary for the final organization of the schools for colonial natives, which was applied as an experiment during the school year 1939-40 and will be submitted to the Ministry for definitive action."[44]

Italy's obsession with race supremacy bordered on paranoia, perhaps because the Italians themselves privately doubted the validity of such assertions and remembered that these people had on more than one occasion humiliated them on the battlefield. Fascist government talked loudly and often on the importance of the race question in the colonies, perhaps hoping to convince by repetition. On June 24, 1937 marriage between Ethiopians and Italians was made an indictable offense.[45]

Italian discrimination was not confined to schools or to marital relations. There was discrimination in employment opportunities and the use of public facilities including restaurants. One contemporary publication declared:

"Moreover, they are plaguing the people with a Decree which orders all Ethiopians leave the quarters which the Italians have occupied in the center of the towns and to move to the outskirts. If anyone desires to sell his house and land, he must get permission from the Italians, and even if permission is obtained, as the Italians are the sole buyers they only offer him a few lire. In this way they expropriate the people, and declare everything belongs to the Italians."[46] The writer went on:

"The Italians have forbidden the Ethiopians to work in the same houses, eat in the same hotels and walk on the same roads as themselves. No Ethiopian is allowed even to enter a restaurant where the Italians eat, much less to eat or drink there. If an Ethiopian enters a restaurant or hotel even by mistake, he is punished and if a hotel-keeper gives him anything to eat or drink, he also is punished. The authorities have placed Italian servants in all the places where Ethiopians used to work. Only Italians are allowed to drive cars or serve in hotels and restaurants; it is almost impossible for an Ethiopian to obtain work in his own country. No Ethiopian is allowed to travel in a car driven by a white man. If a coloured person asks a white chauffeur to stop his taxi so that he may hire it, he is punished for his impertinence."[47]

These racist policies were not new to the Italians. They had been enforced in Libya to a certain extent and more severely in Eritrea and Somaliland. After 1935 the call for strict racial segregation in schools, homes, public places and at work became more and more severe both in theory and practice.

Dual System of Education

As an extension of the theories of color supremacy of Fascism, dual systems of education were maintained in Ethiopia as well as in the other African colonies one for Italian children the other for the indigenous people. The schools for Italian were usually as well-equipped and well-staffed as those in metropolitan Italy. The teachers and textbooks, as well as programs of study for the subject people, were substandard, circumscribed, practically oriented and of short duration.

The local people were segregated even along religious and ethnic lines. The rationale for this action was that the people were composed of many ethnic, religious and linguistic groups, and children of different races and religions were instructed in separate schools. In Ethiopia proper separate schools were instituted for the Coptic Christians, the Moslems and the Galla groups. In these schools the local dialects were used as the medium of instruction. In Harar, Kaffa, Sidamo and Wollega, Arabic was taught in addition to the local dialects. The reason given for the inclusion of Arabic was "the fact that practically all the native trade of Ethiopia is in the hands of the Moslem members of the population."[48]

Italy had always tried by word and deed to exploit the supposed existence of religious and ethnic differences among the Ethiopians to her political advantage. The dual policy of education, behind whatever facade, was another means to increase tension among the people and to strengthen Italian political control over the country.[49]

Enrollment, Programs, Study and Textbooks

Complete enrollment data for the five-year period are lacking, but available figures show the following pattern. By 1937, as can be seen from the accompanying table, there were sixty-one schools and 5,057 pupils in the six administrative regions.[50]

It is interesting to note here that if the enrollment figures of Eritrea, which had been under Italian rule for nearly sixty years, are taken away we are left with only 1,460 pupils for the rest of Ethiopia, in sharp contrast to the four thousand enrolled students just before the invasion took place. When the type of instruction and the nature of the course are taken into account it can readily be seen how much education for Ethiopians had regressed in only three years.

As far as programs of study were concerned the Eritrean pattern of 1932 was followed in Ethiopia proper.

Table 6

Number of Schools and Enrollment in Italian Schools for Indigenous People in 1937

Region	No. of Schools	Enrollment
Government of Amhara	11	980
Eritrea	10	3597
Government of Galla and Sidama	32	1904
Government of Harar	4	323
Special Government of Addis Ababa	4	353
	61	5057

Children were taught to respect authority and to obey their teachers.[51] During all this time there was no single secondary school established for the indigenous people.[52]

Some of the textbooks used in Ethiopia had been used first in Libya and Eritrea. Others had been written especially for Ethiopian children.

Textbooks for Italian colonies were not fully developed until 1936. These textbooks were in the nature of "didactic aids adapted to the attitude and capacity of the natives" aimed at imbuing the native child with "patriotic devotion and love for Italy and her leaders." Thus the state textbooks aimed at Italianizing the indigenous people. Three primers produced in 1936 for the three grades for Libyan children contained such phrases as "I love Italy greatly; Long live Italy; Let us salute the beautiful Italian flag which is our flag!; Long live the Duce of Italy, Benito Mussolini; Italy does much for you: It ensures the person, properties and religion; Italy governs her colonies wisely...Italy is one of the greatest nations of Europe; It is rich and powerful..."[53] Then, printed in large type was the sentence, "Italy does not conquer colonies to exploit them or to oppress them but to give them the benefit of civilization."[54] Another sentence extolling the Duce read "Benito Mussolini, the Head of the Government and Leader of Italy, works without rest not only for the greatness of his country but also for the good of Italian Africa."[55]

The comment on the Italian flag read "All beautiful things, all great things, all good things have a sign which distinguishes them. The spring has flowers, our mosques have the minaret, Italy has the tricolor flag, green, white and red." The children were urged to love the flag and to salute it, raising their right hand towards it.[56]

Most of these phrases and concepts were later adopted in Eritrea, Somaliland and Ethiopia. Usually the vocabulary sections of the textbooks were written in either Italian and Arabic, Italian and Tigrinya, or Italian and Amharic, and the sections on reading are illustrated with photographs of Mussolini, the King of Italy, Marshal Badoglio and Marshal Graziani. One section on Somalia, according to Richard Pankhurst, declared: "All Italians and Somalis wish Benito Mussolini well because his wards are just, his hands are strong and his heart is large. The Duce founded the Empire of Ethiopia."[57]

The same primer referred to the Italian flag in these terms: "It is the symbol, the sacred and inviolable sign that unites all the minds and hearts of the Italians under the leadership of the King for the greatness of the Fatherland...This glorious flag is always victorious, because it represents 54 million people. We salute every morning and every evening the tricolor which represents our dear fatherland."[58]

The second year textbook was specially written for East African children and contained the usual slogans regarding Italy and the flag, extolling the leaders' virtues, amply illustrated with photographs. King Victor Emanuel was depicted as "very good, educated and wise." Mussolini was described as a scholar who studied many books when he was a schoolboy.[59]

The same primer also contained useful information about the sun, the moon, the planets, forests, trees, flowers, animals, insects, and a section on certain occupations, among them the farmer and the herdsman. There were other chapters on Italy and the Italian empire with photographs of ancient Rome and the modern Italian colonies, as well as references to modern Italy, described as rich, strong, and one of the greatest powers in Europe.[60]

Emphasis was laid on obedience and loyalty. "Be always obedient children," "love...your teachers who teach you to love Italy, the common mother."

"Oh children of Ethiopia, love the three colors of the Italian flag, because it is your flag, salute it, raising your right hand to it and promise to serve it with faithfulness and honour." The section on the fascio, symbol of fascism, declared "Oh children of Ethiopia, you must feel proud to belong to the great Italian nation and to work under the insignia of the lictors fascio."[61]

The third and final primer was the Libro della Terza classe produced for Libyan children but nevertheless used by children in East Africa. This textbook is reported to have been of a lower standard than that prepared for Italian children at the same level, and "subjects of academic interest were subordinated to fables, descriptions of Libyan life, and undisguised fascist propaganda illustrated as ever with photographs of the fascist hierarchy, the glories of ancient Rome, and scenes of the Italian colonial empire."

Again, the virtue of obedience to the Italian state was emphasized. The child was urged: "When you enter class in the morning child, salute your king. He is the supreme Head of the nation, the first citizen of Italy...Salute, child, the Victorious King, citizen and soldier, whenever you enter classes."[62]

The next chapter admonished the school children. "My little Mohamed, when you enter school, lift your purest heart to the majesty of the king soldier, and repeat the promise of your faithful love.

"To the Duce who watches you with his profound, immovable and scrutinizing eyes, you must say, raising the arm and stretching out the hand:

"If I cannot myself be a Balilla I will nevertheless always be at your orders..."

The Queen of Italy was "a true angel of goodness...She loves children much, succours the poor and comforts the unfortunate!"[63]

Since the children were nearing the time when they were to join the Italian army, a section in the primer praised the joys of serving Italy as a soldier.[64]

Despite all this emphasis on Italianization, one thing was purposely omitted from Italian history. On the orders of the Director of Elementary Schools, Adrea Festa, textbooks intended for indigenous children were to omit references to the political history of Italy in 1848 and to the revolutionary motives and ideas which came before and after that period. The clear instruction to the textbook production committee was that the African child "must know nothing of conspiracy and revolution."[65]

The Teachers

The Italian teacher in the colonies assumed an importance greater than the teacher at home. He was credited with performing "a valorous duty and with carrying out a high mission." He was not a teacher but the teacher. He knew the local language, but spoke Italian with the children unless it was strictly necessary to speak the local language. The teacher's duties did not end with the school day. He was always a "sentinel for himself and for others." He had made a habit of saying little and seeing much. He no longer exercised his "powers of sensibility and intelligence" only for himself; he was not motivated by personal ambition or advantage, and gave his all - thoughts, time and energy -to the task he was assigned. He was also expected to be "...penetrating the minds of colonial subjects and inculcating in them a love for their new Fatherland." Other qualifications included membership of the Fascist party and a knowledge of the "Fascist interpretation of education and of Fascist culture."[66]

From the above statements it appears that Fascist Italy desired its colonial teachers to "do more than impart formal education..."[67]

In the selection and presentation of teaching materials, textbooks and teachers, Fascist Italy attempted to produce young people who were willing to be programmed for the glory of the Italian empire.

Fascist Treatment of Religious Groups

During the Fascist period some education was provided for the various religious groups represented in Ethiopia, Catholics, Ethiopian Orthodox and Moslems. There was always a suspicion among non-Catholics that the Vatican would use the umbrella of the Fascist conquest to impose Roman Catholicism. An article written in England in 1935 declared:

> The Italians intend to maintain only two kinds of schools in Ethiopia, and these have already started working. The first type of school is for spreading Roman Catholicism, the second for teaching Ethiopian youth the duties of a Fascist soldier. It is not astonishing that the Roman Catholic priests should get permission to force their religion upon the people of Ethiopia, after having given their Church crosses and contributed money to the Italian treasury, in order that more arms and ammunition might be sent for the conquest of Ethiopia. It is not astonishing also that the Fascist schools have decided to ban all useful subjects from their curriculum and to bring up young Ethiopians as instruments of Fascism only. What is really astonishing is that in the twentieth century, the civilized nations of the world sit by unmoved while the Roman barbarians are exterminating an ancient Christian people in the name of civilization!"[68]

The same article went on to assert that the military expedition had the object of imposing heavy taxation upon the Ethiopian people as well as forcing the children to learn the Italian language and the Roman Catholic faith.[69]

Later in this chapter we will see that Fascism was not necessarily an advocate of Roman Catholicism. For political expediency, and as long as the Italian advocates of that religion were found useful, it was exploited to the fullest. During the early stages of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia a certain Monsignor Castellani, Archbishop of Rodi and Apostolic Visitor to Ethiopia, gave a lecture in the presence of church dignitaries in which he said "What are the results of the conquest of Ethiopia...In the missionary aspect there is now true freedom, great peace, a beautiful conquest. The Ethiopian people now elevates its eyes to heaven in the hope of a holy future. This was bound to come, for it had been predetermined by holy providence."[70]

These utterances by one man did not, of course, mean that all Italian Roman Catholics approved the conquest of Ethiopia. In fact, non-Italian Catholics were forced to leave Ethiopia by Fascism.

Dr. Trudeau, a French Canadian Jesuit, wrote: "During the Italian occupation, the government schools were closed; most of the Protestant mission schools were closed, some Catholic schools were kept open, but in most cases they suffered from a transfer from French or Canadian direction to full Italian control."[71]

In spite of initial toleration and even some encouragement, Mussolini's objective was to secure secular control of the schools. Since the Lateran Treaty of 1929, there had been very little cooperation between the Fascist leadership and the Vatican. Ethiopians who feared that Fascist conquest meant domination by Roman Catholicism were proved wrong. Even in Eritrea, conversions to the Roman Catholic faith had been negligible.[72]

Fear of the domination by the Roman faith in Ethiopia was evident. It served as an effective rallying point for resistance to Fascism. The influence of the Ethiopian clergy over the individual and the family was strong, and the church had easy access to the people. The New Times and Ethiopian News observed on January 30, 1937, "The Italians have made the great mistake of importing Roman Catholic missionaries from Rome. The Orthodox Church, seeing itself endangered, becomes the bitterest enemy of Italy. It takes an active part in the organization of collective sabotage and concerted attacks."[73]

According to the Italian constitution freedom of religion was guaranteed to all Italian subjects. This was not practiced in Ethiopia. Realizing that the church of Ethiopia was associated with the vanguard of resistance to the regime, the Italians tried to weaken it by various means. They tried to attract the support of the church by exerting pressure in favor of severance from the Alexandrian Church by playing Moslems off against Christians, and by creating divisions within the church itself. In 1940 the Italian government divided the country into twelve bishoprics, intending to make the church dependent on Viceroy.[74] To the dismay of the Fascist regime, however, none of these stratagems worked and the church continued its educational activities as it had done for fifteen centuries.

Italy's attitude to the Moslems was entirely different. From the beginning they had tried to champion the cause of Islam. This benevolence towards Islam stemmed from a desire to weaken the Christian position and to compensate for the damage Italy had done to her image in the eyes of her North African Moslem subjects.[75] She tried to act as a protector, built a number of mosques and repaired old ones around the country. To make sure that his actions would receive wide recognition Mussolini proclaimed in Tripoli in 1937, "Fascist Italy intends to guarantee to the Muslim peoples of Libya and Ethiopia peace, justice, prosperity, respect for the laws of the Prophet, and wishes moreover to manifest its sympathy with Islam and the Muslims of the entire world."[76]

Mussolini's government built schools and even higher institutions for Islamic studies in Harar and Kaffa. But the Ethiopian Moslems continued to teach their children in the way that they had been doing for several centuries.

Fascist Italy had officially claimed Ethiopia as part of her empire in May 1935 but on May 5, 1941 the green, yellow and red flag of Ethiopia fluttered again over Addis Ababa. Freedom was restored to the Ethiopian people at last. Ethiopia braced herself for the work of reconstruction.

During the five year period of occupation much damage was done to Ethiopian education. Material, spiritual and psychological havoc was visited on Ethiopia by the Fascist enemy. Ethiopia's delegate to the Paris Conference pointed out "By far the greatest loss, and the loss which will leave its mark longest, resulted from the cruel destruction of human values, the traitorous blow to our Christian civilization, which Ethiopia had preserved for over fifteen centuries and the deprivation of liberty and independence which she had maintained for a still longer period."

"It is impossible to describe the demoralizing effect upon her people of being hunted down and destroyed, day after day, year after year; of having the entire countryside sprayed from the air with poison gas, of witnessing the destruction of churches and their replacement by machine gun posts, of having their children impressed into organizations of Balilla to be taught a new Fascist civilization. These are injuries which are irreparable and cannot be compensated."[77]

Notes

1. A. H. M. Jones and Elizabeth Monroe, A History of Ethiopia (London:Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 175-192. Roland Reinald De Marco, The Italianization of African Natives: Government Native Education in the Italian Colonies, 1890-1937 (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943), pp. 12-15; Leonard Mosley, Haile Sellassie, The Conquering Lion (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 201-214.

2. De Marco, The Italianization of African Natives, pp. 16-17.

3. Ibid., p. 1.

4. Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia," Ethiopia Observer 6:3 (1962), pp. 225-226.

5. Kobes Jasperdean, "Modernization in Ethiopia, 1916-1966: Politics and Education," (M.A. Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1966), p. 43.

6. Ibid., p. 36.

7. De Marco, The Italianization of African Natives, pp. 46-47.

8. Ibid., p. 50.

9. British Government Publication, The First to be Freed, pp. 43-44, in Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education...," p. 287.

10. R. Pankhurst, "The Foundations of Education...," p. 287.

11. De Marco, The Italianization of African Natives, pp. 4, 50-51.

12. Jasperdean, "Modernization in Ethiopia: 1916-1966," pp. 37-38.

13. Ibid., p. 5.

14. R. Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education...," p. 286.

15. Ibid.

16. De Marco, The Italianization of African Natives, pp. 51-52.

17. Ibid., p. 59.

18. Ibid., p. 54. This set of objectives practiced in Eritrea was to be applied to education in Ethiopia proper following the 1935 Fascist invasion of the country.

19. Ibid., pp. 51-52.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid., p. 52.

22. De Marco, The Italianization of African Natives, p. 38.

23. Ibid., p. 58.

24. E. S. Pankhurst and R. Pankhurst, Ethiopia and Eritrea, The Last Phase of the Reunion Struggle 1941-1952 (Woodford Green:Lalibela House, 1953), pp. 229-230; Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education," p. 287.

25. R. Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education...," p. 287.

26. The First to be Freed, p. 33, in Richard Pankhurst, Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800-1935 (Addis Ababa: Haile Selassie I University Press, 1968), p. 685.

27. Sylvia Pankhurst, Ethiopia, A Cultural History (London: Lalibela House, 1955), pp. 694-695.

28. Ibid., p. 691.

29. De Marco, The Italianization of African Natives, p. 58.

30. Jasperdean, "Modernization in Ethiopia...," p. 43.

31. S. Pankhurst, Ethiopia, A Cultural History, p. 548; Maaza Bekele, "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia: Its Foundations, Its Development, Its Future, With Emphasis on Primary Education," (Doctoral Project, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1966), p. 65.

32. Pankhurst and Pankhurst, Ethiopia and Eritrea, p. 302.

33. Maaza Bekele, "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia...," pp. 542-548.

34. Ethiopia, Ministry of Justice, Documents on Italian War Crimes, (1949); R. Pankhurst, "The Foundation of Education...," pp. 274-275; Ethiopia Observer, (1959), p. 356.

35. Leonard Mosley, Haile Selassie, The Conquering Lion (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1965), p. 229.

36. S. Pankhurst, Ethiopia, A Cultural History, p. 548.

37. Margery Perham, The Government of Ethiopia, 2nd ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), p. 260.

38. De Marco, The Italianization of African Natives, p. 8.

39. Ibid., pp. 21-22.

40. Ibid., p. 20. This emphasis on obedience, respect to authority and to the property of others, etc., of course did not originate in Fascist Italy. The French, Belgians and to some extent the British and the Dutch insisted upon it in their respective colonies.

41. Quoted in Sylvia Pankhurst, Ethiopia, A Cultural History, pp. 692-693.

42. Ethiopia Ministry of Justice, Documents on Italian War Crimes, Vol. I (1949), p. 30.

43. Ibid., p. 31.

44. Jones and Monroe, A History of Ethiopia, p. 191.

45. Extract taken from "New Times and Ethiopian News," quoted in Ethiopia Observer 3:11 (1959):346.

46. Ibid., p. 348.

47. Ferdinando Quaranto, Ethiopia: An Empire in the Making (London: P.S. King and Sons Limited, 1939), pp. 9-10, 11-12; Jasperdean, "Modernization in Ethiopia...," p. 37.

48. Kobes Jasperdean, "Modernization in Ethiopia...," p. 37.

49. Ferdinando Quaranto, Ethiopia: An Empire in the Making, pp. 10-12, gives different set of figures and Sylvia Pankhurst, Ethiopia, A Cultural History, p. 694 gives a third set of different data for both number of schools as well as enrollment. Perhaps the differences arise from either using different sources or figures for different years. But since the two authors do not acknowledge dependable sources, the ones by De Marco are used.

50. De Marco, The Italianization of African Natives, p. 54.

51. R. Pankhurst, "The Foundations of Education...," p. 286.

52. De Marco, The Italianization of African Natives, p. 36.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., p. 37.

55. Ibid., p. 39.

56. Richard Pankhurst, "The Textbooks of Italian Colonial Africa," Ethiopia Observer 11:4 (1967):330.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid., pp. 330-331.

60. Ibid., p. 331. The symbol of the lictor fascio, or symbol of fascism, was described to school children as a "bundle formed by a group of rods and an ax bound together by a riband of leather. The united rods signify harmony; the ax indicates force. The Duce has chosen the Fascio littorio as the sign of Fascism in order to remind Italians that they must be comfortable, love the fatherland and defend it, in case of danger, with all of their power. You, also, oh children...should be proud to belong to the great Italian nation and to work under the banner of the Fascio littorio." De Marco, The Italianization of African Natives, p. 37.

61. R. Pankhurst, "The Textbooks of Italian Colonial Africa," p. 331.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid., pp. 331-332.

64. De Marco, *The Italianization of African Natives*, p. 34.

65. Ibid., pp. 83-84.

66. Ibid., p. 84.

67. *New Times and Ethiopian News*, 30 January 1937; republished in *Ethiopia Observer 3:11 (1959):346.*

68. *New Times and Ethiopian News*, 6 February 1937; republished in *Ethiopia Observer*, *3:11 (1959):347*.

69. Ibid. 31 February 1937, From *Observatore Romana*, an Italian Publication, Reissued in *Ethiopia Observer*, 3:11 *(1959):345-350.*

70. Edward Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), p. 6.

71. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, pp. 122-123.

72. Republished in *Ethiopia Observer*, 3:11 (1959):347.

73. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, pp. 124-125; Christopher Clapham, *Haile Sellassie's Government* (New York: Fredrick A. Praeger Publishers, 1969), p. 82; J. Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 137.

74. Christine Sandford, *Ethiopia Under Haile Sellassie* (London: J. M. Bent and Sons Limited, 1946), pp. 95-96.

75. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, p. 137.

76. Address by Blatta Ephrem Medhen, chief delegate to the conference, quoted in Sylvia Pankhurst, *Ethiopia, A Cultural History*, p. 549.

Chapter V

ADMINISTRATIVE & POLITICAL FRAMEWORK OF POST-WAR PERIOD

The development of education during the post-war period in Ethiopia was a function of the political and administrative framework. A study of the period must consider the development of the country's political and social institutions and how they provided a basis for orderly progress.

The Traditional Government

The Monarchy

The first chapter related how the monarchy acted for three thousand years as a unifying pivot around which events tended to revolve. Ever since her inception as a nation Ethiopia has been deeply influenced by the personalities of her kings and emperors. This has been especially true since the middle of the nineteenth century. The rulers of Ethiopia have been central figures, upon them questions of war and peace, international diplomacy and national unity depended.[1]

Blattengetta Maheteme-Sellassie asserts that: "The Ethiopian Emperor has an uncontested and boundless power over the territory he rules. He is both the temporal and the spiritual ruler. With the supreme sovereignty vested in him, he appoints or dismisses government officials, he gives gifts or refuses to give them, he imprisons and releases, he sentences criminals to death or punishes them and does many other things of a similar nature.

"The people consider the Emperor as the representative of God on earth and obey his laws and orders happily. I do not think that a monarch is so much loved and so much revered in any other part of the world as in Ethiopia. The monarch's very name is awesome. There is no Ethiopian who will not keep an appointment or a promise after he has promised to do so upon oath saying 'let the king die'. Even in a marriage contract, which is considered an honorable affair the last binding word of oath is 'let the king die!' In Ethiopia the orders of the Emperor are very much feared. Thus there is a saying in Ethiopia that if you entreat it to stop in the king's name even flowing water will stop, let alone a man. (This saying in effect expresses the great reverence and obedience the people have towards the Ethiopian monarch.)[2]

On their part the Emperors had to fulfill certain obligations to exact this universal obedience and respect. In other words behind this allegiance lay a contract between the monarch and the people. The Fetha Negast, the legal basis of the contract states that:

"The king you appoint must be one of your brethren. It is not proper for you to appoint over yourself an alien and infidel...And when he sits on the throne of his kingdom, some priests shall write for him the Divine Book, so that he may keep it by his side and read it through his life, in order to learn the fear of God his Creator, to observe his commandments, and to practice them, lest his heart become proud (and feel contempt) for his brethren."[3]

The obligations of the citizens to the king were enunciated thus:

"Everyone of you must be submissive to the authority of your ruler, since a ruler is appointed only by God. And God has appointed all these rulers and given them authority; one who opposes the ruler and rebels against him, rebels against the ordinance of God, his

Creator. Those who rebel against the rulers secure their condemnation...therefore, we must be submissive to him not only for fear of his (the king's) anger, but also in our conscience. It is for this same reason that we give tribute since one who is appointed to keep (public) affairs orderly is God's minister and one who does his will. Give every man his due; tribute, if it be tribute; fear, if it be fear; honor, if it be honor; tithes, if be tithes."[4]

The exhortation continues: "For the spiritual and corporal benefits which we derive from the ruler, let us give him tribute and presents in payment for them. This tribute is meant to provide the judges with necessities which they are in need of, since they put aside their own interest and care for the public welfare. Do not say that he has transgressed the law but consider the order obtained by the law. There is no peace if an authority is not constituted; instead, because of the lack of authority, there is great confusion and lack of peace, which leads to the loss of life and existence."[5]

These contractual obligations between monarch and people endured through the centuries and even in the Revised Constitution of 1955 they were binding. As Paul and Clapham pointed out, commenting on the Constitution: "...only the Emperor and the people are, under the Constitution, 'self-sufficient' sources of political power. The establishment of the other elements and institutions of the state is ultimately dependent under one or the other, or both of them."[6]

Ethiopians have always believed in the historical veracity of the dynasty which began with Solomon, son of David. Through the union of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, Queen of Ethiopia, Menelik I of Ethiopia was born. This line continued until the tenth century when the imperial power was usurped by outsiders. In 1270 the Solomonic Dynasty was restored, and again, after some interruption, in 1889 in the person of Menelik II. It has remained in power ever since.[7] In one form or another, the formula "the Lion of the Tribe of Judah has conquered, the Elect of God, King of the Kings of Ethiopia" has always been used in connection with the monarch. It was belief in the legitimacy of the dynasty coupled with their real merits that gave the Ethiopian monarchs respect and obedience. It would be hard to exaggerate the importance of this belief. As a result usurpers were often haunted by a consciousness of the weakness of their position. The rebellions which troubled rulers like Tewodros II were largely due to the unconstitutional nature of their position as emperor. Recognizing the legitimacy of the Solomonic Dynasty, the Constitution of 1931 asserts that, "the royal line descends without interruption from the dynasty of Menelik I, son of King Solomon of Jerusalem and the Queen of Ethiopia, known as the Queen of Sheba."[8] The Revised Constitution of 1955 reasserts the claim.[9]

However, imperial power was frequently challenged by individuals and under these circumstances had to be maintained through personal strength and an effective army. Perham has commented extensively on the contradictions of power and the lack of developed administrative institutions:

"The student who searches the records of Ethiopia for a definition of the Emperor's powers will be bewildered by the striking contradictions he will find upon this subject, from the earliest until the latest days. On the one hand he will read in the extremest terms that the Emperor is an absolute king; a few pages later he will come across striking proofs of the limitations of his power. In the seventeenth century we are told by Tellez, whose story is full of rebellions and civil wars, that all Ethiopians call themselves the Emperor's slaves, and that he is 'absolute lord of all the lands within his dominions.' 'The power of the Abyssinian kings is absolute, as well in ecclesiastical as in civil affairs,' says Ludolphus, writing in the same troubled century. A hundred years or more later, Bruce, after several years in the country, lays down, 'The Kings of Abyssinia are above all laws. They are supreme in all causes, ecclesiastical and civil; the land and persons of all their subjects are equally their property and every inhabitant of the kingdom is born their slave.' Yet, Bruce's picture of the king he knew is his weakness before the power of a great ras and the rebellions of the people. The same contradiction strikes us in the next century when Plowden asserts that all but the Abuna are the servants of the ruler, but elsewhere admits that the country is falling into decline from government by one absolute sovereign into subdivisions of small tribes. To take our last example from this century, an official British report of 1906 states that Menelik is an absolute despot and a few paragraphs later remarks that his power does not extend twenty miles beyond his palace; while elsewhere we read that travellers carrying Menelik's passport were refused entry into Gojam."[10]

It is surprising that the Ethiopian monarchy, unlike its medieval counterparts in France or Britain, failed to develop an administrative framework through which it could exercise its absolute powers. This failure may have been due to the fact that the Ethiopian monarchy was rooted in different soil from western Europe. The person of the monarch was in earlier centuries sacred and untouchable. Later there was some relaxation of the emperor's sacred seclusion; although he spoke to no man in public, he was seen by a few."[11]

Another reason for constitutional stagnation was the material backwardness of the people in industry, trade, finance, military organization, and building. This last deficiency prevented the growth of a central government; there were no court-houses, councils, treasuries or archives. Except for the Gondar period, from the decline of Aksum until the 1890's the country never had a true capital.[12]

The geographical and topographical nature of the country was another obstacle to the development of centralized institutions. Its high mountains and deep valleys, and heavy annual rainfall made communication impossible for most of the year.[13] Therefore, "we have to consider a monarch theoretically absolute, made triply sacred by the religious majesty of the Solomonic Legend, by the even older sanctions of the divine kingship, and by its Christian leadership, and yet lacking nearly all those continuous and visible institutions by which absolute power has in most countries been expressed in administrative control. We have records which show how slight at most times was the royal power over the constituted kingdoms and provinces of the realm and how frequent were the periods of disorder, rebellion and civil war. Yet his kingship over kings showed itself immensely enduring: it was never wholly rejected either in theory or in fact. The power of the monarchy may be visualized as a magnificent and lofty throne which was always standing ready for the dynasty who had military power and ability to climb into it. The religious character of the throne insured that it would never be pulled down by so religious a people as the Ethiopians, and whenever a ruler was able as many were, to mount all the steps that led to the seat of power he would find no theoretical limits to its exercise."[14] Nor would the ruler find the church or the nobility insurmountable obstacles to the attainment of full power. The king was the head of the church and the Abuna was almost always his subordinate. With no hereditary nobility, individuals had to contract an agreement with the king.[15] Perham summarizes: "Ethiopian history shows clearly what were the steps that led up to the height of the throne. The first was undoubtedly military power, especially since, by the doctrine of the monarchy about the end of the seventh century, divine right or *de facto* power had equally to be asserted by force by those who wished to bear the rather ominous title of kings...in the last hundred years all Ethiopian rulers have had to fight for their thrones, and...they based their power upon the solid foundation of a principality and a loyal army of their wider authority with the help of diplomacy, dynastic marriages and other buttresses. This fact is true of the present Emperor, and further light will be thrown upon the character of the imperial power if we review the steps taken by Haile Sellassie to obtain and to secure it."[16]

The emperor combined the legislative, executive and judicial functions in his person. He could delegate any or all of these functions to any individual or group at any time. However, delegation of powers was minimal; the emperor's subordinates feared that they would be suspected of usurpation of the imperial power. Perham puts it clearly: "It is specially relevant...to remark that the Ethiopians have their own special attitude in this matter of delegation of responsibility. They have profound reverence for their great man, above all for their monarch, and to them it is a diminution of that greatness for subordinates to take decisions and perform actions which seem to belong to their superiors. The superior, on his side believes that in delegating he is lowering his status in the eyes of his subordinates. This deep seated feeling will not easily be changed, though it clearly strikes at the western concept of democracy and of administrative devolution, both of which Ethiopia is formally adopting."[17]

The Nobility and the High Clergy

In Ethiopia there were two "estates" under the emperor; the Makuwannent (nobility) and the Kahenat (clergy). These groups acted as mediators between emperor and people and between God and people. The term Makuwannent referred to all secular dignitaries between the emperor and the rich peasantry. The nobility may be divided into two, the princes (mesafint) and the local gentry or balabat. As long as members of the royal nobility did not contest the throne, for which they would be banished to the high mountains, they could hold provincial governorships and play important roles in court politics and provincial administration.

The balabat on the other hand made their mark on a local level, although some of them might be brought to the court as high dignitaries or provincial governors. The ideal governor was at once an administrator a soldier and a courtier. A member of the makuwannent who became a provincial governor was a very important person. If war broke out, as it often did, he led his own troops, at his own expense, in support of the emperor or to defend his own regional interests. in peace time he might be permitted to linger at ,the court of the king or overlord, eating, drinking and acquainting himself with his peers and other court personalities.

The Ethiopian noble normally possessed plenty of land, but this in itself was no guarantee of tenure. He had to attract and retain royal favor. One Ethiopian has observed: "...the Abyssinian noble was directly dependent on his king (or, in the case of a lesser noble, on his lord). His dependence was two-fold: land, political office and titles came to him as gifts from the sovereign's and what is more, their continued possession was contingent on the sovereigns continuing favor. Abyssinian 'vassals', had no legal rights to their benefices, and land granted them could be withdrawn and given to others as the emperor wished. At the death of a feudal beneficiary his lands reverted to the Crown unless specifically reconveyed to the heir by royal proclamation. Political office was no less precarious. Governors were made and unmade--by the traditional process known as shum-shir ('appoint-demote')--in short periods of time...Even when tradition assigned a certain post to the descendants of a certain lord, the emperors were able to exert control by shifting favors from one descendant to another from year to year. Titles, unlike land or office, were granted for life, as we observed; but they were in no case hereditary, and thus every Abyssinian's hope for a title, let alone a rise in rank, depended on the grace of the king or of his major appointees.

"Given these conditions, it was not possible for the nobility to become a closed, hereditary estate, or to develop a corporate identity capable of confronting the imperial will. On the contrary, thanks to the emperor's freedom to ennoble anyone he chose, there was a relatively high degree of social mobility, and the ranks of the upper strata were continuously being reshuffled."[18]

The nobility was, then, created by the emperor in power and it played an important role in war and peace. The executive, military and judicial powers were, at a local level, incorporated in their hands as they were in the emperor's at national level.

The Church

"Constitutionally, church and state were one. The Emperor was the unchallenged head of the church, and the fortunes of the Solomonic dynasty were interwoven by historical associations and mutual interests with those of the church. Emperor and church, working together as senior and junior partners, provided the unifying elements which continually countered the centrifugal forces of geography, tribalism and aristocracy."[19]

In the earliest time the church was a unifying factor. People, emperor and church worked together. No emperor has denied his allegiance to the established church and survived for long: the few who attempted it were dethroned, killed or banished. The church in return assumed an important role, serving as the custodian of Ethiopian culture and until the present century as the only agency for education in the country.

The church until recently was headed by a Coptic Egyptian from the monastary of Saint Anthony appointed by the patriarch of Alexandria and known as Abuna. Under the archbishop was the Etchege, or Ethiopian administrative head of the church. The patriarch was appointed at the request of the emperor, who paid a large fee to the Egyptian Moslem government for the privilege. The arrangement presented great difficulties, and at times there was no resident Abuna. Some twenty years ago an Ethiopian metropolitan was annointed for the first time.[20]

Traditional Officials

In addition to the Mekuwannent and Kahenat there were other government officials with broad but important responsibilities. As Blattengetta Mahteme-Sellassie points out: "there were four high government officials working in four different departments who used to act as a link between the government and the people. This excludes the provincial governors.

1. Yettot Abegaz (Commander-in Chief of the Army)

2. Afa-Negus. He hears all appeals, and gives a final judgment in the name of the Emperor, except for a sentence of death

3. Tsehafe Tezaz. He is the loyal keeper of the Great Seal of the Emperor, and communicates all orders from the Emperor

4. Ligaba. He communicates any written or oral orders either directly from the Emperor or from the Tsehafe Tezaz. It is he who admits people to see the Emperor, or refuses to let them see the Emperor. He also settles disputes between soldiers being the deputy of the Yettor Abegaz. It is he who orders government affairs to be executed.

Apart from the four high officials, there were also other officials with authority, although they were responsible to the person put above them."[21]

The Emergence of Modern Government 1855-1935

For almost a century, until 1855, the central power of the country was weakened to the vanishing point. During the "Era of the Princes" (Zemene-Mesafint) each strong local chieftain asserted himself and became the king of his own region. National interest was subordinated to local warlords.

One of the first acts of Tewodros II was to eliminate the local chiefs and to concentrate it in his own hands, reaffirming the power of the crown. He laid the foundations of a modern organization of the imperial authority. Tewodros created a regular appointments system for public servants and functionaries, directly dependent upon the central power. Many governors and subgovernors of provinces and subprovinces were appointed. These people were created by the emperor and were replaceable at his pleasure.

To preserve public order and territorial integrity a policy service was initiated. The police had the duty of making the roads safe, ensuring the observance of imperial proclamations and protecting merchants and caravans. Some attempts were also made to regulate the administration of justice. For the defense of the empire Tewodros proposed to establish a regular army, and he thought of sending the most intelligent young people to Europe to be trained in the military sciences.[22]

Tewodros's program of centralization and consolidation met with stiff resistance from the local nobility and the church leadership. When he had achieved temporary success with the centralization program, however, he turned his attention to social welfare and progress. Adopting the motto "turn the swords and the spears into ploughs" he issued an edict the purpose of which was to encourage people to return to agriculture, handicrafts and trade. He built roads connecting important centers in Gondar, Gojam and Magdala.[23]

Although his actual achievements were insignificant, Tewodros created for the first time an awareness that social welfare and progress were a function of the state. Tewodros's main achievement was in the area of public administration. One scholar has written: "The main achievement of Tewodros was his having began the constitution of a provincial hierarchy in perfect subordination to the central power. By this the objective of consolidating the unity of an administrative direction was attempted. And so also was laid down the basis of one of the most important principles in the framework of Public Administration, namely the principal of hierarchy understood as subordination of inferior authority to the superior one. And this is very remarkable if one considers that both the concept of unity of administrative direction and the principles of hierarchy were forgotten and set aside for almost a century, due to the influence of the Mesafint."[24]

The task of displacing the great feudal chiefs proved to be an arduous one. Tewodros's high hopes were shattered by the power of regional chiefs and by clerical disaffection. The national unity which he so ardently sought and attained did not survive to the end of his reign.

Emperor Yohannes (1871-1889) sought national unity in his own way by attempting to impose it through religious conformity. He did not have much time and energy for internal reform as he was fighting against Egyptian, Mahdist and European encroachments.[25]

Menelik II, a wise and courageous monarch, picked up and pursued the policies of Emperor Tewodros. He unified the country, expanded the borders, and initiated a modern system of centralized government for Ethiopia.

"The centralization of power and the political cohesion of the Empire, begun during the period of Tewodros, was fully attained in the period of Menelik II. Administrative reforms initiated by Tewodros were continued by the latter. The ancient administrative division of the Emprie, crystallized by time during the rule of the autonomous chiefs, was changed by a new division and the Empire was divided into Awraja Ghizat (provinces), and these in turn were sub-divided into Wereda Ghizat (subprovinces). As Governors of provinces and subprovinces, persons qualified and apt for administration were regularly appointed; for the districts, the towns and the villages, Meslenie and Shum were appointed.* A new organization was devised for the administration of justice. The empire was divided into six judiciary districts and twelve womber (judges of appeal), two for each district were constituted."[26]

The Development of Government Institutions 1908-1935

In the process of centralization and modernization the powers of the traditional nobility and the church continued to decline in direct proportion to the rise of imperial power. At the same time state administrative responsibilities were becoming increasingly complex. Menelik, a master of statecraft, had been in power for nearly forty years and was getting old; he therefore devised additional modern institutions of government.

Meneklik II had decided all questions of state, assisted by advisers and assistants such as the Abegaz (Commander of the Army) and the Afe-Negus (Chief Justice). In 1908 he created the first ministerial framework in the history of Ethiopia. The first ministries and ministers are given in Table 7.

Initially the ministers worked collectively in council rather than individually with the Minister of Pen as secretary and the Minister of Justice as chairman. However, after the passage of a series of decrees, the powers and duties of each ministry were defined and specified: "the introduction of the ministerial system was a most remarkable innovation, and at the same time it indicated a decisive turn in the history of the administrative organization of the Empire. Overcoming traditional systems, a new structure of central administrative organization comparable to that of other countries had been initiated."[27]

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*In a Decree in 1946 the Awraja Ghizat became Teklay Ghizat; the Woreda Ghizat became Awraja Ghizat; the Meslenie became Woreda Ghizat. Each Woreda was further divided into Mekul Woreda.

Table 7
List of First Ministries and Ministers

	Ministry	Ministers
1.	Ministry of Justice	*Afe-Negus* Nesibu
2.	Ministry of War	*Fitawrari* Habte-Giorgis
3.	Ministry of Pen	*Tsehafe-Tezaz* Gebre Sellassie
4.	Ministry of Interior	*Lique-Mekwas* Ketema
5.	Ministry of Finance	*Bejirowna* Mulugeta
6.	Ministry of Commerce and Foreign Affairs	*Negadras* Haile Georgis
7.	Ministry of Agriculture and Industry	*Kentiba Wolde* Tsadik
8.	Ministry of Palace	*Azaz* Metaferia
9.	Ministry of Public Works	*Kegnazmach* Makonnen Tewond Belay
10.	Ministry of Post, Telegraph and Telephone	*Lij* Beyene Yimer*
11.	Ministry of Education	Melake-Tsehai Esdros**

Source: Mahteme-Sellassie, *Zekre Neger*, 1962 E.C., pp. 53-54.

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*This Ministry was added later in 1911.

**The Ministry of Education was established later during *Lij* Eyasu's reign. It is suggested that when Menelik tried to create a Ministry of Education the then head of the church had opposed him on the grounds that it was the church's function to operate education.

Social and Economic Progress

The reforming zeal of Menelik II extended beyond the reorganization of the administrative machinery into social and economic change. Roads were built for trade and administration. In 1884 a French company began to build a railway between Djibouti and Addis Ababa. Gradually a network of roads spread from Addis Ababa to other centers. *Blattengetta* Mahteme-Sellassie states that by 1935 there were not less than 6,326 kilometers of road in Ethiopia.[28]

In 1889 a telephone and telegraph service was initiated and a postal system was also introduced. Later Ethiopia became a member of the International Postal Union.

Another innovation was the introduction of a public health service. Measures were taken to control contagious diseases like smallpox and public health centers were established in Addis Ababa. A Council of Health was established, presided over by the emperor himself.

Plans were laid for the development of agriculture and for internal and external commerce. Commercial treaties were signed with some European governments. The Maria Theresa dollar was replaced by one bearing the head of the emperor. Small factories producing cartridges, soap, carpets, and so on were established with governmental encouragement.[29]

These innovations were rudimentary because of the relative backwardness of the country,[30] but a beginning was made. "It is only fair to say that he had ambitions to bring his people some distance...along the road to the twentieth century, and had he kept his health great changes might well have come about during his reign."[31]

Menelik had lost his loyal supporter, the general and statesman Ras Makonnen, Governor of Hararghie Province. In 1909, having no surviving son, he proclaimed his daughter's son *Lij* Yasu his heir with an impassioned plea to the nobles for their support and loyalty. *Ras* Tesema, a trusted general, was made regent for the young prince. Fierce intrigues broke out between Empress Taitu and leading members of the nobility. *Ras* Tesema, despite his experience of court intrigues, was not able to put a check on the aspirants.[32]

Unfortunately *Ras* Tesema died in 1911 and the youthful *Lij* Yasu, barely fifteen years old, was left to his own devices. His courtiers were mainly interested in exploiting his youthful follies for their own ends.

Before long *Lij* Yasu became completely unacceptable to the Ethiopian nobles. At Maskal in September 1916 the Shoan notables brought formal charges against Yasu and declared Menelik's daughter, *Woizero* Zewditu, who had been banished by her nephew, empress of Ethiopia. *Ras* Tafari Makonnen, who would later become Emperor Haile Selassie I, was declared prince regent to the throne.[33] *Lij* Yasu had never been crowned emperor and had only ruled for three restive years.

During the reign of Empress Zewditu, the regency of *Ras* Tafari, (*Negus* after 1928), a number of progressive steps were taken to unify the country and to improve relations with the outside world. Slavery was suppressed, more schools and hospitals were established, Ethiopia joined the League of Nations in 1923 and military power was consolidated in the person of the regent.

On the death of the empress the prince regent ascended the throne as Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia. The name of the emperor has ever since been synonymous with that of Ethiopia. The modernization that was initiated by Tewodros, continued by Menelik and interrupted by Yasu, was reactivated and expanded during the reign of emperor Haile Selassie I.

The Constitution of 1931

In his autobiography, Haile Selassie I reveals that during the reign of Empress Zewditu, while he was prince regent, he had thought of drawing up a constitution for Ethiopia and had suggested it to the empress. But some countries thought they would lose their privileges under such a constitution and persuaded the empress to oppose the idea. However, when the time was ripe the constitution appeared:

Decree

"We, Haile Sellassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, having been called to the Empire by the Grace of God and by the unanimous voice of the people, and having received the Crown and the Throne legitimately by appointment according to law, are convinced that there is no better way of manifesting the gratitude which we owe to our Creator, Who had chosen Us and granted Us His confidence, than to render Ourselves worthy of it by making every effort so that he who comes after us may be invested with the confidence and may work in conformity with the laws accordingly to the principles established.

"Having in view the prosperity of the country, We have decided to draw up a Constitution which safeguards such prosperity based on the laws and We have the hope that this Constitution will be a source of well-being for Ethiopia, that it will contribute to the maintenance of Our Government and to the happiness and prosperity of Our well-beloved people, and that it will give satisfaction to all. Having expressed and made clear Our will, We have accordingly decided to grant this Constitution.

"The Constitution which is to serve as the basis, in the future, for the maintenance of the Ethiopian Government and of the laws which are based on it and the means of applying such laws once resolved on, will itself set forth the necessity of the measures suitable for ensuring its maintenance in order that this Constitution of Our States remain perpetual and immutable.

"Since our accession to the Imperial Throne of Ethiopia, having received from the hands of God a high mission for the accomplishment of this destiny, we consider that it is Our duty to decree and enforce all the measures necessary for the maintenance of Our Government, for increasing the well-being of our people and aiding their progress on the road to happiness and the civilization attained by independent and cultured nations.

"We consider that the way to achieve this aim lies in the elaboration of the present Consitituion, which will facilitate Government Action while assuring the happiness of the people who will, in addition, derive from it honour which will not fail to be reflected on future generations and will permit the Empire to enjoy the inestimable benefits of peace. and security.

"Animated by this noble desire, and in order to enable Our State and Our people to obtain a high place in history, We have, after Our elevation to the Imperial throne, and in the second year of Our Reign, in the year of Grace 1923 (A.D. 1931), unasked and of Our own free will, decreed the present state Constitution."[34]

The Constitution proper consisted of seven chapters and fifty-five articles. The constitution dealt with the power and prerogatives of the Emperor, the rights recognized by the emperor as belonging to the nation, and the duties incumbent on the nation, the two deliberative chambers of the empire, the duties, powers and responsibilities of the ministers, the functions of the judicial branch of government, and the budget of the government.[35]

The Constitution legalized some existing institutions, created some new ones and left the position of others vague. Clapham writes: "First and foremost, the Constitution was an instrument of centralization under the Emperor, reflecting the traditional principle of absolute imperial power without the practical limitations which modified it. The Emperor received the entire executive power over both central and provincial government, and the nobility and provincial governors were granted no independent authority. The newly instituted Parliament provided no check to the Emperor, and the human rights provisions of the Constitution could be disregarded by him in emergencies. In this, the Constitution reflected the centralizing policies of the time, and provided the formal basis for a process of centralization which was necessary both for national unity and for effective modernization.

"Secondly, the constitution was an instrument of modernization, and here also it followed the tendencies of the period by adopting a cautious and gradualist approach. A Parliament was founded, but was given powers only of discussion; one chamber was appointed by the Emperor, and the other by local notables. A number of rights were recognized, subject to limitation by law and the Emperor's emergency power through provisions on freedom of speech, religion and association, contained in the Japanese Model were left out. A democratic or liberal constitution, however, could not at that time have been implemented, and it could be claimed that a start had been made, while an element of modernization was implicit in having a constitution at all, supplementing a tradition which made no distinction between different branches of government.

"In both its centralizing and its modernizing aspects, nevertheless, the Constitution of 1931 echoed the development of the time without doing anything to cause them. Its sole direct result was the foundation of the Parliament, and in no other field was there legal or administrative machinery available to implement it. It was subject to no judicial interpretation, and the provisions on rights could have had little relevance to a people to whose traditions they were largely alien; power of the emperor over the provinces was expanded by the gradual process...rather than by any constitutional provision; and relations between the Emperor and the executive branch of government were left so vague in the Constitution that none of the developments in that field can be ascribed to it. The rest of the document for the most part simply confirmed in the Emperor powers which he would in any case have exercised, and while it was often cited in the preambles to laws, it made little difference to the actual business of government. The Ethiopian Herald could, therefore, say, in July 1944, that: 'It is doubtful whether it is generally known that Ethiopia's written Constitution has served as the primary basis for the government of the Empire since 1931.'"[36]

The constitution created an understanding of government and the role of citizens in their government. A parliament was instituted, consisting of the Senate and the House of Deputies. The broad responsibilities of the two houses were laid down in a series of speeches from the throne. At the opening of the first Parliament in November 1932, Haile Selassie I advised "Princes, Lords and Chiefs: We have placed our confidence in you who have been summoned to gather in this assembly, believing that you are able to share in the preoccupations involved in the work of our Government: So we have called upon you to weigh the interests of our beloved people of Ethiopia, since unless deliberations are held in concert, they become a merely nominal affair...

"In explaining this to you, our basic intention is to renew our country; our purpose is to guide our people towards the advantages that modern times can bring; it is not to destroy the customs of our fathers that have come down to us from ancient times, traditions that have lasted for thousands of years. It will therefore be for you so to act that you strike a balance between the careful preservation in our land of those customs of our fathers which are useful, and the advantages deriving from modern modes of thought."[37]

The emperor then turned to the deputies and addressed them: "And you, members of the Chamber for formulating the Law: from the time the Ethiopian realm was established until to-day, it has never had a Deliberative Chamber firmly planted. We have had this one planted in such a way that it will last from to-day into the future...

"Up until now, not one amongst our subjects have been in the habit of troubling to understand the difficulties of any part of the country other than that district wherein he was born: thus every man's point of view was narrowly restricted. But from henceforth it will be for all of you to open your eyes, to take a wide view, and to broaden your minds and feelings.

"...and afterwards, when you return to your several districts you will tell your various acquaintances of the wider viewpoint and the large idea that you have experienced here. By being an example of the kind you will be campaigning for mutual help and unity among our people, and you will assure the lasting and healthy existence of good feeling in our land.

"Later on, when our people's knowledge is adequate, they will be able of themselves to choose members for this Chamber and send them to us; and these, once they know how to use properly the power we grant them, will become principal assistants of our Government."[38]

The Pre-War Parliament

The parliament which was established in 1931 was not expected to act in western style. It was the first step towards an ideal, a situation where all adult citizens would be ready to participate fully in the election of representatives. One author has pointed out: "This parliament could not be expected to carry out the usual functions of an elected legislative. Neither in fact nor in form was it a source of political authority; it was not elected, and it made no claim to be representative. It had no parties, though at this early stage in parliamentary development their absence was little felt. Nor was it in any way an expert body, qualified to scrutinize proposed legislation, since both Chambers were largely composed of noblemen...For most purposes it may therefore be regarded as an embryo parliament, necessary as a symbol of Ethiopian constitutional development, and for the later growth of a more viable institution.

"There was nevertheless one way in which the functions of this parliament were related to the needs and conditions of the time, for through its aristocratic composition it was used to indicate the support of the nobility for the reforming and centralization measures which the government was then taking...The members of parliament were thus by no means simply government men of straw, but they were so placed as to be associated with the government's actions while having very little say in determining them; there is no adequate information, however, on the extent to which parliamentary approval helped the implementation of the new laws in the country at large.

"One further function for the pre-war Parliament has also been suggested, that it did at least compel ministers to justify their decisions. But the idea that subordinate officials should openly take decisions, let alone give the reasons for them, is so much at variance both with traditional practice and with what is known of the pre-war government, that it is difficult to accept this suggestion without further evidence in its favour."[39]

Provincial Administration

In theory the Ethiopian emperor was always recognized as absolute, the King of Kings, the supreme leader of the army, the head and defender of the church and the source of all lands and offices. In practice, however, the emperor had to be powerful in his own right, and once on the throne had to defend his position with force and guile until his position was secure. Due primarily to the geographical nature of the country, provincial rulers from time to time became very powerful and openly defied the authority of the emperor. This was prevented in the past by the frequent rotation of posts. The provincial governor was in most instances entirely dependent upon the emperor. "Yet practice was never quite the same as theory. The Emperor's claim to make grants of land and office depending solely upon his will waxed and waned according to the changing balance of the social and political forces."[40] The emperor, however, "presumed that Hereditary Dignity is an obstacle to virtue: that men are more certainly made than born great; and that they will prove more faithful, whom they have been raised from the dust, than such as claim their fortunes from their Ancestors."[41]

During the eighteenth century the power of the monarchy had reached its nadir. The provincial governors paid lip service to the monarch in Gondar, but went their own way, consolidating their small kingdoms. In theory the governor was appointed, honoured or dismissed by the emperor and was his representative in the province. His titles varied. He might rise as high as negus; he might be a ras, a dejazmach or a fitawrari. In recent years he has commonly held the title of dejazmach. The governor was and still is the general of the provincial army, the judge and administrator. Traditionally he was paid no regular salary but supported himself, his entourage and his soldiers from the tribute raised in the province, sending part to the emperor and keeping the rest. The amount of money remitted to the emperor varied from province to province.

The governor wore fine clothes and often tried to reproduce the style of the emperor's palace. These men lived at the highest level, each with a court of his own and a circle of his own officials, whose titles and honors were current only in the province. When they gave out lands and titles the governors made sure, like the emperor, that they did not become hereditary. They tried to unsettle their vassals from time to time: "Ethiopians tended to gravitate round the households of a great man with its hospitality, its atmosphere of movement, of security and opportunity. The governor's headquarters would be crowded with supporters, suitors, and the soldiers of his personal bodyguard, priests, musicians, jesters, servants, and slaves."[42]

Poor communications gave the governor some independence of which they made full use, but the emperor usually had an agent to cover them and report on their doings. The governors also kept representatives at the headquarters of the emperor. With all these balances and counterbalances the governors consistently refused to take any constructive responsibility: "Governors of the old school were mainly concerned with the conservation of their own power, the collection of their tribute, and the fulfilment of their military duties. It would have been quite outside their range of thought to initiate new ideas of reform or to put down time-honoured abuses. Some of the governors spent much of their time at Addis Ababa and their deputies tended to be even more conservative in their use of authority than their masters."[43]

Under the governor there were other officials, the meslenie and the chiqa-shum, both very important links in the chain of command, whose offices, under different names, still operate. These officials or village chiefs represented a continuity of tradition and a sedentary agricultural life which was a stabilizing factor in a system in which changing governors, roving armies, and a distant emperor played a more dramatic, but often more superficial role.[44]

Since the middle of the nineteenth century the office of the governors and of other functionaires in the provinces has been more closely defined and controlled. Much of the initial work must be credited to Emperor Tewodros. "The arduous task of breaking the power of the great feudal chiefs--a task in Europe achieved only during the reigns of many consecutive kings--he has commenced by chaining almost all who were dangerous...He has placed the soldiers of the different provinces under the command of his own trusty followers, to whom he has given high titles, but no power to judge or punish; thus, in fact, creating generals in place of feudal chieftains more proud of their birth than of their monarchy, and organizing a new nobility, a legion of honour dependent on himself, and chosen especially for their daring and fidelity."[45]

Menelik expanded the provincial frontiers, reorganized their administration and effectively centralized provincial institutions. Once again provincial governors were appointed and dismissed at the discretion of the emperor and were held accountable to him and after 1908, to his Minister of the Interior.

On its establishment Menelik gave the following orders to the Ministry of Interior:

1. The Minister of Interior will rule Shoa as a delegate to the Emperor. He will be also the representative of the Emperor to the other governors.

2. It is his duty to pass the Emperor's orders to the various governors. The officials who have been appointed by the government over cities will obey him.

3. The Minister of Interior is the head of all contingents. All the branches of the Ministry obey him in all things. He will protect all the people without discrimination between the Amharas, the Gallas or the foreigners.

4. All the branches (of government) must notify (co-ordinate with) the Ministry of Interior. In co-operation with the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Interior shall supervise health conditions and undertake the necessary requriements therefore.

5. The Minister of Interior will order a census to be taken in his area. He will also order the governors to do the same in their respective areas.

6. He will have the reports on census recorded each year.

7. The Minister will order birth, marriage and death registration.

8. After showing them to the Emperor and the other Ministers, he will have put in the Royal Archives the reports of the governors.

9. He will determine the various taxes. He will give to the Ministry of Finance a copy of the reports on the numbers of people and estimation of taxes thereof.

10. The Ministry of Interior has five divisions of responsibility
    a) the Province of Shoa;

b) the area from Semien to the Eastern part of Shoa, from Gojam to Adal area through Wollo and Tigre to the Dankali;
c) the territories South of Shoa from Harargie to Gojam through Kaffa and Jimma;
d) the registration of population;
e) the police and the other Guards.[46]

This decree attempted to delegate the imperial administration of the provinces. The system of provincial administration supervision has been delegated to the ministry ever since, under the overall supervision of the emperor, although the administrative divisions have changed from time to time.

The administrative divisions of the provinces did not have well-defined boundaries before 1931. The size and boundaries of the provinces had depended on the governors and the emperor of the time, although some provinces remained more or less stable.

Menelik tried to identify the provincial divisions but it is doubtful whether a map was ever drawn to show what was intended. The question of administrative divisions was taken up again in 1931, and a Commentary on the Constitution, enacted into law on July 16, 1931, set the administrative divisions:

42. For the present Ethiopia is divided for administrative purposes into fourteen main parts: and these fourteen main divisions are again divided into subprovinces (awrajawoch) and the subprovince yet again into districts (Wereda).

43. In the principal town of each of the fourteen administrative divisions of Ethiopia, a palace shall be built; this palace shall be for the accommodation of the Emperor when he visits the province on tour, and shall be kept in a respectable condition. When Ethiopian national holidays and the principal imperial festivals are celebrated, the provincial governor shall, in the name of the Emperor, have the festival celebrated in this palace.

44. Princes and provincial Governors will themselves conduct any official business they have in a part of the palace. Their precise duties will be determined by the Deliberative Chambers.

45. Princes and provincial Governors will for the time being construct in their principal town an administrative center, a court of justice, a headquarters building for the military garrison, a post and telegraph office, a hospital, a school, and similar establishments for the conduct of government and public business; in the future, as the revenue becomes known, additional buildings will be constructed according to the increase of funds.

46. The care of these towns and palaces is the business of the provincial Governors. Municipal revenue will be devoted to maintenance of the municipality.[47]

The Constitution of 1931 and the organic laws provided a solid framework for national unity, mobilization and progress, but these institutions had little chance to bear fruit for in 1935 Italian Fascist forces invaded Ethiopia.

During the years of occupation (1936-1941) the Italians tried to impose a system of government designed to serve the purposes of Rome. Among other things they created six major administrative divisions or "governments" in Italian East Africa along allegedly logical racial and ethnic lines. The six main divisions and their estimated population in 1937 is given in Table 8.

Table 8
The Six Main Divisions and Their Estimated Population in 1937

Name of Area	Capital	Italian Estimate of Population
Eritrea	Asmara	1,500,000
Amhara	Gondar	2,000,000
Galla-Sidama	Jimma	4,000,000
Hararghe	Harar	1,600,000
Shoa	Addis Ababa	1,250,000
Somaliland	Mogadishu	1,150,000
	TOTAL	11,500,000*

*Other figures exist from different Italian estimates; for example, see Table 3, Chapter IV.

Source: Ronnell of Rodd, British Military Administration, p. 46, see Perham, The Government of Ethiopia, p. 264.

Since Eritrea had not yet become part of Ethiopia, and leaving out Somaliland, the estimated population for Ethiopia was 8,900,000.

The division on ethnic lines suited the Italian propagandist, who had set out to foment strife among the people of Ethiopia, but to all intents and purposes, such conflict did not occur.

After long preparation for war with Ethiopia, Benito Mussolini addressed the Italian people on 2 October 1935:

"For many months the wheel of destiny, under the impulse of our calm determination, has been moving towards its goal. In these last hours the system has become more swift and cannot now be arrested. Not only is an army marching towards its objectives, but forty million Italians are marching in unison with this army, all united because there is an attempt to commit against them the blackest of all injustices, to rob them of a place in the sun. (After all the Italian sacrifices in the World War) when it came to sitting around the table of the peace, to us were left only the crumbs from the sumptuous colonial booty of others. For twenty years we have been patient while around us tightened even more rigidly the ring which sought to suffocate our overflowing vitality. With Ethiopia we have been patient for forty years. Now, enough!"[48]

Next day, at 5:00 in the morning, without any declaration of war three of De Bono's army corps crossed the Ethiopian frontier, while Italian planes bombed Aduwa and Adigrat. The Italian war on Ethiopia had begun.[49]

In a matter of seven months the formal war was concluded in Italy's favor. In May 1936 Mussolini proclaimed the establishment of an Italian empire in East Africa. The

King of Italy was invested with the title of emperor.[50] The Emperor of Ethiopia went into exile in England while his nobles and their families found refuge in neighboring African countries and in Jerusalem.

During his five years of exile Emperor Haile Selassie presented Ethiopia's cause at the League of Nations and to individual governments of Europe and America, but nothing positive came out of his pleas for help. Then, on June 10, 1940 Italy entered the war against Britain and the attitude of the British government toward Ethiopia changed at once. The emperor, after five years, was a hero again.[51]

Within Ethiopia itself the resistance movement had been growing stronger. This was well known both to the emperor and to the British government from the reports of Lorenzo Taezaz in 1938-39, and Dejazmach Kebede Tessema and Brigadier Sandford later.[52]

The British in the Sudan were threatened by Italian forces, and the decision was taken in London for the emperor to proceed to the Middle East before the collapse of France and the intervention of Italy completely closed the Mediterranean. On June 23, 1940, the emperor and a group of trusted Ethiopians and Englishmen flew to Egypt, arriving in Alexandria on the 25th. The emperor travelled to the Sudan, where Ethiopian patriots who had arrived from Kenya were organizing into a fighting unit. There was a good deal of resentment and intrigue in the Sudan, because the British military authorities did not approve of the emperor's arrival. Eventually he fought his way through the British military bureaucracy and on 20 January 1941, crossed the frontier from the Sudan into Ethiopia for the first time since 1936 to raise the Ethiopian flag on Ethiopian soil.[53] On May 5, 1941, exactly five years since he left Addis Ababa for Jerusalem and England, the emperor returned to the capital. With the help of the people of the United Kingdom, Ethiopia's liberty was almost restored, but not quite.

After the Restoration

To those who were aware of the magnitude of the task ahead, the reconstruction of the political, social and economic life of the country, the joy of military and diplomatic victory must have been mixed with apprehension. Ethiopia had to disentangle the political and military web with Britain, her leading partner in the fight for liberation. An immense program of constitutional construction and social reform had to be carried out without destroying the essential character of the social fabric.

The two formidable tasks of centralization and modernization loomed large, and the Church and nobility had to be handled diplomatically if peaceful programs were to be carried out.

Anglo-Ethiopian Misunderstandings

When Britain planned her campaigns against Italy in Africa it was primarily because her colonies were threatened. The emperor lived in England and had enjoyed popular support for his cause among the general public although not in the government until 1940.

Two British forces, one under Lieutenant General Platt in the Sudan, and the other under Lieutenant General Cunningham in Kenya, invaded Ethiopia. Platt's troops included the Ethiopian Patriotic Forces, trained and equipped in the Sudan. Cunningham's troops force-marched through Somalia and Harar to take Addis Ababa in a very short time. A few days later, on 5 May 1941, the emperor entered the city.

The military objectives having been achieved there remained the administrative problems. The British military assumed that they would be responsible for Italian prisoners of war, civilians, and their property and for the general administration of Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian authorities on the other hand felt that the legitimate government of Ethiopia was restored and that Britain should leave the administration of Ethiopia in their hands.

Ethiopia was suspicious of Britain's intentions due to years of unpleasant experiences between the two countries. Ethiopia and Britain shared a common frontier of about four thousand kilometers from British Somililand to the Eritrean border. Landlocked Ethiopia was nearly surrounded by British territories, except for French Somaliland. The frontiers had been a source of constant friction between the two states.

Another sore point in Anglo-Ethiopian relations was the questions of the Lake Tana and Blue Nile Basins to which Britain wanted to have access on behalf of Egypt and the Sudan. Britain had, in addition, concluded a tripartite treaty with Italy and France for "spheres of influence" in Ethiopia. The British generals who entered Ethiopia had lived and worked in other parts of East Africa and mistakenly assumed that they could deal with Ethiopians in the same way.

Most important of all, the Ethiopian patriots and the Ethiopian people were not willing to replace one foreign invader with another, even a friendly one. This was not lost on Ethiopian politicians.

After the capital was taken pockets of Italian resistance remained though the Viceroy, the Duke of Aosta had surrendered at Amba Alagai on 18 May 1941. The occupation had gone ahead faster than expected, and administrative arrangements had not been made. No official discussions had been held with the emperor about future policy in Ethiopia before his departure from Khartoum in January, nor had any arrangements been made about his return to the country.[54]

The British insisted that during a first phase Ethiopia should be under British Military control under a commander-in-chief.[55] Ethiopia denied this claim by the British which served as a pretext for the establishment of a colonial foothold in Ethiopia. On Tuesday, 4 February 1941, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Anthony Eden, made the following statement to British parliament:

> "His Majesty's Government would welcome the reappearance of an independent Ethiopian State and recognize the claim of the Emperor Haile Sellassie to the throne. The Emperor has intimated that he will need outside assistance and guidance. His Majesty's Government agree with this view and consider that any such assistance and guidance in economic and political matters should be the subject of international arrangement at the conclusion of peace. They reaffirmed that they have themselves no territorial ambitions in Abyssinia. In the meanwhile the conduct of military operations by Imperial forces in parts of Abyssinia will require temporary measures of military guidance and control. These will be carried out in consultation with the Emperor, and will be brought to an end as soon as possible as the situation permits."[56]

Since the war continued in Ethiopia and elsewhere, and the British insisted on using materials and facilities in Ethiopia, some form of administrative arrangement had to be made with would meet British requirements and those of the emperor. Nine administrative areas were established as follows:

Table 9

Administrative Division of Ethiopia 1941-42

Administrative Area	Capital
Begemider	Gondar
Tigrae	Axum & Adowa
Gojam	Debre Marcos
Wollo	Dessie
Shoa	Addis Ababa
Wollega	Lekempti
Sidamo	Negalli or Sodou
Jimma	Jimma
Hararghe	Harar

Source: Rennel of Rodd, British Military Administration of Occupied Territories in Africa, p. 72.

They were to be as self-contained as possible and to include medical, agricultural and financial services. Each unit would have a British officer forming a political mission under the central direction of the Deputy Chief Political Officer in Addis Ababa, but working with surviving Ethiopian local authorities and officials. The officers in these "missions" were to "guide and direct" the local authority, whatever form it took.[57]

As a gesture of independence, the emperor appointed on 11 May 1941 seven cabinet ministers and a governor of Shoa, which included Addis Ababa. The British officer-in-charge protested and the appointed ministers seem to have been used as advisers on the staff of the military administrators. As a result of this misunderstanding regarding appointments detailed instructions were dispatched from London on the policy to be followed. It was made clear that, while the reappearance of an independent Ethiopian state was welcome, the advice of the British Military authorities was to be strictly adhered to by the emperor as long as the existing military situation continued. Pending further decisions Ethiopia remained under British military control; some strategic areas were totally administered by British military authorities.[58] The misgiving of the representatives of the separate British and Ethiopian interests persisted.

Eventually, after involved and lengthy negotiations the 1942 Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty and the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreements of 1942 and 1944 were concluded.

By the autumn of 1941 the Italian garrison in Gondar under General Nasi has surrendered and all enemy pockets of resistance were cleaned up. Ethiopia was anxious to get rid of the British military presence. This feeling was not lost on London. Late in November 1941 Sir Philip Mitchell the British Chief Political Officer in Addis Ababa was ordered to wind up his responsibilities as quickly as possible.[59] Two instruments of agreement were drawn up, in English and Amharic, dealing with the political relations of the two countries and with military matters.

The signing of the Political Agreement and the Military Convention took place on 31 January 1942 in the council room of the imperial palace with all possible pomp and ceremony. The emperor signed for Ethiopia and Sir Philip Mitchell for the government of the United Kingdom. Sir Philip reported: "There is no doubt that...the instruments gave genuine pleasure and were warmly welcomed by Ethiopian ministers and notables."[60] Excerpts of the 1942 Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement are given below.

"Whereas His Majesty the Emperor, true to His coronation pledges not to surrender his Sovereignty or independence of His people, but conscious of the needs of His country, has intimated to the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland...that He is eager to receive advice and financial assistance in the difficult task of reconstruction and reform; and whereas the Government of the United Kingdom recognizes that Ethiopia is now a free and independent state and His Majesty the Emperor, Haile Sellassie I, is its lawful Ruler, and, the reconquest of Ethiopia being now complete, wishes to help His Majesty the Emperor to reestablish His Government and to assist in providing for the immediate needs of the country.

"Now, therefore, His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia, in person, and Major-General Sir Philip Mitchell...being duly authorized for this purpose by the Government of the United Kingdom, have agreed as follows..."[61]

Article I provided for the reestablishment of diplomatic relations and the conduct of any business concerning the two governments through their ambassador in London and Addis Ababa, provided that "His Majesty the Emperor agrees that the Diplomatic Representative of His Majesty the King (of Britain) shall take precedence over any other foreign Representative accredited to His Imperial Majesty."

Article II stated: "(a) His Majesty the Emperor having requested the Government of the United Kingdom to assist him in obtaining the services of British subjects (i) as advisers to himself and his administration, (ii) as Commissioners of Police, Police Officers and Inspectors; and (iii) as judges and magistrates, the Government of the United Kingdom will use their best endeavours to assist His Majesty the Emperor in this matter. The number of such British subjects, their salaries, privileges, duties, powers, and the appointments they are to fill, shall be the subject of separate agreements between the Contracting Parties.

"(b) His Majesty the Emperor agrees not to appoint advisers additional to those referred to in paragraph (a) above except after consultation with the Government of the United Kingdom."

Article III provided for the termination of the jurisdiction and administration of British tribunals and authorities and their replacement by Ethiopian civilian administration and jurisdiction. This provision was, however, subject to the military convention.

Under Article IV the British Government was to provide financial aid amounting to one and a half million pounds in the first year and one million the second year of the agreement. If the agreement was extended, the British government agreed to pay one half million pounds in the third year and one quarter million in the fourth year, in quarterly installments.

The Ethiopian Government absolved the British government from any payment for the use of movable property in Ethiopia by their troops in the prosecution of the war. The two governments would jointly supervise expenditure.

Provision was made under Article V for the eventual establishment of the Supreme Imperial Court, the High Court, the Provincial Courts and Regional and Communal Courts. Foreign nationals were to be tried by certain courts and British judges were to be included in the higher courts.

Under Article VI Ethiopia was to enact a law against trading with the enemy and to accept responsibility for dealing with private enemy property in accordance with international law.

Under Article VII the Ethiopian Government was required to hand over all prisoners of war to the British military authorities.

Article VIII read: The Government of the United Kingdom will use their best endeavours

a) To secure the return of Ethiopians in Italian hands, and
b) To secure the return of artistic works, religious property and the like removed to Italy and belonging to His Majesty the Emperor, the Ethiopian state, or local or religious bodies.

Under Article IX it was agreed that if the British military authorities in East Africa found it necessary to conduct military operations against a common enemy, His Imperial Majesty was to declare a state of emergency and cause Ethiopian officials to give all necessary aid and cooperation.

Article X provided that His Imperial Majesty should not conduct any external military operations contrary to the joint interests of the British and Ethiopian governments.

Under Article XI the Ethiopian government agreed to permit British civilian and military aircraft to have access to her airspace.

Article XII provided that the present agreement should stay in force until replaced by another treaty.

The United Kingdom's military authorities were to continue to administer "The Reserved Areas of Ethiopia."[62]

After the signing of the Treaty the British withdrawal began at once, beginning with outlying garrisons and political officers, and the Italian civilian population. British troops in the capital were reduced in number and quartered at the airfield which remained under British control. The police in Addis Ababa remained under the British military administration pending evacuation of Italian civilians and war material. On 6 August 1942 the last British forces left Addis Ababa.[63]

The Ethiopians thought that the British had dismantled or destroyed enemy property and removed industrial material to their colonies out of spite. Ethiopians also pointed out that Italian mechanics, engineers and artisans who had wanted to stay in Ethiopia and had been accepted by the local inhabitants were evacuated against their wishes so that they should not contribute to the reconstruction of Ethiopia.[64]

The British, on the other hand, complained of the Ethiopians' lack of gratitude for the restoration of their independence. One British military leader observed "In appraising the degree of friction that existed, beyond argument or doubt, in Ethiopia in 1941 the extraordinary circumstances under which the country found itself must be borne in mind. To all intents and purposes Ethiopia was freed of the conqueror's yoke within a period of four short months; it was only natural that its inhabitants should envisage an immediate return to the pre-1935 way of life. Furthermore, in a mere six years Ethiopia had twice been crossed by modern armies and in the intervening period an attempt, partly successful, had been made to stamp a new civilization upon the face of the old. The swift Italian collapse made it impossible for gradual steps to be taken by the British and Ethiopian authorities to cope with the changed situation. Again, different viewpoints on the war, the Ethiopian local and the British global, have to be taken into consideration. It was, however, a matter of great regret to the Imperial Forces which liberated Ethiopia that so little gratitude, and cooperation in the prosecution of the war, should have been shown by the Ethiopians who had so suddenly and perhaps unexpectedly been returned to power.[65]

When the 1942 Agreement expired, Ethiopia and the United Kingdom negotiated another treaty, which was concluded on 19 December 1944. The treaty noted that the war was still going on and promised Ethiopian resources for its prosecution in the interest of the two states. The 1944 treaty otherwise fully recognized the sovereignty of Ethiopia. The British ambassador was no longer to be accorded special status by the Ethiopian government. Ethiopia could retain British or other foreign experts as advisers, administrators, and judges, and the British government would help to recruit them.

Foreigners, including British civilians, were subject to Ethiopian courts. Judges were not to be of "British Nationality" as in the 1942 Agreement, but "of proven ability." The control and management of the Franco-Ethiopian Railway was to revert to Ethiopia.

The United Kingdom was to send a military force to Ethiopia under a British head, subject to the overall supervision of the Ethiopian Ministry of War. For the duration of the treaty the reserved areas and the Ogaden would stay under the British administration. The agreement was for two years, after which either party could give three months notice of termination.[66]

The 1944 agreement was the last of its kind. Ethiopia began to look around for other allies, not military but economic, and found one in the United States. After the initial contact between President Roosevelt and the emperor on a ship at the Suez Canal, when Roosevelt promised to send an economic mission, the relationship has endured to this day.

Social and Political Development 1942-1972

In the business of national reconstruction the emperor remained central.

"It is impossible to think of the Ethiopian people today apart from the present Emperor whose history, since 1930, has been their history, and whose ideas are being stamped upon them in these highly impressionable years of their national history. His outstanding quality is tenacity. Holding fast in hands the gains of the moment his eyes are directed to those of the morrow and the day after. This subtle, watchful, patient and laborious man has devoted all his powers and used all his authority to carry out a policy of exalting his country in the world by centralizing her ancient institutions. All passions seem to have been absorbed into this passion, leaving him invulnerable to many of the ordinary weaknesses of men in power. It is this utter concentration, this wholeness of purpose that gives him the still, tense dignity which impresses all who meet him. His actions seem to show that he has completely associated the development of his own power and prestige with those of the church-state of which he is head. His natural and religious moderation, added to the caution which sometimes characterizes kings who had to acquire their royalty, has so far prevented the insistent pressure of his rule from becoming tyranny."[67]

"Certainly in Haile Sellassie Ethiopia has her greatest immediate asset, and may count herself fortunate that he is still young enough to promise a further period of rule in which the great changes he has introduced may become stable."[68]

Parliament Since the Restoration

The constitution of 1931 was reenforced, and at the opening of parliament on 2 November 1942, Emperor Haile Selassie declared that, "Although six years have elapsed since We opened the last session of Parliament, We regard this session as the continuation of the last." He impressed upon the deputies the importance of unity and the awareness that civil rights co-existed with obligations to the state. God had inspired him to establish parliament so that it could provide a link between him and the people, so that he might know of their problems."[69] He continued "when Our people have obtained sufficient experience the time will be ripe for them to choose their own representatives."[70]

Since Article 32 of the Constitution was vague, a proclamation defining and providing for a form of indirect election was issued on 9 March 1942.

Each of the twelve provinces was divided into 20 electoral districts. All paying land tax and all nobles had the right to vote. The twenty electors were to come to the provincial capitals and in the presence of the governor-general, an ecclesiastical dignitary, a representative of the Ministry of the Interior, and an official recorder to elect five of their number as deputies by secret ballot. Those elected had to be over twenty-one years old, male, experienced in regional affairs, acceptable to the people, and of proven loyalty.[71] There were thirty appointed members of the senate and sixty members of the chamber of deputies. The legislature was to sit from October to March and from June to August.

The Revised Constitution of 1955 made two great steps forward. For the first time the chamber of deputies was elected by universal adult suffrage. Elections were held every four years, in 1957, 1961, 1965, and 1969. Competition was fierce, and the big turnover of members every four years indicated that no one group dominated.

The power of parliament was increased. Its role previously has been primarily advisory, but now it could veto or amend legislation proposed by the government and summon cabinet ministers for questioning. It became independent of the other branches of government and the only place where policies and actions are criticized.

The Council of Ministers

After the war the 1931 constitution was modified by successive laws defining the duties and relationships of the ministers. A Council of Ministers was set up under the chairmanship of the emperor or the prime minister. The duties of the council were advisory, but ministers were jointly responsible for decisions taken in council. The secretariat was under the Minister of Pen. The Council gradually absorbed more work and responsibility, and met twice a week or as often as necessary.

The council has been strengthened by the replacement of older members by younger educated people. In 1948 only three of the ten ministers had a university education, but twenty years later, although those three were still ministers, sixteen out of twenty cabinet members were university graduates, five of them since the war. The transformation was even more dramatic at the lower levels of government. "In this transformation lies the key to Ethiopia's political development in the last twenty years." The rise of these graduates to high office depended primarily on loyalty and merit, not on birth or family connections as in the past.

As a result, the council has taken an active coordinating role in administrative affairs. In March 1966 the council was granted the power to "make decisions concerning all matters brought before it" though policy questions still have to be submitted to the emperor.

During the first fifteen years the prime minister's role had been primarily ceremonial but after 1958 increased responsibilities were assigned to him. The prime minister has been responsible for legislation and relations with parliament, he mediates between ministers, and sometimes even in labor disputes. In 1966 the prime minister, although himself appointed by the emperor, received the power to choose the ministers who serve under him.[72]

Since 1941 the administration has expanded and improved. At present there are ministries for agriculture, commerce, industry and tourism, communications, education and fine arts, finance, foreign affairs, imperial court, information, interior, justice, land reform and administration, mines, national community development and social affairs, national defense, pen, posts, telegraphs and telephones, public health, and public works. The head of the Central Personnel and Pensions Commission is also a member of the Council of Ministers.[73]

Specialized agencies have been established to deal with a number of technical and commerical activities. They include the Ethiopian Air Lines, the Imperial Highway Authority, the Awash Valley Authority, the National Bank of Ethiopia and the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia. These agencies have on the whole been more efficient and less open to political pressure than the ministries.[74]

Administrative Subdivisions

Since 1941 the boundaries of the administrative subdivisions have been modified. At present they consist of fourteen provinces (Teklay Gizats), 101 subprovinces (Awrajas) and 516 districts (Weredas). A table of Teklay Gizats, Awrajas, and Weredas is given below:

Table 10

Administrative Subdivisions

Teklay Gizat	Capital City	No. of Awrajas	No. of Woredas
Arussi	Assela	3	22
Bale	Goba	5	25
Begemder & Semen	Gondar	7	28
Eritrea	Asmara	9	23
Gemu Goffa	Arba Minch	4	22
Gojam	Debre Marcos	7	35
Hararghe	Harar	13	60
Illubabor	Gore	4	22
Kaffa	Jimma	6	39
Shoa	Addis Ababa	11	69
Sidamo	Awassa	6	35
Tigre	Mekele	8	55
Wellega	Nekempti	6	49
Wollo	Dessie	12	32
	TOTAL...	101	516

Source: Statistical Abstract (Addis Ababa, 1970), Appendix.

The administration of these subdivisions continued on prewar lines. According to the Decree of 1942,[75] the central government exercises control from the Ministry of Interior, down through the provinces, subprovinces, districts, and municipalities, to the village at the bottom. Up to the present, political subdivisions exist only to perform the functions of the central government.* The heads of the political subdivisions must carry out ministerial directives. Each Teklay Gizat is headed by a Governor-General or Enderasse nominated by the Minister of Interior and appointed by the emperor. His duties and responsibilities are defined as follows:

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*There is a plan to experiment with local self-administration at the Awraja level.

"The Governor-General is the Government's representative for the province to which he is appointed. Governors shall exercise general supervision over all officials appointed in their province by the Ministry of the Interior and other Ministries. But they are responsible to the Ministers of Finance, Justice, Agriculture, and other Ministers according to the nature of the business. On matters directly affecting a particular Minister, Governors shall communicate directly with the Minister. On matters of direct concern to a particular Minister but also affecting general administrative policy they will consult with the Minister of the Interior. They will pass copies of all correspondence with other Ministers to the Minister of the Interior."[76]

Under the governor are a director, a principal secretary and representatives of most ministries, together forming the Teklay Gizat Council.

Each awraja is a Teklay Gizat in miniature, with a governor, a council and principal secretary. The governor of an awraja may recommend appointments to wereda governships to the governor-general, who may pass them on to the Minister of Interior. Beneath the Wereda governor is the Mikitl Wereda (sub-subdistrict), the Atoya Dagna and the Chikka Shum (village chief). All these officials are required to report regularly to their superiors all the way through to the Minister of Interior.[77]

The Return of Eritrea

From 1890 to 1941, Eritrea was an Italian colony. After 1941 it was under British military administration, pending the Peace Treaty and the subsequent disposal of the former Italian colonies by the United Nations. On 2 December 1950, the General Assembly of the United Nations resolved that Eritrea should be federated with Ethiopia as an "autonomous unit under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown." A constitution was drafted under the direction of a U.N. Commissioner, in close consultation with the people of Eritrea, and was adopted by the U.N., the Eritrean assembly, and the emperor. The steps to federation were complicated and consisted of the preparation and ratification by a popular assembly of the constitution, the distribution of powers between the Ethiopian government and the Eritrean government, the acceptance by the emperor of the Eritrean Constitution and the Act of Federation, and the promulgation of legislation to create a federal government in Eritrea.[78]

On July 10, 1952, the Eritrean Assembly unanimously adopted the constitution, and shortly after the emperor ratified the constitution at a formal ceremony held in Addis Ababa. The Act of Federaton was ratified on 11 September 1952.[79] After nearly sixty-two years of separation Eritrea was returned to the Ethiopian crown.

The Eritrean Constitution of two chapters and 68 articles, the Federal Act, and the Ethiopian Constitution of 1931 formed the basis of federation. "The federal Government, as well as Eritrea, shall ensure the residents in Eritrea, without distinction of nationality, race, sex, language or religion, the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental liberties, including the following:

"(a) The right to equality before the law. No discrimination shall be made against foreign enterprises in existence in Eritrea engaged in industrial, commercial, agricultural, artisan education or charitable activities, nor against banking institutions and insurance companies operating in Eritrea;

(b) the right to life, liberty and security of person;

(c) the right to own and dispose property. No one shall be deprived of property including contractual rights, without due process of law and without payment of just and effective compensation;

(d) the right to freedom of opinion and expression and the right of adopting and practicing any creed or religion;

(e) the right to education;

(f) the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association;

(g) the right to inviolability of correspondence and domicile;

(h) the right to exercise any profession subject to the requirements of the law;

(i) no one shall be subject to arrest or detention without an order of a competent authority, except in case of flagrant and serious violation of the law in force. No one shall be deported except in accordance with the law;

(j) the right to a fair and equitable trial, the right of petition to the Emperor and the right of appeal to the Emperor for commutation of death sentences;

(k) retroactivity of penal law shall be excluded;

"The respect for the rights and freedoms of others and the requirements of public order and the general welfare alone will justify any limitations to the above rights."[80]

The federation of Eritrea and Ethiopia lasted for a decade. Developments occurred which eventually led to complete unification, and on 14 November 1962 the Eritrean Assembly voted unanimously for the abolition of the federation. On 15 November the termination of the federation was enacted as law: "the federal status of Eritrea with Ethiopia is hereby terminated, and Eritrea, which continues to constitute an integral part of the Empire of Ethiopia, is hereby wholly integrated into the unitary system of administration of Our Empire...

"All rights, powers, duties and obligations of the former administration of Eritrea become, by virtue of this order, the right, powers, duties and obligations of the Imperial Ethiopian Government."[81]

The Revised Constitution of 1955

As the Empire expanded and the organization and functions of government became more complex, it became apparent that the 1931 Constitution was inadequate. Emperor Haile Selassie pointed out, "the growth in size and responsibilities of the Government has necessitated the strengthening of the processes of centralization. All regions of the Empire are now closely knit together under a single unified direction capable of guiding them along parallel lines of progress and integrating all into a common national endeavor.

"In addition, all vestiges of feudalistic and other class or personal privileges have been wiped out, so that all Our beloved subjects may live together as equals and brothers in the same family."[82]

A revised Constitution was promulgated on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the emperor's accession to the throne. The Constitution, of eight chapters and 131 Articles, deals with the succession, the powers and prerogatives of the emperor, the rights and duties of the people, the ministers of the empire, the legislative chambers, the judicial power, and finance.[83]

The constitution defines the five major elements in the government as the emperor, the executive, the parliament, the judiciary and the people: "Of these only the Emperor and the people are, under the Constitution, 'self-sufficient' sources of political power. The establishment of the other elements and institutions of the state is ultimately dependent upon one or other, or both, of them.[84]

"The Constitution is the 'supreme law' of the Empire of Ethiopia. It is binding on the whole area 'under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown' and on all people and organizations within that area. As supreme law, it governs every official and all official activity within the Empire; and all government acts--including legislation of any sort--inconsistent with it 'are null and void', and all valid governmental power--valid in a legal sense--must therefore be derived from and consistent with its provisions."[85]

Demographic Factors

A complete survey of the Ethiopian population has never been made. The available information is based on a national survey of 1964-67 covering eighty-three percent of the rural population and about ninety-two percent of the urban population. Although the accuracy of the survey left much to be desired, it provides the best available demographic data. According to an up-to-date 1970 estimate, based on the 1964-67 survey, the total population of the country was 24,319,000 of which 2,292,000 live in towns of more than two thousand inhabitants. At an estimated yearly growth rate of 2.5 percent, the population was expected to reach 27.6 million in 1975 and 31.4 million in 1980 and will double in about twenty-seven years.

The urban population increases by about 6.5 percent annually of which four percent is caused by immigration from rural areas. The urban population is expected to double in eleven years and it will make up fourteen percent of the total population by 1980.

Table 11 sets out the present and projected estimate of population by rural areas, urban areas and school age up to the year 2000. Although at present the rural population is ninety percent of the total and will stay very large, the growth rate of the urban population is much faster. The school age population (ages 7-18 years) will continue to grow faster than the general population. The implications for social services like education, health, and manpower planning are obvious.

TABLE 11

Population Estimates and Projections for January 1 of Selected Years (in millions)*

	All Ages			School Ages		
Year	Total	Urban	Rural	7-12	13-18	Year E.C.
1963	20.7	1.5	19.2	3.3	2.7	1955
1967	22.8	1.9	20.9	3.6	3.0	1959
1969	24.0	2.2	21.8	3.8	3.2	1961
1970	24.6	2.3	22.2	3.9	3.2	1962
1971	25.2	2.5	22.7	4.0	3.3	1963
1972	25.8	2.7	23.1	4.1	3.4	1964
1973	26.4	2.8	23.6	4.3	3.4	1965
1974	27.1	3.0	24.1	4.4	3.5	1966
1975	27.8	3.2	24.6	4.5	3.6	1967
1976	28.6	3.4	25.1	4.6	3.7	1968
1977	29.3	3.7	25.6	4.7	3.8	1969
1978	30.1	3.9	26.2	4.8	3.9	1970
1979	30.9	4.2	26.7	5.0	4.0	1971
1980	3.17	4.4	27.2	5.1	4.1	1972
1985	36.1	6.2	29.9	5.8	4.8	1977
1990	41.1	8.7	32.4	6.7	5.5	1982
1995	46.6	12.2	34.4	7.5	6.2	1987
2000	52.7	17.0	35.6	8.4	7.1	1992

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*Table may not add because of rounding. Source: Report of the Education Section Review, August 1972, Exhibit II-A-1.

Ethiopia is not overpopulated. The total area of the country is 1,221,900 square kilometers. The present mean density is about twenty people per square kilometer. If estimates are realized, the total population in the year 2000 will be more than fifty-two million, with two-thirds living in rural areas and one-third in urban centers.[86]

Notes

1. Margery Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, 2nd. ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1969) p. 69.
2. Mahteme Selassie Wolde Meskal, Blatengetta, *Zekra Neger*, (Addis Ababa: 1962 E.C.) as translated in J.C.N. Paul and Clapham, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development* (Addis Ababa: Faculty of Law, Haile Selassie I University, 1967), pp. 287-288.
3. Abba Paulos Tzadua, trans., *The Fetha Negast* (Addis Ababa: Faculty of Law, Haile Selassie I University 1968), p. 271.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 272.
6. James C.N. Paul and Christopher Clapham, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development, I* (Addis Ababa: Faculty of Law, Haile Selassie I University, 1967), p. 393.
7. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, p. 70.
8. The Constitution of Ethiopia 1923 (E.C.), 1931 (G.C.), Chapter 1, Art. 3.
9. Revised Constitution of Ethiopia 1955 (E.C.), Chapter I, Arts. 2.
10. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, pp. 71-72.
11. Ibid., pp. 73-74.
12. Ibid., pp. 74-75.
13. Ibid., p. 75.
14. Ibid., p. 76.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, p. 29.
18. Donald N. Levine, *Wax and Gold* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 155-156, 160-163.
19. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, pp. 103-106.
20. Ibid., pp. 108-109.
21. Mahteme Selassie Wolde Meskal, *Zekra Neger* pp. 52-53, as translated by Paul, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development*, pp. 301-303.

22. Abba Paulos Tzadua, *Organization of the Central Administration in Ethiopia - Historical Profile*, in Paul and Clapham, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development*, pp. 315-316.

23. Ibid., p. 316.

24. Ibid.

25. Levine, *Wax and Gold*, pp. 117-178.

26. Abba Paulos Tzadua, *Organization of Central Administration in Ethiopia* in Paul and Clapham, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development*, p. 317; see also Ministry of Pen, *Negarit Gazetta*, No. 6 of 1946.

27. Paul, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development*, p. 321.

28. Mahteme Selassie, *Zekra Neger*, pp. 52-53; Paul and Clapham, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development*, p. 319.

29. Paul and Clapham, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development*, p. 319.

30. Ibid., pp. 319-320.

31. Leonard Mosley, *Haile Selassie: The Conquering Lion* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 47.

32. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, pp. 60-61.

33. Haile Selassie I *Hiwotenna Yeithiopia Ermija* (My Life and Ethiopia's Progress) (Addis Ababa: Berhannena Selam Printing Press, 1965), pp. 30-38; Kebede Tesema, *Dejazmach Yetarik Mastawosha* (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, 1962 E.C.), pp. 31-34.

34. Paul and Clapham, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development*, pp. 325-326.

35. *Ethiopia Observer* 5:4 (1962), pp. 363-365.

36. Paul and Clapham, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development*, pp. 340-341.

37. Demissie Wolde-Amanuel, "Constitution and Parliament of Ethiopia: A Historical Record," translated by S. Wright, quoted in Paul and Clapham, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development*, p. 343.

38. Ibid., pp. 343-344.

39. Ibid., pp. 344-345.

40. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, pp. 267-274.

41. Ludolphus, quoted in Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, p. 269.

42. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, pp. 272-273.

43. Ibid., p. 274.

44. Ibid., p. 275.

45. Plowden quoted in Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, p. 270.

46. Mahteme Selassie, *Zekra Neger*, p. 104; translation in Paul and Clapham, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development*, p. 322.

47. Mahteme Selassie, *Zekra Neger*, p. 784; translation in Paul and Clapham *Ethiopian Constitutional Development*, p. 331.

48. George W. Baer, *The Coming of the Italian-Ethiopian War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 373.

49. Ibid., p. 374.

50. Leonard Mosley, *Haile Selassie: The Conquering Lion of Judah*, p. 231.

52. Rennel of Rodd, *British Military Administration of Occupied Territories in Africa*, pp. 62-63.

53. Ibid., p. 62.

54. Ibid., p. 71.

55. Ibid.

56. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, p. 463.

57. Rennel of Rodd, *British Military Administration of Occupied Territories in Africa*, p. 72.

58. Ibid., pp. 72-93.

59. The complete document of the agreement and convention are given in Ibid., Appendix I.

60. Rennell of Rodd, *British Military Administration of Occupied Territories in Africa*, p. 93.

61. Ibid., p. 93.

62. Ibid., p. 77.

63. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, Appendix G.

64. Ibid., pp. 382-383.

65. Ibid., p. 97.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid., p. 381.

68. Ibid., p. 98.

69. Ibid., pp. 410-411.

70. Ibid., p. 412.

71. Ibid.

72. Ministry of Pen, *Negarit Gazetta*, Decree No. 1 of 1942, (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen), p. 2.

73. Ministry of Pen, *Negarit Gazetta*, Decree No. 1 of 1942, (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen); see also W.E.H. Howard, *Public Administration in Ethiopia; A Study in Retrospect and Prospect* (Djakarta: J.B. Wolters-Groninger, 1955, p. 135.

74. Ministry of Pen, *Negarit Gazetta*, Order No. 43 of 1966.

75. Howard, *Public Administration in Ethiopia*, pp. 135-144.

76. Paul and Clapham, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development*, p. 366.

77. Ibid., p. 373; the order providing for the federation may be found here.

78. Ministry of Pen, *Negarit Gazetta*, 22nd year, No. 3 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen).

79. Haile Selassie I, "Speech from the Throne, 4 Nov. 1955," as appearing in the *Ethiopian Herald*, 5 Nov. 1955.

80. Ministry of Pen, *Negarit Gazetta*, 15th year, No. 2 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen).

81. Paul and Clapham, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development*, p. 393.

82. Ibid., p. 395.

83. Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Abstract 1970* (Addis Ababa: Central Statistical Office 1970), pp. 26-27.

84. Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Abstract 1970* (Addis Ababa: Central Statistical Office 1970), pp. 26-27.

Chapter VI

THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD: 1941-1951

After nearly six years of war and untold destruction of property and human life, the Fascist invader was expelled from Ethiopia in 1941. As the emperor of Ethiopia unfurled the yellow, green and red flag of Ethiopia there was joy and excitement among the residents of the capital and among the patriots who had come to celebrate the occasion. Despite the festive mood, however, the victory was not complete for it was going to require much hard work before a semblance of law and order was restored in the country. A student of Ethiopian history put it thus: "Yet, all the elation of victory could not conceal the stark realities of the situation as it presented itself in 1941: the return to peace and normal ways of a people that for six years or more had lived through war, upheaval, and guerrilla fighting with all the attendant weakening of normal moral restraints; the accumulation of arms left behind by the retreating enemy; the confusion of loyalties and the disintegration of administration over so far-flung an empire; the dislocation of communications, the lack of transport, and the complete standstill of trade and commerce; the shortage of food and clothing; the elimination of the educated elite whom the Emperor had carefully nursed before the invasion and the consequent lack of trained personnel; the delicate relations between patriots and 'collaborators,' the guerrilla fighters who had to be rewarded, and the great Rases and Chiefs who had to be reconciled to a new situation; and finally, the British military authorities whose primary aim, and rightly so, was the successful prosecution of the war, then only in its beginning...and who could at times be impatient with a self-willed and strange ally.

"It is against this sombre background that the achievements of the Emperor and the Ethiopian people have to be judged."[1]

The problems of reconstruction were complicated further "by the presence in the country of an Italian civilian population numbering some forty thousand, who had to be protected, fed and medically cared for."[2] An Ethiopian government memorandum, addressed to the Council of Foreign Ministers meeting in London, outlined the chaotic conditions in 1941:

"The Government took over (from the Italians) a country ravaged by six years of war during which probably three-quarters of its educated citizens were killed in battle or wantonly murdered. A large portion of the population had been displaced from their homes and deprived of means of livelihood. Upon the return of the Government, the Ethiopians were faced with a mere handful of technicians, an economy which had previously employed 200,000 trained Italians. The whole economy creaked and groaned because of the lack of technicians, spare parts and replacements, but it did not carry on. As an instance of the difficulties faced by the new administration (Ethiopia), we might mention the problems of transport. Although the Italians had some 40,000 registered vehicles to carry the goods of the country, when the (Ethiopian) Government took over from the British military Administration, there were only 6,000 left. It is estimated by unbiased foreigners who were in Ethiopia at the time that 80 percent of the mechanical equipment was removed."[3]

The artificial economy created by Italians, for Italians, was taken over by the British military administration, which wanted to keep Ethiopia under the British crown and did everything it could to remove or destroy heavy machinery that could have been put to good use. The devastating effect of the occupation, followed by the unpleasant interference of our ally placed a heavy burden on the country.

In the face of these seemingly insurmountable difficulties, the emperor called on his people to unite their efforts in creating a new Ethiopia: "You are to collaborate with us in Our endeavour to develop the country, to enrich the people, to increase agriculture, commerce, and education, throughout the land, to protect the life and wealth of the nation..."[4] The emphasis was on reconstruction and the development of education, agriculture and commerce, and on restraint and mercy towards the defeated foe. Revenge was to be avoided. "Do not reward evil for evil. Do not commit any acts of cruelty like those which the enemy comitted against us," enjoined the emperor. Ullendorff remarks "...It will forever redound to the honour and glory of the Ethiopian people that in fact no Italian man, woman, or child, was harmed in those days of excitement and victory."[5]

Rehabilitation was needed in all sectors of society. Law and order had to be established and transport facilities had to be made operational. An efficient communications system and the expansion of trade were urgently needed to provide financial stability for the reconstruction of the educational system, which had been largely destroyed or diverted into fascist ideological channels.[6]

Restoration of the System

Education was viewed as a major task of restoration. It was necessary to rebuild the shattered foundations of the public education system in a country still recovering from the shock of foreign occupation. The possibility of foreign assistance was greatly reduced because the major countries of the world were still fighting World War II.[7] The early years were difficult ones for all sectors of the country's battered economy, but especially so in the field of education. The Ministry of Education has pointed out: "When Ethiopia regained her independence in 1941, and His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I resumed the government of His country, it was necessary to rebuild the educational system from the foundations. The difficulties here were perhaps greater than in any other branch of administration. To start with, teachers had to be found; the original foreign staff had, of course, mostly been dispersed, while the few educated Ethiopians who had survived were urgently required to fill the executive posts vacant in every department. School buildings and furniture had to be retrieved or improvised and somewhat adapted to meet essential immediate needs. Textbooks in Amharic and in English were practically non-existent; other equipment was scarce; it had to be husbanded and strictly rationed. At the same time many hundreds of boys, girls and young men, eager to make up for the five years gap in their education, were besieging the few schools that managed to open their doors."[8]

The only thing that was not in short supply were eager young students; there was a shortage of teachers, of school supplies, of equipment, of school buildings and of money. The available resources, material and human, had to be rationed carefully. If time and personnel had been available the long-term objectives and priorities of the educational system could have been defined. However, the demand for a schooled and skilled manpower was so great that "the actual situation had to be met, and therefore the question of long range planning was set aside for a later date."[9]

Objectives

The objectives of education, simply stated, were "...to prepare as quickly as possible, young men and women who could man a modern administration system side by side with those who, educated earlier, had survived the war and years of occupation. It was also directed toward providing training for technicians for new industries, for the professions, and for such services as transport and commerce, as well as officers for the armed forces and police."[10]

However, although the urgent skilled manpower needs set the priorities, mass and adult education were not forgotten. The Ethiopian Herald was of the opinion that the deepest impact of education would be in popular education. The Ministry of Education hoped that "Popular education should be of a kind: (i) to help people to be healthy and prosperous and to adopt a higher standard of living, (ii) to teach men how to employ usefully and with enjoyment their leisure as well as their working hours, (iii) to promote a spirit of pride in the community and responsibility for its welfare."[11]

On July 24, 1943 the newly elected president of the Chamber of Deputies of the Ethiopian Parliament, reflected the attitude of Ethiopians towards education when he addressed the house and said, "...It would be futile not to consider always the general education and development of the younger generation, who are the hope of the future. Our role as far as the education of young Ethiopians is concerned is extremely important, if we wish to make of them citizens worthy of their country, capable of working usefully for their sovereign and the state. The fate and destiny of our country depends on what we do for the young. Their education must have a threefold object: The development of the body by physical culture, of the mind by mental instruction and of the soul by cultivating the moral faculties in which are a man's highest attribute and without which physical and intellectual education will only produce conflicting or negative results by forming egoistic generations lacking the indispensible ideals of self-respect and devotion to one's fellow men and to the commonweal; in short to make the most of oneself..."[12]

A timely article in the Herald went even further and stated "Our world is a horrible spectacle of undeveloped and misapplied possibilities. Think of how we have always wasted man, how few human beings have ever had the slightest chance for full self-development. How many mute and glorious Miltons have died in silence, how many potential Newtons never learned to read? The supreme task of our awakening minds is the re-education of the world. Given world unity and world sanity that could be made an easy task for, with the radio and the film, and the facility of world transport we have all these and enough to cover the world with schools."[13]

For Ethiopia, just beginning to recover from the war, and for the greater part of humanity still fighting in Europe and Asia, education should be an instrument for personal and national development and a bridge of peace among the nations. The emperor reiterated these underlying concepts time and again:

"Humanity by nature is gifted to think freely, but in order that free thought should lead him to the goal of liberty and independence his way of thinking must be shaped by the process of education. It is understood that the independence of mind created by education individually will have as a result the creation of an independently minded nation...

"Education, work and diligence are the main foundation of our national existence. We call upon all Ethiopians to send their children to the nearest school, for it is suicide and crime against responsibility which God places on all parents not to educate one's own children.

"The catastrophe which was brought about by human hand during the past years can be avoided in the future by religion and hope in God which should be in the heart of the peopie. And this can be achieved by education which, if not borne by the youth, the effort which is made for peace will be in vain."[14]

Postwar education was expected to bring schooling within the reach of all. In summary the objectives of the education system were to establish adequate institutions for school age children, in order to improve their mental, physical and spiritual faculties, to help young people whose education has been interrupted to make up for lost time, and to try to attain "general literacy within this generation." The stated aim "of the Ministry of Education is definitely to educate all the people of the Empire."[15]

An Ethiopian scholar added "The main endeavor of the time was to erase from the minds of the youth, and indeed from the very soil of Ethiopia, the corrupting influence that had been brought from Italy."[16] The short-term need was "...to provide a small corps of clerical, technical, administrative and professional personnel to man the government machinery and to get industry going again."[17]

However elementary the objectives of education, they had to be pursued by progressive methods, to adapt to national goals and to changing concepts of education. As Taddesse Tereffe put it "Our traditional education had as its primary aim, the teaching of religion and morals, while the aim of our educational system during the prewar period was essentially to teach foreign languages. The first decade of the post-liberation period can be characterised as a period of modernization in the sense that knowing a foreign language was not sufficient. One had to learn the modern technique of the government and administration in order to cope with the demands of the time. Today, the need for more professional people like engineers, medical doctors, educators, agricultural experts and military scientists is the motivating factor in educational ventures. Thus as time progressed, our aims became more varied and complex. In fact, now they are so complex that most educators do not agree on a set of educational objectives for present-day Ethiopia."[18]

Educational objectives, explicit or implicit, had to accommodate to national needs and goals. The immediate practical priorities were to secure competent administrators, technicians and professional personnel. These men were essential for efficient government, and this explains the emphasis on rapid development in secondary and higher education, and the extended foreign study program of the time.[19]

Structure and Curricula

The curriculum is the heart of the educational process. Other aspects of education reflect the effectiveness of the curriculum. What makes a curriculum? How is its content selected, organized and taught? In the minds of lay people and even of some educators the term "curriculum" used to refer to selected portions of knowledge, classified into separate subjects, and transmitted to students in convenient administrative units or "courses." Any other activities or learning experiences sponsored by the school were "extracurricular." However, in recognition of the importance of "extra-class" activities in the development of the learner, the curriculum is now defined as the total "educational experences that children have in school."[20] This broad definition encompasses more than a mere outline of facts, skills, attitudes or ideals, however important. It includes the personality of the teacher, the school director, the janitor, the health and social worker. Indeed, the whole community and even the national culture affect children in school, and to that extent they too are part of the curriculum.[21]

A curriculum must be viewed in the light of three important variables: "the objectives that the society hopes to gain by establishing the schools, the available methods and tools of learning that can be made use of by teachers, parents and others, and the nature of the children with all their complexities and differences, who are to be educated."[22]

For any education system, the "objectves of the curriculum rise out of the culture of a people, out of their ideals and aspirations, their social and individual values, and their problems that cry for solution. Educational aims are affected by many aspects of man's physical and social environment; they grow out of man's desire to assure his own welfare."[23]

The curriculum should develop from scientific data on the needs and characteristics of children at different levels of development, on human growth and development, and on the psychology of learning.[24]

The curriculum in Ethiopia during the reconstruction era was set up to meet immediate manpower needs, it was neither well thought-out, nor did it cater to the fundamental wishes of the people or the characteristics of Ethiopian children. It could not have done so, because of the war and the massive importation of teachers, administrators and teaching materials which were entirely foreign to Ethiopia. The needs, experiences and heritage of society could not have been incorporated into the curriculum except to that society's disadvantage. Educationally speaking, the policy of importation was unsound and inimical to development, but since there were hardly any teachers or teaching materials, and no time to try alternatives, an improvised policy had to be followed. Life goes on, and men cannot wait for better times and better things to come. As a mid-decade Ministry publication remarked:

"After the return of His Imperial Majesty to Addis Ababa in E.C. 1935 (1941), realising the five years interruption in education, the Ministry was immediately set up with whatever materials and personnel available, and with a Minister at its head. The actual situation had to be met, and therefore the question of long-range planning was set aside for a later date. As the work became more measured and the horizon more defined, the question of proper and adequate organization began to engage the attention of the Government."[25]

Early Problems

The real rehabilitation of education was not started until February 1941. The people who had some experience in teaching were not available, and the few that had survived the war were taken by other departments of the government. The government therefore, had to rely on such foreigners as happened to be in the country.

No information is available on the qualifications or competence of these foreign teachers. They were drawn together from different parts of the world and asked to rebuild the school system. Inevitably, the courses taught at all levels tended to imitate those of other countries. This was "...because foreign advisors and teachers were instrumental in the formulation of the directives given to the nation's schools. The system obtaining them was somewhat equivalent to that of the British system in which headmasters submit to the Ministry their schedules and curricula, which if accepted, become the guide for instruction and teaching."[26]

This procedure prevented uniformity in the different grades. It lacked relevancy for the children because their experiences and background were not considered in the instructional arrangements. Students had difficulty in transferring from one school to another. The courses and methods of instruction varied from one school to another, because the English, the Swedish, and other nationalities conducted classes in their own way.

Uniformity of Content and Method

In order to bring some kind of balance and uniformity to the structure, content and methods of instruction, the government appointed a committee to make a thorough study of the curriculum. The committee reported in 1948 and the Board of Education formulated a policy of uniform curricula for the whole country. The new curriculum policy covered elementary grades up to sixth grade level. The policy was successful and made it possible for pupils to transfer from one province to another, or from one school to another within the same province. The new policy also made it possible for students to proceed to higher education by following established procedures.[27]

The new policy sought to make the curriculum not only "uniform" but "adaptable...to every community throughout the land." The report points out "Each subject in the curriculum has been dealt with in such a way as to make it most useful to the Empire. Standards of education in other countries and subject matter included in the curriculum have been considered only as they concern Ethiopia. On the other hand, the boy or the girl who has completed the various years of work in Ethiopian schools will have covered the equivalent of subject matter included in the program of any modern school system."[28] The curriculum was intended to fit the Ethiopian scene and at the same time to accommodate to standards in other schools and cultures. This was, hopefully, an honest intention, but in practice the curriculum was foreign both in approach and content.

The first formal curriculum had a 6-6 structure, six years of elementary followed by six of secondary education. After passing through sixth grade, the pupils took postprimary examinations and entered a preparatory grade before the secondary or vocational schools, where they spent four years until matriculation.[29]

After 1948 the elementary period was extended to cover grades seven and eight, the two years formerly used for preparation. Students were still expected to spend four years in senior high schools or their equivalent.[30] This structure was termed 6:2:4 or 8:4.

Beginning in 1948 the Ministry of Education awarded a school certificate to pupils who had completed the prescribed courses of study in the secondary schools, and had passed an examination. The teacher training and vocational schools gave diplomas and certificates of competency to students who had completed course requirements and had passed ministry administered examinations. Successful graduates of second level education were at first sent primarily to England for higher education, but after 1948 they began to attend American colleges and universities.

The curriculum policy formulated by the board of education in 1948 required the school year to last for approximately 180 days. The year began in September and ended in June, except in Addis Ababa where school continued until the emperor's birthday on July 23.

The school week covered five full days, Monday through Friday. Usually the day began at 8:30 or at 9:00 a.m. and closed at 5 p.m. with a lunch break of one and half hours from 12:30 to 2:00 p.m. In the morning there was a rest period of twenty minutes from 10:25 to 10:45.[31] The average daily attendance was eighty percent of registration, and was highest among boarders and in the central schools. Attendance was lowest in rural day schools where weather, distance, bad conditions of travel and the need to help in the home and on the farm caused real hardship.[32]

The Elementary Curriculum

The curriculum policy issued in 1948 listed subjects for primary grades in detail, as well as instructions on how courses were to be taught. Subjects included in the curriculum were selected as essential for Ethiopian children and were based on "the generally accepted curricula of other countries." Provision was made for the student to complete "these courses of study as fast as his ability and his determination enables him to do so, but no student should be permitted to go faster than a good mastery of subject matter allows."[33]

To ensure uniform quality of instruction headmasters were instructed to see that teachers gave examinations frequently and kept adequate records of grades. Promotions from one grade to another could take place only at the end of the term."[34]

The subjects in the curriculum for elementary grades included Amharic, English, arithmetic, science, geography, history, art, music, moral education, handicrafts and physical education.

Amharic was the language of instruction for the first two years and there was a gradual transition to English in grades three and four in the teaching of science, history, art, physical education, music, geography, arithmetic and handicraft. When the pupils reached grades five and six it was hoped that they would all be able to receive instruction in English, with the exception of Amharic as a subject. English was the medium of instruction at the secondary and teacher training level. However, teachers were urged to translate some texts into Amharic. The language requirements proved unrealistic in view of the lack of qualified teachers and the scarcity of teaching aids, including textbooks.[35]

There seems to have been some difference of opinion in the committee that drew up the first uniform curriculum for elementary schools. For instance, the curriculum dealing with arithmetic appeared in two syllabi, one based on an American series, Arithmetic We Use, and the other on a British series, High-Way Arithmetic.[36] Perhaps this was the result of two foreign groups trying to do their best for Ethiopian schools, but unable to escape their own backgrounds.

These books used American or British weights and measures and presupposed a knowledge of the American continent or the British Isles. As Ayalew G. Selassie has pointed out "While the people of Ethiopia were using the metric system with the dollar (100¢), metre, kilometre, hectare, gasha (40 hectares), gram (100 kgs.) litre, kunna (5 litres), inkib (25 litres), dawla (100 litres), kind, sinzir, gat, chamma, irmija, irbe, etc., the students were spending their time in the study of pounds, shillings and pence; inches, feet, yards, chains, furlongs, and miles, ounces, pounds, hundred weights, gills, pints, quarts, and gallons; square chains, acres, and square miles, or a yardstick or a shilling piece or a goolon measure, the distances travelled between Manchester and Birmingham. While it was recognized that a knowledge of foreign systems was necessary for those pupils who would pursue higher education, emphasis upon these systems was not warranted for the entire body of students. Most students would have received greater profit from study of mathematics in an Ethiopian context."[37]

Even in teaching Amharic this problem was not solved. For example, recognizing the Christian heritage of the country unable to find suitable textbooks, the Bible was used as a text for grades one through four. As there is a large segment of non-Christian citizens it had to be discarded. The teaching of English also presented problems. The pupils were learning a second or third language, and were not making sufficient progress for promotion to the middle grades.[38] Generally speaking the curriculum guide of 1947 was a healthy departure from past practices, but it failed to achieve its objectives because it was drawn up by people who did not have much experience of Ethiopia. Much work remained to be done in this area.

The restructuring to 8:4 was a result of the failure of students, especially those from the provinces, to make sufficient progress in English. The two additional years would permit thorough mastery of the language before pupils proceeded to the second level of education. Proponents of the change argued that the two additional years would minimize the dropout rate among pupils and make the transition to the secondary level smooth and efficient. They maintained that if more and more pupils were to remain in school for two additional years, not only would they gain a better education, but they would also achieve greater maturity and suitability for employment. This tied in with the postwar trend in many countries of extending the period of elementary education.[39] At any rate, the 8:4 structure was to last with few exceptions for another decade. The language of instruction was English from grade four onwards.[40]

The curriculum guide that came out in 1949 provided more specific formulae than its predecessor for grades one through six. It was, however, little more than a rehash of the requirements for grades five and six, with a few textbooks like School Science and The Old World Past and Present (more than six hundred pages of geography and history) added. It provided for standardization of instruction for the seventh and eight grades, which was an improvement. The textbooks and instructional materials listed in the curriculum guide were again based on foreign experiences, and were geared no more closely to the needs of Ethiopians than were the texts and materials for lower grades. For example, the prescribed course in science made little mention of personal or community hygiene, nutrition, health or safety measures, agriculture, or the conservation of natural resources. The course outlines were very theoretical and dealt with such topics as the solar system, magnetism, expansion of solids and liquids, carbon dioxide and carbonates, the atmosphere and combustion, the Bunsen burner and blowpipes, and the life histories and classification of various plants and animals. Very little of this had any practical relevance for unsophisticated pupils in a rural setting.[41]

The syllabi for history also reflected a lack of relevance for Ethiopia. In the seventh grade a British text was used. The first term was devoted entirely to England and to British expansion in Canada and India; the second term was used to study the U.S.A., France, and Britain; in the third term mention was made of Africa, but only in relation to the exploits of David Livingston and Henry M. Stanley. The American text used for history in grade eight included a unit on ancient Egypt, but there was no other mention of Africa. "On the contrary, the outline for the second term begins with the notation that 'Our' civilization begins with the Teutons and fighting tribes from the north...The syllabi of other subjects similarly showed a lack of relevance to Ethiopian needs."[42]

The curriculum was of course inadequate and was criticized severely. The grounds for criticism were that "...it provided for only one type of education. Without diversified streaming of students into different types of classes all students could not reach their full potential, some would receive the type of education for which they were not best suited and the many areas of need to be served by an educated populace would not be adequately served. Another criticism often heard dealt with the language problem. With pupils trying to learn both foreign languages and content during their elementary years, they had difficulty grasping either. The average pupil completing grade eight retained practically nothing of what he should have learnt in the lower grades. Elimination of the language problem would mean that greater emphasis could be given to content of the various subjects taught."[43]

There is no doubt that the people who worked on curriculum design sincerely had the best interests of Ethiopia at heart. They tried to bring order and uniformity out of the chaotic confusion that prevailed in the curriculum. But they worked on the basis of what was familiar to them, and the guides and approved textbooks proved to be entirely foreign and inadequate for Ethiopia. They were too academically oriented, unrelated to the experiential background of the Ethiopian child and to the policies of the Ethiopian government. English was unsuitable for Ethiopian children, who attempted to learn it as a second and sometimes a third language. The secondary school curriculum was oriented towards the requirements of London University's General Certificate of Education Examination, on the assumption that secondary school graduates would further their studies overseas, and that standards could be maintained by following the curricula of well-established institutions, even if those institutions catered to an entirely different clientele. This proved to be a major stumbling block in later attempts to develop appropriate curricula for Ethiopian schools.[44]

POSTELEMENTARY EDUCATION

In the first two years after Restoration, education was available in the primary grades. However, primarily because of the need for technical and professional personnel, the need for a full secondary school became apparent. Accordingly, Haile Selassie I Secondary was formally inaugurated on July 23, 1943 about twelve kilometres east of Addis Ababa on the site of a former Fasicst agricultural station. The place was converted into a boarding school for boys. Inauguration day coincided with the fifty-first birthday of the emperor, whose name the school bears. The emperor admonished the young people to "Be strong in understanding, be strong in work, be strong in hope, be strong in faith; ye shall inherit the final portion and the crown of victory."[45]

The school had a good start as far as buildings and equipment were concerned. Forty-three qualified students were enrolled in 1943 and there were five foreign teachers. The original students came from "practically all the provinces of the country."[46] Among them were young people who had received instruction in refugee camps abroad during the occupation and some who had been taught privately.[47]

The school offered a full four-year secondary program leading to the Ethiopian Secondary School Certificate Examination, the London Matriculation Examination and the General Certificate of Education. Preceding the actual first-year secondary class was a secondary preparation class, making a total of five grades which took five years to complete.[48] In the curriculum, two streams, one leading to university entrance and the other to technical training, were provided.[49] The school provided a rich choice of subjects, although it had to be staffed with foreigners and equipped with foreign teaching aids.[50]

General Wingate Secondary School was the second full secondary school established after the Restoration. The school bears the name of the British hero Orde Charles Wingate, commander under the emperor of the combined Ethiopian, British and Sudanese army, in the last stages of the campaign against Fascism in Ethiopia. The school began modestly in April 1946 in some barrack-like buildings which had been used as a radio station during the Italian occupation. Thirty boys were registered in two classes. By September of the same year enrollment had risen to seventy-five; a year later, in April 1947, enrollment had climbed to one hundred boys.

On May 5, 1951, ten years after the Restoration, new and permanent buildings were erected containing ten classrooms, two laboratories, art, music, geography and handicraft rooms, a library, an assembly hall for 580 pupils, and administrative offices. There were also four large dormitories, each housing seventy-five students, four student supervisors' dormitories housing eight people each, two staff apartments, a study hall, dining room, kitchen, laundry, and shower-baths with hot water. There was ample space and equipment for physical education. This complex of buildings, with furniture, cost Eth. $893,032.[51] The school was operated jointly by the Ethiopian and British governments.

The aim of the school was to provide "Ethiopian boys of ability with secondary education on English Public School lines, which will fit them for work in Government departments, in officer ranks of the Police, Army and Air Force and for further professional training as doctors, teachers, lawyers, engineers, etc."[52] The teaching staff consisted primarily of British citizens supplied through the British Council. The first headmaster was Mr. H. E. Lawrence, M.B.E.[53]

Courses of instruction included Amharic, English, science, mathematics, history, geography, French, art, music, physical training, handicrafts and morals. There were seven grades; sixth grade, where new recruits were prepared for secondary entrance, grades seven and eight, or junior secondary school, three years of senior secondary school, and a seventh or last year in preparation for the University of London and School Leaving Examinations. True to its aims, the school succeeded in establishing an impressive record of successful passes in the examinations. Between June 1948 and January 1951 a total of fifty-three students sat the London Matriculation Examination; out of these thirty-four passed, eight students were referred and only eleven failed. Other students joined the Imperial Air Force.[54]

Empress Menen Girls School was founded by the late Empress Menen of Ethiopia in September 1931 as an elementary school for females. It was the first and only institution in Ethiopia for the education of girls and women. The inscription on the foundation stone of the main building explains its purpose. It reads: "I, Empress Menen Asfaw, daughter of King Makael do build from my private purse, a house of learning for Ethiopian girls so they may be as wise as the five virgins."[55]

The first headmistress was a Frenchwoman, Madame Garricoix. As an indication of the importance attached to the school it was built next to Guenet Leul Palace. It was to play a significant role in the education of Ethiopian women in the coming decades. However, while it was still struggling to make an impact, the Fascist invasion interrupted its work. The Italians turned it into a hospital for their soldiers. After the Liberation it was renovated, expanded and restored to its former function as a school for girls. Its rolls in 1941 included one hundred girls, many of them the daughters of patriots and many orphans, all boarders. By 1950-51 the number of students had increased to 615 in nineteen classes from preschool up to ninth grade or first-year secondary.[56]

The subjects taught included Amharic, French, English, arithmetic, geography, history, handiwork, and music. Later on gymnastics, sports and other outdoor games were added to the curriculum. An outstanding leader of the school, first as vice-directress and from 1949 as directress, was Woizero Senedu Gebru. Woizero Senedu, in addition to her outstanding administration of the school, encouraged students to excel in drama and literature. She wrote a number of plays that have been staged on many occasions.

Empress Menen School developed to include secondary classes. In 1949-50 the first secondary grade was added and in the following year another one. By the end of the era it had grown into a junior secondary school, one of the four general secondary schools of the period.[57]

Tafari Makonnen School was the second modern institution of learning in Ethiopia, after the semi-secular Menelik II School, founded in 1905. It was founded in 1922 by Ras Tafari, regent and heir to the Ethiopian throne.

The first director of the school was Dr. Workneh Eshete, known in Europe as Dr. Martin. Other staff members included Ato (later Blatta) Ephrem Tewolde Medhin, Blatta Mersie Hazen Wolde Kirkos, Ato Akalework Habtewold, (a future Minister of Education) and a number of foreign teachers.[58] Makonnen Desta, who became Minister of Education in 1941, Dawit Oqubagzi, Gabre Mariam Amente and Ato Yohannes Reda Egzi were among the pupils.[59]

In 1936 a company of Alpine troops occupied the school and destroyed most of the school equipment. The main building became a barracks, and the dormitory and clinic were used for Italian army medical stores.

In September 1941, the emperor appointed an American, Mr. L. H. Henry, as Director. Thirty teachers, mostly Ethiopians, were recruited and about seven hundred boys, all of them day students, filled all the available places.[60]

The courses taught included Amharic, English, French, Arabic, mathematics, drawing, singing and gymnastics. The emperor paid weekly visits and often distributed fruit to the students. In 1942-43 fifty boarders were accepted. However, the shortage of teaching materials continued to present problems. By 1945-46 the number of boys had reached 850. Fifteen private houses, to house four hundred boarders were taken over; an assembly hall, a school clinic, library and two laboratories were constructed; roads were built across the campus and and electricity was installed.[61]

In subsequent years a new school director, Mr. Postgate, took over from Mr. Henry. The school was divided into two sections, one under the direction of the Egyptian, Dr. Nourad, for mature students who had been deprived of education during the Italian occupation, and the other, for younger students, under the Briton, Mr. Stephen Wright.[62]

Later a team of experienced Canadian teachers arrived, under the leadership of Dr. Lucien Matte, who supervised the physics, chemistry, and biology laboratories. Dr. Matte travelled through Europe and America to secure much needed science equipment.[63]

In 1946-47 a secondary department with fifty students was opened and the Canadian teachers increased to thirteen. Foundations were laid for a building containing two dining rooms for the 490 boarders; a study hall and five dormitories were added. The rate of expansion was, however, not fast enough for the increasing number of boys demanding admission. By 1949-50, the enrollment of the school had reached 1,025, of which 430 were in the secondary department and entitled to be accepted as boarders. Since accommodation was not available, the ministry started to pay Eth. $20.00 a month to each student, in lieu of room and board at the school.[64]

Meanwhile the situation in laboratory equipment and teaching aids had improved. "The physics, chemistry and biology laboratories were by this time fully equipped in a manner many British and European schools would envy. There was now excellent sports equipment; volleyball and basketball teams were formed. Eighty football teams functioned throughout the year. There was training in field and track athletics. A carpentary workshop, splendidly equipped, was established with all necessary machinery and 36 work benches, each containing a set of 20 tools.

"Student gained a sense of responsibility and practised co-operation by assisting in the evening, after the study-hour, in laying out the new sports fields and in other manual labour for the benefit of the school."[65]

In 1949-50 Tafari Makonnen School celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. There were fifty-two teachers, twenty-five Ethiopians and twenty-seven foreigners. "For the first time in the history of the school 30 pupils sat for the London University Matriculation Examination."[66]

Medhane Alem School in Addis Ababa, evolved secondary school programs slowly. Founded in 1929 under the sponsorship of Fitawrari Habte Mikael and Ballambaras Emagu Yimer, the opening was delayed by building construction problems, and the school was finally inaugurated in September 1931. Eighty students, all boarders, were paid for by the Ethiopian government. Lij Haile Mariam Guezmu was appointed headmaster, with four French and two Ethiopian teachers, an administrator, two clerks and a warden. The subjects taught were Amharic, French, shoemaking and carpentry. In 1934 the first Boy Scout troop in Ethiopia was started at the school. Within a few years of its inauguration the enrollment had reached four hundred pupils, and more accommodations had become necessary. Ras Hailu Tekle Haimanot's house, in the vicinity of the school in Gulele, was appropriated. Like all institutions of learning in Ethiopia, Medhane Alem School was closed during the occupation.[67]

In January 1942 the school reopened its doors with twenty-five orphaned pupils living nearby and its name was changed to Balabat (Chiefs) School. In time many students from the provinces were brought to the school at government expense. In 1935 it had been a full elementary school. The seven classrooms had provided teaching space for 160 boarders and 130 day pupils. The course of instruction after 1941 consisted of Amharic, English, science, geography, history, Ge'ez, Arabic and mathematics. French was dropped. The first headmaster after liberation was Captain Forgy, who was later succeeded by Captain Gilbert and in August 1943 by the Ethiopian Ato Gabre-Egzi Amante.[68]

By 1944-49 the school's facilities and enrollment had expanded to a total of 450 boys. In September 1947 the headmastership was assumed by Dr. T. T. F. Fletcher. In 1948 a secondary section was added and four foreign teachers were hired. Later five others were added, making the total teaching force twenty-four, excluding the headmaster, fifteen Ethiopians and nine foreigners.

In 1951 three years of secondary programs were added and the following year it became a fully-fledged secondary school. The school was well known for its physical training programs.[69]

Medhane Alem Secondary School in Harar was the first of its kind to be built outside Addis Ababa. The school was established in September 1948 by the Sudan Interior Mission. Its original name was Medhane Alem Academy and it was intended as a comprehensive school offering secondary courses in teacher training, commerce and academic subjects.

The school personnel initially comprised the headmaster, Dr. Wilson, and six teachers, four of whom were women. The students numbered one hundred including three girls. Boys lived on the premises, and girls in a nearby girls' school. From the beginning, grades eight and nine constituted the first two secondary classes. Courses in the secondary section included English, Amharic, geography, mathematics and general science. During the year 1949-50 student enrollment rose to 159, eight of them girls. Later grade ten was added; the first and second teacher training classes continued; the commercial section thaught arithmetic, bookkeeping and typing. The school staff totaled twenty.[70]

By the end of 1949-50, twenty-seven students in the teacher training section had graduated and were awarded Third Class Teachers Certificates. Twelve of them were posted in various schools of Hararghe province, one stayed on at Medhane Alem, and the rest were sent to other provinces. Some students of the school sat the entrance examination of the Imperial Air Force Training Center. At this time the name of the institution changed from Medhane Alem Academy to Medhane Alem Secondary School.[71]

During 1950-51, the number of teachers increased, and the institution became a full-fledged secondary school. Accordingly, the teacher training and commerical sections were discontinued. The students from the commercial grades were sent to the Commercial School in Addis Ababa, and those in the teacher training division joined the academic secondary division of Medhane Alem Secondary School.[72]

The Ministry of Education provided for expansion in the curriculum and methods of instruction with textbooks, laboratory equipment, a library and a reading room. The recreational and physical training facilities were also expanded.[73]

Seven academic secondary schools, only four of them complete, were functioning by the end of the era. In addition to the academic post-primary schools listed above, there were technical and vocational schools operated by the Ministry of Education, by other governmental departments or by private societies.

Technical and Vocational Schools

During the decade a number of technical, vocational, and special schools were established, such as the Air Force Cadet Training Center, and Aba Dina Police Officers Training College and twelve other policy schools, Empress Menen Handicraft School, various schools for dressers, sanitarians, inspectors, pharmacists and nurses, the Municipal Technical School, the School of Building Technology, the Imperial Body Guard Officers Cadet Training School, the Military School at Holetta, the Ambo Agricultural School, the Lycee Gabre Mariam, Berhaneh Zarie Neo Adult School, the Theological School, the Technical School, the Commercial School and the Teacher Training Instiute.[74] Most of these schools were located in the capital.

To meet the growing need for skilled technicians in industry, the Technical School was established in 1943, the year that the first secondary school was founded. Situated on the Old Airport road in the southwestern part of the capital it was easily accessible by bus from the centers of the city.[75]

The school was housed in an old three-room store with adjoining office space. In 1943 courses of instruction included automobile driving, electricity, jewellery manufacturing, forging, welding, masonry, machine shop practice, motor repairing, and carpentry. Academic subjects included mathematics, French, and Amharic.

French was the language of instruction for academic subjects, Italian and Amharic for the technical ones. The teaching force consisted of Frenchmen, Italians and Ethiopians. The school's entrance policy was geared to the country's practical needs. The school opened with two hundred day students, but, a year later it was turned into a boarding school.

In 1945 the technical school was reorganized. The language of instruction was changed to English for both academic and vocational subjects; additional courses such as physics, chemistry, general knowledge, advanced mathematics, and history were introduced into the curriculum. More emphasis was given to academic subjects. In 1946, as the school expanded, more teachers and additional shop equipment were imported from Sweden.

The programs were aimed at the production of technicians and skilled workers at three levels. The elementary section, which taught a minimum of academic work, emphasized welding and forging. The intermediate level had more academic courses: in mathematics, general science, geography, Amharic grammar and writing, oral English and grammar, as well as electrical theory and practice, machine shop work, motor mechanics, radio equipment, maintenance, plumbing and painting. The third level was the most advanced, where youngsters were trained for leadership as supervisors and foremen.

Eventually admission requirements were formalized; a pass in the annual General Examination of the Ministry of Education was required of secondary students. They were also subjected to examinations and interviews by the director of the Technical School.

The Commerical School, the only one in the country, was started in 1945 in the annex of Menelik II School. After a time it moved to the former University College campus, where it remained until the early 'fifties.

To begin with, classes were badly structured. The school began with forty students, recruited from seventh and eighth grades. In 1948 a separate class for girls opened. Later on students were required to pass written examinations and personal interviews with members of the teaching staff. By 1951 enrollment had grown to 150, of whom five were girls. Out of the total enrollment 140 students were boarders and ten were day students.

The curriculum was drawn up with the help of the ten teachers and of businessmen and administrators from the city, with whom the school was in constant touch. The first head was Mr. William Nagiub.

Typing was taught to boys and girls in three languages--French, English and Amharic. Realizing that graduates of the Commercial School would take an important part in the accelerated development of the country, the Ministry of Education, which had founded the school, invested heavily in personnel and equipment. The students were taught modern concepts of business practice. An eyewitness remarked "It is no exaggeration to say that the Commercial School is not less equipped than any other school of its kind in other countries."[76] The school had a library and sports facilities which the students utilized to the fullest extent.

In 1951 the first forty-four students to complete the four-year commercial program graduated. They were all immediately employed. The school maintained an employment and feedback office for graduate placement and made follow-up studies so that it would be able to improve the quality of instruction.[77]

In 1944 the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts opened the first Teacher Training College in one room of Menelik II School. The British council provided personnel, including the first director, Mrs. Agatha Booker. The arrangement between the Ministry and the British council was to last until 1948. The first thirty-two students were selected on the basis of an examination for a two-year training period. The report indicates that most students remained at the Teacher Training College through "many hardships and disappointments" and completed their courses in July 1946.[78]

The concept of a teacher training program originated in 1930, when a sort of polytechnic, the Haile Selassie I Grammar School, was inaugurated. The school, besides primary and secondary sections, included a professional department, a department of apprenticeship, a department of medicine and a normal or teacher training school.[79] How effective the programs in the "normal school" were is not recorded.

The report filed by the director at the end of the first year indicated that for the first few months living conditions in the school were "primitive and unsatisfactory," but when the first budget of Eth. $61,597 was granted by the Ministry half way through the year, conditions improved considerably. The students' meals became the "envy of the regular secondary students at the school." "They were provided with a dormitory of their own, and kept warm on cold nights with the 'buluko' blankets from Wollamo, and the warm 'bana' blankets from Menz."[80]

There were many staff changes in the early months, but instruction continued in Amharic, religion, English, arithmetic, history, geography, morals, teaching methods and educational psychology. For a short time art lessons were given, mainly flower and figure drawing. Later hygiene and woodwork were added to the curriculum. The report remarks that "The boys were very keen on sport, with the senior students taking other students every morning for drill, and they played football enthusiastically, 'whenever a football was available'."[81]

The school year 1945-46 opened with an intake of twenty students. There was a serious shortage of accommodation. For a time they lost their classroom and were able to continue only with the co-operation of the director of the Commercial School, which was also located in Menelik II School premises. During 1945-46 the school was transferred to new premises in the Gulele area, now occupied by the police officers' club. The students were happy that they had established a separate identity, and expressed the hope that the new location would be the birthplace of modern learning in Ethiopia.[82]

At the end of 1946 twenty-four of the original thirty-two students graduated, and were assigned to responsible teaching posts in several provinces. At the graduation exercise, the director reported that the twenty-four students receiving the first Diploma in Education, "had received a reliable background of school subjects and in addition had been trained in the art of teaching."[83] As the only trained Ethiopian teachers in the country, they were called upon to perform sundry duties such as administration, accounting and community leadership, in addition to their teaching responsibilities.

The two-year program was an effective means of producing qualified teachers. But it was a slow process. Schools were being opened all the time and the supply of teachers was lagging behind. To overcome this problem the Ministry of Education planned to conduct a series of short-term teacher training programs for those already teaching or for others who had the minimum qualifications. In 1946-47 the Teacher Training School was asked to undertake a series of three-month refresher courses for some of the existing 578 elementary school teachers. The expatriate teachers found it necessary to conduct classes through interpreters. The curriculum included secondary subjects, school management and the general psychological principles of teaching. The inservice programs continued for three terms, with a total of eighty-three teachers attending. Most of the afternoons were spent in supervised teaching at neighboring schools. Reports of student progress were made daily and were sent to the Director General of the Ministry twice each term.[84]

The seventeen regular students still at the school were transferred to General Wingate Secondary School for a period of six months, after which they returned to the Training School. They were the second group in Ethiopia to receive diplomas of education. In 1947 the regular full-time training courses began again, with the organization of three classes. The school took over Tinsaye Berhan School for practice teaching. In 1947-48 99 students were enrolled in the Training School.[85] Meanwhile the Ministry of Education had made it compulsory for all teachers in the provinces to attend summer courses.

In 1947 the British Council withdrew from the project and a Canadian called Steinman was appointed director of the Training School. His arrival marked a new phase for teacher education in Ethiopia. As a professional teacher-educator, he deplored the tendency to regard the Training School as just another kind of secondary school, but with emphasis on the teaching of subject-content. He therefore began a gradual shift to professional subjects so that trainee teachers would know how to impart their knowledge most effectively.[87]

Although admission had been determined by examination, most candidates came from the upper classes of the elementary schools. In 1949-50 only nineteen of the total enrollment of 124 had two or more years of secondary schooling; they were trained for two years, after which they received a second class certificate (similar to the regular 10 + 2 teacher training programs of our day). Another thirty-eight had completed grades five or six, and received two years of training before getting third class certificates. Of the sixth-graders, twenty-one were admitted for two years of training and graduated with third class certificates. These teachers' certificates had replaced the diplomas of education received by those who had graduated prior to 1945-49. Beginning in 1949-50 the ministry raised the level of entry and introduced higher courses than before.[88]

Sports were always popular and in spite of the limited facilities, the school team placed second in the interschool league competition in 1949-50.

In 1949-50 and 1950-51 three more Canadians, called Nelson, Weaver and Schmidt joined the teaching staff. During the year the school started six-month courses for school inspectors, attended by thirteen teachers. The program included how to evaluate teaching of all subjects (teachers were expected to be polymaths), school and class reports and records, sanitation in classrooms and compound, educational psychology and field-work.

Each province would, it was envisioned, have its own school inspector. As Steinman explained in his report to the Provincial Educational Officers' Conference, the venture was a forward-looking one. He said then, "This indeed is a big step in advance. At present we have 13 taking the course, ten of whom are willing to go to the provinces when they graduate. It is our aim to train these men to go to the various schools and assist teachers in the provinces. Inspection should consist not merely in making reports and finding faults, but rather in discovering weaknesses and in showing teachers how they may overcome these weaknesses. Many more inspectors are needed for each province. They can do valuable follow-up work in helping teachers put into practice what they learn at the Vacation Courses. These inspectors have a large and important task if they do it well. I hope someone well-qualified will be able to observe the inspectors in the field to give them help and counsel as they attempt their important task. They should meet once a year in groups with such a counsellor for refresher courses and advice on the latest educational methods."[89]

Teacher training programs got another push forward when a large supply of textbooks arrived in 1950-51 from the Canadian government, especially in English teaching, history, educational psychology and history of education (in the West, that is).[90]

TABLE 12

Teacher Training Output and Enrollment

Year	Enrollment	Output	Remarks
1944/45	32	-	First enrollment moved to Gulele.
1945/46	45	24	
1946/47	17 plus inservice teachers.	17	Premises used for inservice group. Three month programs.
1947/48	99	-	No output owing to above program
1948/49	-	54	British council phased out.
1949/50	124	39	Steinman appointed director.
1950/51	-	39	

Figures are not available for some years.

Source: Ethiopia, Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, The Development of Pre-service Teacher Education 1933-1963 E.C. (Addis Ababa, 1972).

The Development of the Teacher Training Curriculum

The basic aim of the Teacher Training School was to train teachers for the elementary schools of Ethiopia. The first graduates in 1946 were required to sign the following pledge:

"I ____________________ hereby agree and pledge my honour to serve the Imperial Ethiopian Government as a teacher in an Ethiopian school, to which I shall be assigned by the Ministry of Education, for a period of at least five years from the date of my completion of the course of study at the Teacher Training College, unless specific permission is granted by the said Ministry of Education for a shorter period of service."[91]

The graduates had to teach all subjects in the elementary schools. The curriculum at the college therefore included art, music, physical education, hygiene, woodwork, methods of teaching, and educational psychology in addition to secondary school subjects. Attention was paid to the elementary school curriculum, and students were required to supplement their courses with practice teaching.

In the first four years of the school, students accepted this curriculum without question. In 1948-49, however, problems began to develop. Some students expressed dissatisfaction with the professional bias of the curriculum, and agitated for greater emphasis on academic secondary subjects. These were, in the main, students who had little interest in becoming teachers. The demands of the students, however, were rejected by the ministry, which in fact acceded to the directors' request to reinforce the professional curriculum with additional subjects such as history of education, library science, school management, ethics of teaching, the work of the United Nations and subject methodology. The director stated to the ministry that the substance of the proposed curriculum was in accordance with recognized teacher-training practice in advanced societies, and deplored the fact that a few students were out to spoil the purpose of a teacher training institution, and by their conduct hindering its progress. He asked that the students be directed either to accept the professional curriculum or to leave the college. Otherwise the college should be closed and turned into another secondary school. The professional curriculum was approved, and the college remained a vocational and professional institution.[92] A model first grade class was later attached to the college to provide teaching practice. It is worth noting, however, that one of the reasons for the British council's withdrawal was this unreasonable student agitation over the role of the college.[93] The students, who had misconstrued the purpose of the school, were ignorant of the real objectives of a teacher training institute.

A recent report says "A Teacher Training Institute should be a place where students mature personally as well as academically. High standards of behavior and work should be the aim. The schools need well adjusted teachers of character who are prepared to play a responsible role in adult society. But personal qualities are not developed by reading a book, nor by listening to a lecture (only). They develop out of the social climate that is created for them, where control is such that students are kept purposefully busy, are given experience in organization, and are actively involved in communal activities. The tone and atmosphere should be conducive to the formation of habits of industry, and attitudes of service...

"Personality and character grow in a healthy social climate. It is the responsibility of educators to create this climate for students. Character has a special influence in teaching. In addition to having an understanding of the code of conduct that regulates the lives of honourable men and women, students should acquire habits of behavior, comportment, dress and speech that will make them an example for children. If it is considered necessary to train children in independent thought, in habits of industry and intellectual integrity, then our teachers must possess these qualities in ample measure. And if we expect our schools to build character, then surely our teachers must be men and women of character. A Teacher Training Institute should be a place where men are trained and men are made. None but the best should be entrusted with the education and care of the children of Ethiopia. 'Remember you must be a man yourself before you train a man. You yourself must set the pattern he shall follow.'"[94]

The idea that the school was a vocational and professional institution, and not just another secondary school was understood by all except a few disgruntled students. The educators supplied by the British council and Canada, together with their Ethiopian associates, had laid a sound professional foundation for teacher training in Ethiopia. The concepts established between 1944 and 1951 were carried over to the new Teacher Training School at Harar in 1952. "This objective was clear in everyone's mind, including the students, and the curriculum that followed was based upon the continuation of their education and the acquisition of professional skills, plus teaching practice."[95]

In 1949-50 the names of the Theological College, the Imperial Agricultural College at Ambo, and the Teacher Training College were changed to "school." The reason was that the three colleges were originally intended to grow into post-secondary institutions, but the government had decided that secondary school graduates should be sent abroad for higher education. The school was expanding fast and increased efforts were made to improve the academic level on entry. The library was enlarged and in 1950 was moved from the main building to a former dormitory. By 1951-52 accommodations had become overcrowded and the sport fields were inadequate, so in 1952-53 the school and students were transferred to larger premises of their own in Harar. Harar Teacher Training School was born, with eighth grade graduates admitted for a four-year program. Later on grade nine students were admitted for a three-year program.[96]

Although Addis Ababa Teacher Training School was the pioneer institution, there were other schools that attempted to produce elementary school teachers. One was opened in Jimma in 1946, as a department of the existing Practical Arts School. A department of teacher training was operating in Harar probably as a department of Medhane Alem Academy, and another at Nazareth as a Rural Teacher Training School.[97] But these three institutions, with the possible exception of the one in Harar, made no significant contribution to the training of teachers and they only survived for a short period.

Inservice Teacher Training

The graduates of the teacher training schools were insufficient to meet demand: importing foreign teachers was very expensive. The Ministry tried to meet the situation with what was, at the time, a daring innovation.

Headmasters of larger schools were requested to conduct inservice education for their teachers, on a modest scale. However, this type of program left too much to the initiative and imagination of the headmasters, and was found inadequate. To meet the challenge, the ministry organized a series of programs to increase the supply of trained teachers. A committee was set up to study ways and means of speeding up production. The committee worked from May to July 1947 and as a result of its deliberations a series of three-month refresher courses for provincial teachers were initiated. As noted earlier in the chapter, Addis Ababa Teacher Training School suspended its regular program to operate the refresher courses. The first three-month refresher course began on an experimental basis. The subjects taught were Amharic, English, hygiene, general school organization and administration, teaching methods, geography, history, music games, and physical training, the last two as extracurricular activities. Teaching method was taught in conjunction with all subjects and a review of courses was made. Except for English language, all courses were translated to Amharic for the teachers to take away with them at the end of the training period.[98]

The refresher courses continued in 1947-48 for three terms, with a total of eighty-three teachers undergoing training. The teachers were given a chance to visit schools in the capital, and to do practice teaching under expert supervision. By the end of 1948 the Training School resumed its regular two-year programs, and the inservice program continued under different arrangements.[99]

Under the new arrangements, a program of vacation teacher training was initiated. It began at the end of the school year and lasted about five weeks (of six working days each). Classes were conducted at strategically located centers and lasted from July 21 to August 18 in the provinces, and from August 25 to September 22 in Addis Ababa. In 1949-50, sixteen schools throughout the empire were used for the classes. In 1959-51 classes were held in Gondar, Gore, Adowa, Lekempti, Ambo (Hagere Hiwot), Nazareth, Debre-Berhan, Debre Marcos, Jimma, Yirgalem, Assella, Harar, Menelik II School and the Teacher Training School in Addis Ababa. Attendance in 1949-50 and 1950-51 was 1,300 and 1,320 respectively.[100]

The instructors for the summer courses were special foreign teachers, assisted by senior students from the Training School. Examination papers were sent out from Addis Ababa. A report adds, "The response of the participants was very reassuring. Full reports of all trainees were sent to and recorded in the files of the Teacher Training School...These men and women are primarily responsible for the molding of the minds of the school population and consequently, the minds of the future generation. Care to their training, their remuneration and their active integration into the system to work as a team can never be overemphasized."[101] Even with the help of such innovative programs, the shortage of trained teachers continued to be a major obstacle throughout the decade.

One of the important vocational schools during reconstruction was Ambo (later renamed Hagere Hiwot) Agricultural School. The school opened in 1946 and was originally designed as a center for the study of agriculture in Ethiopia. Although it was planned to raise it to college level, the school remained at secondary level throughout the period. Located in the Guder district in Shoa, the school enjoyed some of the most fertile and beautiful surroundings in Ethiopia. This was intentional. An agreeable climate, plenty of rainfall, a variety of good soils and the possibility of irrigation and hydroelectric installations were the characteristics of the area.

The school began under the Ministry of Agriculture, but was transferred to the Ministry of Education in 1947. In 1948 it was transferred back to the Ministry of Agriculture under whose direction it remains.

Courses of study in the school included Amharic, mathematics, English, general agriculture, motor mechanics, chemistry, botany, zoology and physical training. Research methods and experimental work were added later.

From the beginning Ambo Agricultural School was well staffed and well equipped. Agricultural tools and machines were available in adequate quantities. A complete agricultural laboratory set was ordered and received from the USA. Classrooms, administrative offices, library facilities and an assembly hall were provided.

After completing the prescribed courses of study, successful graduates received certificates entitling them to work as agricultural technicians in elementary schools, as provincial agricultural officers, as farm managers and advisors, and as assistants at experimental stations. Some of the best graduates were sent abroad for further studies.

The graduates of the school, together with graduates of other technical and vocational schools, provided skilled personnel for government and private enterprise and replaced the Italian technicians who were the only trained technicians in the country. A contemporary report noted, "Although established a short time (ago), the students who have graduated from these schools are already making their way in the pool of industrial workers of the nation. Given time and a progressive stepping up of the program, the Vocational Schools will prove their worth in building up a sufficient number of artisans, craftsmen, and business workers to meet the expanding needs."[102]

Another vocational school operating under the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts was the Theological School. Opened on December 13, 1944, the Theological School of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Addis Ababa was established to train functionaries for the Ethiopian church. Prior to the establishment of the school, the emperor had ordered courses to be given to priests and deacons of the church at the imperial palace. When it was decided to operate the school on a permanent basis, a committee was organized to formulate the functions of such a school, and Mr. Uatez Doud was invited from Egypt to head the new institution. The name of the school was changed to the "Theological School of the Holy Trinity" and was comprised of three departments, one for junior priests, with a period of training lasting three years; a deacons' school, with a five-year period of study; and the college itself, with courses lasting for three years.

The school's personnel consisted of fifteen teachers, the director, a secretary, a storekeeper and a dresser. The program of studies included Old and New Testament commentary, bible study, geography of the Bible, church sacraments, church history, pastoral theology, the Mass, Digwa, Zimmarie, Ge'ez, Amharic, English, geography, mathematics, science, hygiene and gymnastics. By 1951 there were ten classes.[103]

Promising graduates were sent abroad for further studies in their chosen vocation. By 1951 six students were in Greece, seven in Egypt and six in Constantinople doing advanced studies in various branches of theology. In 1951 three graduates were appointed by the Ministry of Education to direct new religious schools under the Abuna of Lekempti.[104]

There were eight buildings, one used as assembly hall, the rest as classrooms or dormitories. The first enrollment was twenty students, and it had reached 178 by 1951. Of these, 101 were boarders, twenty-six were given $20 per month, and the rest were self-supporting day students. The students ranged in age from seven-year olds in the deacon's school to adults.

While undergoing training the students were busy with practical activities. Senior students practiced preaching and teaching at several schools in the capital. Once a week they went out to visit and preach in hospitals or prisons, and on Saturday afternoons they delivered sermons to students and members of the community in the school's assembly hall. Some students delivered sermons to a larger public on Sundays over Radio Addis Ababa (Ethiopia).

A Boy Scout program was started for the younger members of the school. Football and athletics were played by students of the deacon's school. The staff of the school also rendered community service. Two services a week were held by school staff in Arabic on

Radio Addis Ababa, on Sunday mornings and Tuesday evenings. The services were reported to reach as far as Eritrea, the Sudan, Aden, and Egypt.[105]

Traditional Handicrafts

In Ethiopian history handicrafts play a prominent role. From time immemorial artisans of Ethiopia have been known for their pottery, weaving, jewelry, basketry, straw weaving, metal and woodwork. There had traditionally been a division of labor based either on ethnic, religious, or sexual grounds. Sometimes certain craftsmen have been despised by others, and this persists in some parts of the country. Traditional native crafts of Ethiopia have enriched the culture and economy of the people. After the restoration the government decided to revive the arts of traditional craftsmen in the schools.

It was recognized that the ability to design and execute patterns, to create useful and artistic objects, is part of the native genius of the Ethiopian people. Modern industrial arts have grown from such roots. It was felt that the schools should encourage the preservation and further development of native handicrafts, and elementary and secondary school curricula included the teaching of handicraft. The first curriculum, put out by the ministry in 1947, has a provision for the teaching of elementary handicraft. The teacher is advised that handicrafts can be used as a method of teaching other subjects, but craftwork as a subject for its own sake also has great value. Further, handiwork has both utilitarian and moral value, especially if it encourages pupils to adopt useful hobbies in their spare time. There is an aesthetic value in appreciating beauty of design, color and workmanship. The teacher was admonished to "Take the teaching of craftwork as seriously as you take the teaching of any other subject."[106]

The curriculum was careful not to restrict the teacher to particular materials. He was advised to use local materials and colors, and urged to "Always study the local methods of grass work first. Then see if mat looms can be improved or new stitches can be introduced into basket work."[107]

The teacher was reminded, "Try to aim at a standard and type of work that the pupil can reach afterwards in his home. Do not teach him to use tools in school which he will never be able to use in later life. Very beautiful work can be done with very few and simple tools...Let the pupils make things needed for their other school subjects such as looms, stools, rulers, boxes, etc. Take the advice of the country people about which trees have wood suitable for carving - they have used the trees for generations for their farm tools, etc."[108] The teaching of handicrafts fell in three parts. In rural and provincial schools there were no skilled handicraft teachers. In this type of school the only handicrafts taught were the indigenous crafts of the community.

In schools in larger towns, sewing and embroidery for girl students, and carpentry for the boys were added to the indigenous craftwork.

Arts and crafts varied from one district to the next, but those taught included ropework, basketry, jewelry, spinning, weaving, knitting, bonecarving, simple leatherwork, simple woodwork, pottery and gardening. In many schools each pupil had his own garden plot on the premises.[109]

In Addis Ababa and some of the provincial capitals, sophisticated equipment and relatively well-trained teachers were available. Such schools as Empress Menen Girls' School, Jimma School of Practical Arts, Kolfe Industrial School and the Empress Menen Handicraft School spring to mind.[110]

In Empress Menen Girls' School qualified teachers taught the girls spinning, knitting, embroidery, dressmaking, basketry, and other indigenous arts and crafts. Every girl carried out complete projects under supervision. The girls used modern sewing machines to make school uniforms and dresses.

In Jimma School of Practical Arts the arts and crafts taught were those considered useful for the people of the province. Crafts like woodwork, simple house construction, mechanics, bookkeeping, and leather-tanning were taught. At Kolfe School ropemaking, rugweaving, spinning, dyemaking, glasswork, bonecarving, silverwork and jewelry were among the crafts taught.[111]

Music Education

Traditional Ethiopian music consists of two types, sacred and secular. Organized church music began in the sixth century A.D., as a result of the genius of St. Yared. Yared's tonal forms and notations have served as guidelines for religious music to the present day. Unfortunately, the notation and words are in Ge'ez, and no attempt has ever been made to popularize them with the masses. They are used only in church services by deacons and priests. The majority of laymen do not understand them or participate.

Secular music, on the other hand, has always been the property of the common people, an expression of their feelings about their daily labors, the seasons of the year, and so on. This type of music has never been written down, nor are there any rules governing note arrangements. When an attempt was made to include music in the school curriculum, many problems were encountered.

The 1947 curriculum guide of the Ministry of Education stated that the teaching of singing in school "has as its aim to give the pupil a liking for singing and a taste for music, to train the voice and musical ear, and to give the children a stock of songs to be sung inside and outside the school."[112] In April 1946 a music school was opened to give formal education to children who had a special aptitude for music. The schools, at both primary and secondary levels, were required to give some music education to their students. However the approach was perhaps too negative. Because of a lack of teaching material, the authorities tried to teach Ethiopian students Western music, and judged their success or failure on that basis.

A 1950 report noted, "An interesting observation in Ethiopia, and which has and will determine the nature and the scope of music as a formal subject in the schools, is the nature of the indigenous music. Ethiopian native music is pentatonic as against that of the West being diatonic. To delve into study, expand and orchestrate Ethiopian music calls for special skill and at this stage, great musical research. If the same theme which runs through Ethiopia's modernization, that of preserving as much as possible of the native culture and blending it with the best from the West, is to be maintained, then music in Ethiopian education presents some difficulties.

"The problem has not been approached as yet on a basis of developing Ethiopian music, because of necessity, Ethiopian musicians would be necessary. The Ethiopian music is still the itinerant band who plays and sings according to the air and the teaching of their own genius. It is not as yet established that Ethiopian music as such has been ever reduced to written form, and the instruments used are purely native fabrication. The strains to which the Ethiopian child will reflexively respond find no parallel in Western music. Teaching the newer music, therefore, is a definetely new creation and must be taught to ears completely unaccustomed to these strains."[113]

The author was speaking of the music of the western world. Had he tried to find similarities with Eastern music he might not have been so pessimistic. It was true that teaching music in school proved very difficult, and for lack of trained teachers it was not carried through as the curriculum guide of 1947 envisioned.

Despite the difficulties, pupils who had been exposed to music teaching showed "remarkable aptitude" in their sense of rhythm, and remarkable skill in playing musical instruments. "The rule, up to the present," said the report, "is to teach the native airs by note, some of the students and music teachers playing from memory on the piano and to include Western airs and works as a basis for music teaching.

"...The pupils show keenness and willingness to study, and in many public concerts have shown themselves capable of reading, sustaining time, some of them attaining good artistic rendition. The favourite instruments in these cases are: the piano and the violin."[114]

In the larger elementary schools and in secondary schools music formed part of the regular curriculum. Full periods were devoted to choral singing and instrument playing. In Princess Zenebe Work and Tafari Makonnen Schools some pupils played and interpreted the great master works and bimonthly concerts were presented for student-and-staff audiences. School bands were organized in Menelik II School, using saxophones, clarinets, drums, cymbals, cornets and trumpets. However, many problems had to be overcome.

"Ethiopian education, as a rule, is faced with problems. In the Musical Department there is no exception. Modern instruments, such as pianos and violins, are insufficient for the pupils who enroll for instrumental music lessons. Music books and other literature necessary for the teaching of theory are none too lavish and enough qualified music teachers are still not available."[115]

Physical Education

The importance of physical education was recognized in the first postwar decade. In the 1947 curriculum guide physical education received due emphasis. "...physical education is not merely to improve the physical condition of the children and to secure the full development of their health and physical strength; it is a process through which they are aided in the development of their mental powers and in the formation of their character...and therefore, rightly forms part of the general curriculum of the Ethiopian schools."[116]

Accordingly guidelines were provided on establishing a physical education program in elementary schools, including a list of suggested textbooks. Practicing teachers who had the inclination to teach physical education were trained, and in some cases foreign teachers were appointed supervisors of physical training.[117]

A mid-decade report remarked: "There is in every school a qualified physical training instructor. Short courses have been and are continuously being provided for Ethiopian instructors who, from the results, are doing excellent work among the children entrusted to their care. In many of the larger schools foreign physical training instructors supervise their work."[118]

Among games taught were gitty, genna, meket, football, basketball, and volleyball, depending on the facilities available. In some schools like Haile Selassie I Secondary School in Addis Ababa and in Debre Zeit swimming instruction was added. To coordinate physical education and to supervise the distribution of sports materials and equipment a physical training director was attached to the central office in Addis Ababa.[119]

In addition to formal instruction, intra- and inter-school sports competition were encouraged and enjoyed by students. In the capital, and in some provincial schools, annual tournaments took place, and trophies were awarded to winning individuals or schools. "...the response is increasing and the interest and the spirit of competition becomes keener and keener. Both faculty and student body seem signally interested in this program of good, clean sportsmanship..."[120] declared the report.

Adult Education

The postwar scramble for education was ferocious. Children of school age were literally knocking at the gates of the relatively few schools that were open. The demand was far in excess of the available personnel and facilities. In addition there were many adults who had had no chance to get any kind of formal training. It was essential that somehow the needs of these people should be taken care of. To meet the challenge in the field of adult education, evening schools were encouraged for the adult community from 1942 onwards.

Private individuals and organizations took the lead but in 1948-49 the Ministry of Education & Fine Arts finally acted. In most of the central schools, the headmasters, on their own initiative, conducted evening classes for people of the neighborhood.

The British Council, through the British Institute, offered evening classes in Addis Ababa and in a couple of provinces. After passing rudimentary tests young men were admitted, at a nominal fee, to learn primary English. The institute also offered pamphlets, film shows and other cultural and instructional activities. Certificates were awarded annually for successful completion of studies.[121]

Other private, semiprivate and governmental agencies that offered organized adult education programs included the American Night School, the Lycee Gebre Mariam, the Sudan Interior Mission, the Y.M.C.A., the Teachers' Association, Shimelis Habte and Beyene Merid Schools, and other schools in Dire Dawa, Debre Berhan, Harar, Nazareth and Dessie.[122]

In March 1948 "Berhaneh Zarie Neo," a school and cultural institution, was opened by imperial decree. Endowed by Haile Selassie and located in the heart of the capital, the institute marked a new approach to adult education in Ethiopia. In addition to offering courses in English, French, mathematics, elementary science and general knowledge, it had a library open to the general public and an assembly hall for clubs and committees. It also provided continuation studies for members of the teaching profession. The purpose of the institute was very ambitious; its yearbook stated, "The ultimate goal is to branch out into the field of mass education, so that every person in the Empire will become literate in a prescribed period. Plans were being studied this year to adopt a method of simplification of the Amharic alphabet, as a vehicle for achieving this end."[123]

However, the prospect of reaching most adult citizens proved elusive for a number of reasons, including lack of equipment, facilities, and teachers. Nonetheless, plans were drawn up for an appropriate curriculum, the training of special teachers to cope with adult education, and the propagandizing of the advantages of education among the adult population.[124]

Preschool Education

Emphasis had been placed on reaching as many of the school age and overage population as possible. The Ministry of Education was unable to attempt to reach preschool children. However, in sporadic fashion, primarily through the efforts of private organizations and individuals, nursery or kindergarten classes were conducted both in the capital and in some provinces. By the end of the reconstruction era, there were several such schools in existence. In the Lycee Gebre Mariam and in Menelik II School in Addis Ababa there were respectively one hundred and fifty children enrolled. In Ras Makonnen School, Harar, in Hagere Hiot in the Haile Selassie I School, Shoa Empress Menen School, the English School and Nazareth School in Addis Ababa, some nursery classes were conducted. This scattered effort did not, however, quench the thirst for kindergartens, especially in the capital.[125]

Higher Education

Postelementary schools were expanding faster than elementary education, which in turn gave rise to a need for further education at the college or university level. However, it was not immediately possible to establish an institution of higher learning in Ethiopia. Instead, selected students, after passing their examinations, were sent abroad for study.

Study Abroad

During the fifteen years from 1920 to 1935 a steady stream of Ethiopians, sometimes as many as twenty in a year, were sent to France, England, U.S.A. and other countries to study. This was essential to the production of a highly educated nucleus capable of performing executive functions in government and technical service, and of instructing their countrymen. But it was not altogether a blessing. Two major problems were that it was financially expensive, and there was the danger of alienation. The expense was borne without a grudge, although it was a heavy drain on a small budget, but the second concerned the Ethiopian authorities deeply.

To the credit of the young men, and the culture that nurtured them, they invariably returned to render faithful service, even during the occupation, sacrificing their lives for what they believed in - the perpetual freedom and independence of Ethiopia.[126]

The program of sending students abroad was resumed after the war with renewed vigor. Some promising young people were sent abroad for studies even before they had completed secondary education. By 1949 there were 228 students in foreign institutions under government and bilateral scholarship schemes. By the end of the decade there were more than three hundred of them in universities and colleges scattered all over the world.

At first students were sent to Alexandria, Beirut, and Greece. Later on they could be found in the USA, England, France, West Germany, Belgium, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria, Yugoslavia, Cyprus, Turkey, Israel, India, the Sudan, Uganda, Australia, Canada, Japan, Haiti, Portugal, Tanganyika, Pakistan and Mexico. All these countries did not offer scholarships simultaneously, nor did they open their doors to Ethiopian students at the beginning of the period. They were gradually admitted to more and more institutions, for varying lengths of time and programs of study.[127] The courses they took included law, economics, political science, sociology, education, medicine, nursing, midwifery, agriculture, forestry, veterinary science, engineering, art, journalism, publishing and printing, aeronautics, military and naval science, police duties, theology and beauty culture.[128]

Even before 1951, some students had returned and were rendering valuable service to their country. In 1949-50 ten students received their bachelor's degrees in Canada and the USA, and one in the United Kingdom. In 1950-51, ten more qualified in the USA and Canada and three in the U.K. In 1951-52 twenty-four students in the USA and Canada and four in the U.K. were expected to receive their first degrees.[129]

Between 1945 (when the first group of students went abroad) and 1958, 750 Ethiopians completed their studies and returned. The expensive investment made in their education was beginning to pay off in better commitment, higher performance, and more productivity.[130] Despite this, it was felt that to continue to send Ethiopians abroad for higher studies was uneconomical. The decision was taken to establish an institution of higher learning in Ethiopia.

The University College of Addis Ababa

When independence was regained in 1941, the old blueprints for higher education were dug up. After much study and deliberation various committees suggested policies and plans for the new college, for the approval of the board of education and the emperor. On March 20, 1950 the emperor invited Dr. Lucien Matte, a distinguished Canadian Jesuit educator who had been serving as head of Tafari Makonnen School, to take responsibility for the first college in Ethiopia. The emperor gave Dr. Matte full control of the program, the staff, and the organization of the college.[131]

After Dr. Matte had travelled to Europe to purchase supplies and equipment and to recruit faculty members, classes began on December 11, 1950.

Dr. Trudeau has pointed out, "It was a humble beginning. There was a staff of nine teachers, the principal included. There were twenty-one students, all men, who had completed high school. The students, all boarders, and some of the staff members were living together on campus, in the building that used to be the Commercial School and was still partly occupied by students of this school. Dormitories, dining hall, library, classrooms and laboratories were accommodated in this one building. It was simple and poor, but sufficient."[132]

The aims of the University College, as it came to be called, included a two-year program leading to an Ethiopian Higher Certificate, independence in its programs, examinations and in the granting of diplomas.[133] In form and content, it was to be oriented towards meeting the unique needs of Ethiopia. While Ethiopia was willing to draw on the experience of foreign universities and personnel, she felt that her own peculiar heritage and conditions would be the guiding principles in the development of the college.

After the formal inauguration of the college much heated discussion ensued as to whether the college should be affiliated with a British university. The final decision was to keep the college independent and to work for the recognition of its diplomas and degrees by foreign institutions. Accordingly, in 1953 the University College asked the government of Ethiopia for a civil charter. The charter was granted and published in the official Negarit Gazetta on July 28, 1954. The charter granted the college all the usual university powers and privileges. This was the cornerstone of higher education in Ethiopia.[134]

The first graduation exercise was held on August 26, 1954. The emperor presided as chancellor and founder of the University College. "For the first time in the history of Ethiopia, Ethiopian students received a University degree granted by an Ethiopian degree-granting institution. It was also a milestone in the history of African Higher Education."[135]

The establishment of the University College was a step towards the founding of Haile Selassie I University. In June 1951, the vice-minister of education appointed a special committee for the specific purpose of considering "certain propositions for the establishment of the Haile Selassie I University in Addis Ababa."[136] The terms of reference and functions of the committee were to include, among others:

"...advise the Board of Education in regard to the following points:

a) some general principles involved in the development of University education in Ethiopia.
b) the course which it is considered desirable to include when planning the first stage of construction of the Haile Sellassie I University in Addis Ababa,
c) questions of accommodations arising from the above."[137]

The implementation of the report of this committee had to wait a full decade, until 1961. However, it generated great interest in the legitimate functions of the university, which in turn led to the establishment of several colleges during the 1950s.

Within the decade 1941 to 1951 a complete structure of Ethiopian education, covering the whole range from nursery schools to college level was constructed presenting a remarkable achievement for the Ethiopian people.

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Chapter VII

THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD:

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The effectiveness of the teaching-learnng function is an outcome of the interaction of the teacher, the environment, the motivation and intellectual characteristics of the learner and the teaching aids or materials available. In the postwar decade in Ethiopia many of these ingredients were at best inadequate and at worst absent. In 1941-42 Ethiopia tried to reconstruct its educational system from scratch, but textbooks, laboratory facilities and equipment, and many other essential materials were not available while a global war was still raging. The present chapter examines some of the material and methodological problems encountered and tells how they were overcome.

Instructional Materials

In 1942, when the reconstruction of the educational system was undertaken there was an acute shortage of maps, atlases, charts, textbooks, teaching aids, school supplies, and equipment. Amharic readers, grammars, arithmetic and geography books, and other texts suitable for children which had been printed before the war were nearly all destroyed during the occupation. The large quantity of Italian textbooks left were quite useless in terms of both language and content.[1] One of the first tasks of the government was to find suitable textbooks, either locally produced or imported. Neither of these options was carried out, because there were not enough qualified personnel to prepare the texts, nor were the necessary printing supplies available. It was practically impossible to import texts, even had there been enough money, because of the war still being waged in Europe and Asia. However, in 1941 and in the following year the Ministry of Education printed a number of Amharic books to serve as readers in elementary schools. Two English readers were also written and published, but this effort did not produce the required quality or quantity of textbooks.[2]

As far as supplies were concerned, the Italians had left behind several blackboards and some inferior chalk, "while the backs of the multitudinous official forms came in useful as writing paper."[3]

The shortage of teaching aids continued to be a problem. This situation worsened in 1944 when the language of instruction changed to English, introduced at the beginning of the third grade and becoming from grade five upwards the sole medium of teaching, as well as continuing as a school subject.[4] This change from Amharic to English placed a very heavy burden on learners for whom English was a second or third language. The problem of language was further complicated by the fact that the majority of the foreign teachers in the field had been dispersed by the occupation, and those who were still in the country after the war could not teach in English. Furthermore, the few educated Ethiopians who survived the war were needed for executive posts in government and former Ethiopian teachers who had taught in French could not do so in English.[5] The scarcity of teaching materials, the problem of language, the foreign teachers, inexperience of the Ethiopian scene and the lack of qualified Ethiopian personnel further retarded the progress of the educational program.

In 1942 the Ethiopian government invited the British council to set up institutes for teaching English, to provide a library of English books and periodicals, and to procure English textbooks for schools. In 1944 the British council spent some $2,000,000 (200,000

British pounds) on the purchase of books for use in Addis Ababa.[6]

Meanwhile the Ministry of Education, with an almost entirely Ethiopian staff except for a few British advisors, was busy setting up committees to study the educational system and to recommend measures for the consolidation of educational policies, curricula, programs, textbooks and methods of instruction. Unified programs and teaching materials were urgently sought because of the international staffing of the schools and the wide range of school programs, textbooks and school structures, and to create a system of education that would be characteristically Ethiopian.[7] The committees recommended a number of measures some of which were implemented. The Textbook and Curriculum Committee rendered useful service in selecting teaching materials.

In the meantime, orders for books were sent abroad and some of the teaching materials (charts, maps, atlases and textbooks) began to arrive in 1945. From then on, since the war in Europe was over, textbooks, equipment, and supplies could be obtained if the cash was available.

Most of these teaching materials were foreign-produced, for children of different cultural backgrounds. A major problem was the distribution of teaching materials to the schools located in distant provinces of the empire, a problem that remains formidable even today.[8]

The scarcity and lack of relevance of teaching materials to the curriculum of Ethiopian schools, and the misdirection of the curriculum was not limited to elementary schools alone. The government secondary schools suffered just as much, if not more. A student of Ethiopian education writing a decade later observed, "The elementary school programs were almost entirely academic, geared towards the academic secondary schools. The secondary schools were almost entirely academic. Everyone directed his attention to the High School Certificate (either the London General Certificate of Education or the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate), which was the 'entrance ticket' to one of the colleges. Commercial, technical and agricultural education were geared as second class education, reserved for those who could not make the grade in academic secondary schools, or who had to go to work immediately after finishing their secondary education. This was the consequence of the Government's policy towards the 'intelligentsia'."[9]

Teaching materials were also criticized for being archaic and conservative. A Ministry publication appearing in the early 1950s stated, "Anyone who is acquainted with modern developments in secondary education cannot avoid being critical of the curriculum and materials of instruction in the academic secondary schools of Ethiopia. The curriculum is patterned primarily after pre-war European practices and is comparable to conservative secondary school practices in the United States thirty years ago. The curriculums of the academic secondary schools are even more conservative than the University College of Addis Ababa authorities recommend. Here is a unique situation. In Western countries, progressive innovations in the secondary school curriculum have been generally resisted by higher institutions; in Ethiopia, the resistance is not from the higher institutions but from within the secondary schools themselves."[10]

The same source illustrated the conservatism of some of the academic secondary schools by pointing out the importance given to early specialization. Some secondary schools required students to begin specializing in eleventh grade in a science or humanities curriculum. Such specialization before the student had acquired a good basic general education was both unsound and uneconomical. The writer added: "It is obvious that a secondary school curriculum which duplicates the curriculum of conservative academic secondary schools in English-speaking countries is not appropriate for use in Ethiopia..."[11]

Problems of this nature could have been minimized or eliminated had it been possible to compensate for them in the methods of instruction. But unfortunately there was no such easy way out.

Methods of Instruction

Methods of instruction bear significantly on the outcome of learning. In Ethiopian schools at this time both materials and teachers were brought from abroad. Furthermore, each teacher brought with him the philosophy of his native land and practiced it in Ethiopian schools without much regard for the local situation or for what the other teachers or the school administrators were doing. It might have been possible to provide guidance about the different backgrounds of the students, but such guidance was not to be had. The teachers went their various ways to the detriment of the educative process. Had they tried such methods as individual tutoring, group guidance of learners, or ability grouping the situation would have improved. Furthermore, with appropriate instruction students could have been motivated to develop their critial judgment, independent and creative thinking, and powers of observation and reasoning related to real problems. But the cultivation of the intellect has to be based on an understanding of the material to be learned, including why it should be learned, which was not the case in Ethiopia. As a result many learners fell by the wayside before they had completed any meaningful learning. As the publication already cited puts it, "The difficulty of learning can be minimized, in the absence of appropriate learning materials, only by the improvement of instructional methods. Yet the observation of instructional methods in the academic secondary schools would undoubtedly reveal that very little is being done in the area of remedial instruction, the improvement of reading ability, the improvement of study habits, etc. The teachers in the schools, with few exceptions, are undoubtedly attempting to use methods appropriate in the foreign countries from which they came and in which they had their earlier teaching experience without adapting instruction as it must be for students who are operating in a second or third language. If these criticisms are true, corrective action should be undertaken as soon as possible."[12]

Health Services and Physical Education

Health Services

Soon after the liberation, when the schools in Addis Ababa began to reopen, it was apparent that all was not well with the health of Ethiopian children. It was clear that the children had suffered seriously during the occupation. The sickness rate among them was very high. This was due in part to the privation, mistreatment, neglect, and malnutrition the children had had to go through. As Sylvia Pankhurst pointed out, during those dark days, "Masses of children had existed for years literally without homes. Thousands had been deprived of parents, friends and homes, the large-scale incendiary bombing and gas spraying from aeroplanes, chronicled in the telegrams of Marshal Graziani, the Fascist Viceroy. Thousands of young boys, mere children, had been forcibly removed from their villages and carried off in the Italian army lorries to work on the roads or to serve the Italians in the towns.. These destitute youngsters were known as 'dwellers on the stairs', for posessing no other shelter, it was their habit to pass the night huddled on doorsteps."[13]

Children who had gone through such experiences were liable to fall victim to many types of disease, including tropical ulcers, scabies, impetigo, trachoma, tuberculosis, syphilis, pediculosis and worm infestations.[14]

Convinced that children could not progress in learning unless they were healthy, arrangements were made for the Ministry of Public Health to appoint and supervise school dressers capable of helping people with minor ailments and of sending the seriously ill to central hospitals.

In addition provision was made for an eye, ear, nose and throat specialist to inspect all the pupils in the schools, and for the issue of medical supplies.[15]

In 1943, as the number of pupils increased, it was found necessary to appoint a full time medical officer and a school dentist for routine inspection and urgent treatment. Laboratory and X-ray equimpent, were installed and later on a full-time qualified nurse was added to the medical staff. The Ministry of Education had by then taken over the administration of school health services and begun to purchase bulk medical supplies.[16] In time most schools were staffed by qualified full-time nurses or in the provinces by a dresser. Qualified physicians paid frequent visits, examining students, and giving advice on sanitation, diet and living space.[17]

During the decade a department of school health, headed by a full-time physician, was established under the Ministry of Education. Cases from all Addis Ababa schools and some from the provinces were taken there for treatment. Schools in the capital were required to reserve one room for medical purposes; some of the larger boarding schools even provided separate buildings and included beds for inpatients. Such boarding school clinics were equipped for first aid, routine treatment and even for minor operations. Each pupil was provided with a medical card recording his or her ailments, medical examinations and treatment. The record was maintained throughout the school life of the pupil and was transferred with the pupil from school to school.[18]

Later on dressers were provided by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with U.N.R.R.A. and W.H.O. The emphasis was to be on preventive rather than curative medicine. The dressers and nurses were supposed to help pupils stay healthy, and diet, clothing, housing, bedding, lighting and sanitation were subjected to special study.[19] Vaccination and innoculation schemes were also introduced.[20]

To emphasize the importance of the preventive side of medicine training in hygiene was introduced in the schools as part of the curriculum. Two of the first Amharic textbooks printed after the liberation dealt with hygiene.[21]

Physical Education

In 1947, when the first organized curriculum guide was issued, the place and importance of physical education in the schools was given considerable attention. The guide noted, "Physical training in the Ethiopian Schools is in its early stages of development. We observe that the young people of this country are very fond of living in the open air. Many children live in cities and towns and benefit from well-organized recreational activities in schools and clubs. These physical activities will help them to develop their bodies, minds and character."[22]

The curriculum guide provided for the selection and training of physical education teachers, and for obtaining playgrounds, apparatus, and textbooks. It outlined the lessons at successive grade levels.[23]

A special department was established in the Ministry of Education to supervise physical activities in the various schools. Among the games played were football, basketball, volleyball, genna, swimming (where facilities were available, as at the Haile Selassie I Secondary and the Debre Zeit Schools), as well as the usual field and track athletics. At the bigger schools, games were organized on a compulsory basis one or two afternoons a week. The Ethiopian Inter-School Athletic Association was organized during 1949-50 and held annual competitions in football and athletics, the finals of which were always attended by the emperor. The activities of the association were gradually extended to the provinces.[24]

The scouting movement was reactivated during the latter part of the decade. The scout movement in Ethiopia had been started in 1934, and it was reported that the scouts had distinguished themselves in the defense of their country against the Fascist forces in 1935-36. The movement was revived in 1948, and in 1949 its charter was granted appearing in the Negarit Gazeta as General Notice No. 135 of 1950. The charter was granted so that young people in the empire would "have reverence for nature, a reverence for the law and reverence for God, and (learn) about the improvement of character, citizenship and physical fitness through the emphasis placed upon the Boy Scout Oath and Boy Scout Law."[25]

The scout movement recruited most of its members from amongst schoolchildren. By 1951 there were twenty-five Boy Scout troops registered and organized within the association. "This represented a membership of not less than a thousand through the troops which are found in thirty schools with one troop attached to the Y.M.C.A. in Addis Ababa."[26]

The Girl Guide movement was also started in 1946 at the Princess Zenebe Work and Empress Menen Girls Schools in Addis Ababa.[27] These youth movements enhanced the spirits and physical education of the young people of the time. Reviewing the period, the yearbook summed it up: "Ethiopian students have shown an increasing love for the outdoors, have become more interested in team activities as could be noticed from the number of Scout and Guide troops organized, and have been showing a more spontaneous regard for athletic and sports competition."[28]

Education in the Provinces

The first modern school in the country, the Menelik II School, was located in the capital. Although the emperor had tried to establish similar institutions in the provinces only the one in Harar was still functioning. When Ras Tafari became regent, he turned his attention to the question of extending educational opportunity to the provinces. His primary aim seems to have been to see that elementary education was available in all the provinces of Ethiopia. When he ascended the throne of Ethiopia as Emperor Haile Selassie I, he founded additional schools in the capital, a second school in Harar, and a "model province" in Chercher district with a school at Asbe Tafari. In 1932 Ambo and Jimma, in 1934 Gondar and Debre Markos, and in 1935 Adowa and Mekele in Tigre followed suit.[29]

Progress was brought to a halt in 1935-36 when the war with Italy broke out, but when liberty was restored in 1941 the educaton plan for the provinces was reactivated slowly but steadily.

During the decade Ethiopia was divided into twelve provinces and the capital. After the restoration and for some years following Addis Ababa got the lion's share of educational opportunities. However, some children from the provinces were able to attend schools in Addis Ababa, with the help of the boarding facilities provided. This arrangement proved to be expensive. The problems of finance, transportation and communication were recognized; if Ethiopia was to realize her dream of development, the largest segment of her citizens, those that lived in the rural parts, had to be reached.

As early as 1942 the Ministry of Education appointed provincial education officers to coordinate the efforts of the twelve provinces and the capital.[30] To begin, each provincial education officer, in collaboration with local authorites, tried to plan for the educational needs of the province vis-a-vis the available staff, school buildings, equipment and other facilities. Standardization of curriculum and general policies was attempted. At the same time the ministry increased budgetary allotments from the central treasury, built standardized and adequate school structures, increased the number of teachers, textbooks and administrative personnel and facilities.[31]

During the school year 1946-47 modern school buildings of the class "D" were constructed in many centers, primarily in the major cities.

In recognition of the stepped up activity in the provinces, the ministry organized a Provincial Education Administration Department in Addis Ababa for the first time. In March 1947 a Director of Provincial Education was appointed. A survey of the situation was made, and soon after, a one-month conference of all provincial education officers was held. The conference took place in August 1947 and has now become a regular annual affair. At the conferences the officers exchange experiences and ideas and present their annual reports.[37]

The expansion of education in the provinces required additional money, but the ministry had already been claiming about twenty percent of the national budget. The need for more education for more people increased. In response to the challenge the "Education Land Tax Act" was promulgated in December 1947. A special land tax was earmarked for the maintenance and expansion of elementary education in the provinces. The tax was set at thirty percent of the ordinary land tax. The Act also specified that all the money raised had to be used in the province where it came from, and only for elementary education. Secondary and special schools were to be supported from the national education budget.[33]

A related decree was promulgated in the same year, providing for the formation of Provincial Boards of Education. The boards were to include one representative from the principal city of the province, one representative from each awraja, the provincial education officer, the headmasters of the senior schools in the province, and the governor general of the province. The duties of the boards included the supervision of collection and expenditure of the locally-raised tax monies and advice in general school planning.[34]

The result of the increased effort in education during the decade may be seen in Table 13. The figures in the table show how the provinces fared vis-a-vis the capital city in getting their slice of the education pie. In the budget category, expenditures for the provinces sometimes included those of the central administration, but even after allowances are made for that, a marked improvement is noted.

Education of Women

In the traditional system of education, girls were not permitted to participate as much as the boys. In those days it was felt that a woman's place was in the home, minding the kitchen and raising children, or working in the field with her husband. In her parents' home a girl was initiated into the practical art of homemaking. Much attention was given to polished manners, politeness, obedience, and reverence for age. Bowing low when greeting elders or strangers and receiving articles in both hands were part of the training of well-mannered girls.[35] Marriages were arranged by the parents, and it was considered

Table 13

Progress of Education in the Provinces

Year	Students %	Schools %	Classrooms %	School Personnel %	Expenditure %
1947-48	X	X	X	X	45.7
1948-49	86.2	94.6	X	97.8	58.3
1949-50	82.6	94.5	82.6	68.6	43.3
1950-51	84.0	94.0	84.0	77.5	45.0

Source: Ministry of Education, Year Book 1947-49, p. 86, chapter XI, First two tables (no page assigned). ("X" means figures not available)

very immodest for a girl to flirt with a young man. Once a girl was married she became, in many respects, almost equal to her husband. If she was properly married and a Christian, she enjoyed equal rights over household property and other forms of wealth. A recent publication has pointed out, "The Ethiopian woman does not lose her identity in marriage; she retains her family name and continues to be known by it. She is a partner, not a subordinate in matrimony. In case of divorce, the spouses are each entitled to recover what they brought into the marriage partnership, and each has the right to half the property which has been acquired during the marriage."[36]

There were some exceptions, depending on the religious, ethnic, or social background of the family, but as a rule the Ethiopian woman was no worse off than her sisters in the Middle East or even in Europe.[37]

The women of Ethiopia were not altogether denied freedom, respect, and the enjoyment of culture and higher education that the times afforded. It is recorded that many women were distinguished in secular songs and poetry. The women poets of the city of Gondar were famous and played a significant role in the culture of Gondar during its heyday. Nineteenth century reports substantiate that women were "far from being mere ciphers."[38]

Ethiopian women had played many important roles. Ethiopian empresses were regents "by accepted custom" during the minority of the heir to the throne, assisted by the Bitwoded and the head of the Ethiopian Church. Ethiopian queens, the mothers and wives of kings, had governed extensive territories and had administered justice even during the effective rule of the sovereign. Among such influential women were the Empresses Eleni, Sable Wongel, Mentwab and Taitu. All of these women had extensive political power in their time.[39] It could be argued that these royal ladies were a law unto themselves and did not represent the common women. However, they did represent the thinking of the ruling class and the church, the two strongest Ethiopian institutions for many centuries.

At the beginning of the present century some girls were sent abroad to study and in Ethiopia itself many girls began to attend the schools established by foreign religious societies. In 1931 Her Imperial Majesty, the late Empress of Ethiopia, founded the

Empress Menen School for Girls. Initially fifty girl students were registered and the school continued to function until 1936.[40]

When the Ministry of Education was reconstituted on May 10, 1941 it at once took over the three main school buildings, the Menelik II and Tafari Makonnen for boys and the Empress Menen for girls. With the assistance of foreign teachers the Empress Menen School, as well as the other two, began to function again.[41] A few years later the school added secondary grades, and before the decade was over was providing education from kindergarten to full secondary level.

Another school primarily for girls was the Empress Menen Handicraft School in Addis Ababa. This school was established before the war and was disbanded during the occupation. After 1941 it was reactivated along the original lines, to train young women and girls in technical education. The empress wished the girls of Ethiopia to be trained in useful home-crafts like dressmaking so that they could promote the welfare of the family and train for employment. Another objective was to preserve and improve "the beautiful handicrafts which had flourished in former times and now were tending under the impact of factory-made goods from abroad to disappear."[42] After the war the school became an important source of employment for women, girls, and young boys, a large number of whom were orphaned and destitute in the capital, "a bitter sequel to the tragic ordeal of war and enemy occupation through which the country had passed."[43]

The improved conditions at the school in 1944 were described by an eyewitness in the following terms. "... I found that already the dye-shop, the carpentry, carpetweaving, basketry, metal work and garment departments were in being. Everything was in short supply and everything was needed, but the production of garments for children and adults was meeting the most urgent need of all... The World War, then still raging, rendered imported textiles almost unobtainable and the products of the Handicraft School were an immense boot to the Capital."[44]

Gradually this school expanded its programs and enrollment to include a one-year teacher training course and a three-year work program leading to award of a diploma.[45]

Thus the education of women and girls assumed an accelerated tempo during the early years of the postwar era. But considering the need and the total number of boys in school, it was not progressing enough. This lag in the education of females had been recognized and their Imperial Majesties had advised that henceforth, "both boys and girls should be afforded equal educational opportunities..."[46] Following this injunction some attempts were made to make children and young people of both sexes learn side by side in the same rooms with the same teachers. But the step in the direction of coeducation was slow and cautious. Thus a 1949 year book reported that, "Co-education is practically a new phase of Ethiopian school life, partly from tradition and most particularly because Ethiopian education is geared to the urgent need of the hour."[47]

The fact that the education of girls in general had lagged behind that of the boys during the reconstruction decade can be seen in Table 14.

The rise in the number of female students had never been fast or steady; the mean percentage for the seven years to 1951 was only 10.5. This was and still is a problem; young girls are reluctant to attend or to stay in school.

Table 14

Number of Female Students as Percentage of Total Enrollment

1944-45	9.9
1945-46	9.2
1946-47	8.7
1947-48	11.4
1948-49	10.5
1949-50	11.7
1950-51	12.4

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Year Book E.C. 1940-41 (1947-49), p. 77. Year Book E.C. 1942-43 (1949-51), pp. 109-117, 143-45, 163-65, 188-191.

Government Schools

It is difficult to trace the growth of the government education system from the beginning because statistics on the number of schools, teachers and students, especially for the first three years, are often lacking or contradictory. One fact, however, is clear. In 1941, there were no government schools of any kind. The only formal education in the whole empire was provided by the Ethiopian Church. The government schools, indeed the entire education system, that existed in 1951, represented therefore a growth from zero in 1941.[48]

In 1941 the old schools were reopened. There followed a program of building new schools, both in the capital and the provinces. The records do not show the exact number of schools between 1941 and 1944, nor do we have precise information regarding the type and number of schools operated by non-government agencies like the Ethiopian Church, private organizations and Missionary Societies. However, by 1944 there were about 116 schools run by the Ministry of Education and other bodies. Dr. Bjerkan provides the following statistics in Table 15. It is clear from Table 15 that by 1944 the infrastructure of the education system was beginning to take a definite form. From 1944-45 onwards data are available on the total number of schools but they do not reveal the type of school nor how many operated under government auspices. Chart 1 and Table 16 show the development pattern of the education system in terms of the number of schools. It can be seen that the growth in the number of schools until 1951 was steady. In 1950-51 however, the church decided to pull out of the public system of education because of a land tax support question. This decision had an adverse effect on the steady development of education.

No data are available on the number of classes or sections in the schools, but it was common practice for the larger elementary schools to have several sections in first grade, each with an excessively large enrollment, whereas the students in the higher grades were taught as a single class without its size being excessive.[49]

It should be noted that not all elementary schools continued even to the

Table 15

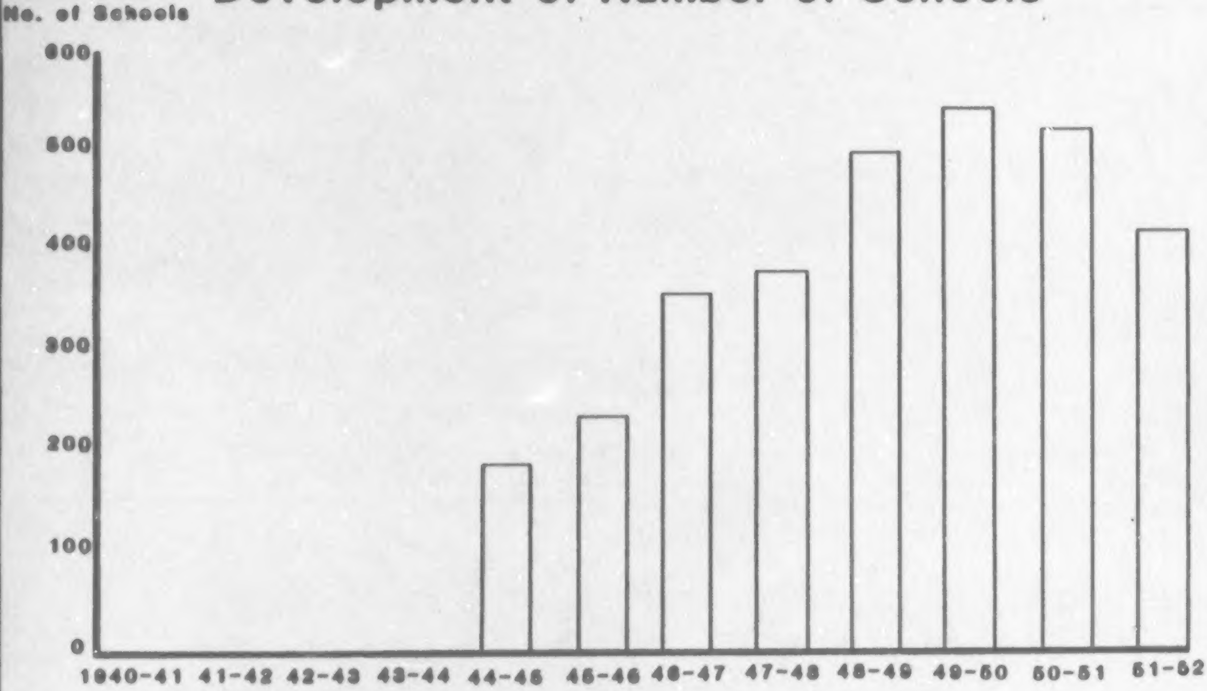
Numbers and Types of Schools in Ethiopia in 1944

In Addis Ababa:	
Government Schools	
Elementary Schools	5
Secondary Schools	7
Teacher Training College	1
Commercial School	1
Theological School	1
Schools of Arts and Crafts	2
Private Schools	10
Mission Schools	3
In the Provinces:	
Government Schools	
Higher Elementary (grade 1-6)	30
Elementary Schools	53
Mission Schools	3
Total number of Schools	116

Source: C. Bjerkan, "Plans, Targets and Trends in Ethiopian Education," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Maryland, 1970), p. 60.

Chart 1

Development of Number of Schools



Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook, 1951-53, p. 12.

Table 16

Growth in the Number of Government Schools for a period of Eight Years

Year	No. of Schools	% of Increase
1943-44	80	-
1944-45	175	118.7
1945-46	260	48.6
1946-47	380	46.2
1947-48	390	2.6
1948-49	500	28.2
1949-50	540	8.0
1950-51	530	-1.9*
1951-52	415	-2.2
Total No. of Schools...	3270	

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook, E.C. 1942-43 (1951-53), p. 12.

*Church withdrew from the government system.

Table 17

Government Elementary Schools According to the Number of Grades Taught

Grades	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52
1,2,3 and 4	132	152	188
1, 2 and 3	223	262	229
1 and 2	362	383	313
1	522	481	380
Total Number of Schools	1239	1278	1110

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, A Ten Year Plan for Controlled Expansion of Ethiopian Education, p. 62.

fourth grade. Approximately three quarters taught only grades one, two, and three. Table 17 shows the number of grades taught for the years 1949-52. The incomplete nature of these schools was one reason for the dropout rate during the decade.

An examination of the increase in the number of schools offering one, two, three, and four year programs, beginning in 1949-1950, reveals that the number of schools in all four groups, except for one-grade schools, increased in the second year over the first year, and decreased in the third year in all grades. The reason for this fluctuation is the church's withdrawal from primary education.[50]

Nongovernment Schools

During this period some nongovernment organizations had already begun to play significant roles in the development of education in Ethiopia. They included the Ethiopian Church, various foreign missionary societies, private organizations, and foreign resident communities who wanted to educate their children along national lines. The schools run by these organizations were known as church, mission, private or community schools.

There were other institutions run by the Ethiopian Moslems primarily for their own offspring. Information on them is lacking, but suffice it to say that the Moslem Ethiopians had maintained their own schools for centuries and continued to do so. During the occupation the Fascists did not interfere with Moslem schools for propaganda reasons. Indeed, they claimed that they subsidised the expansion of Moslem schools even up to "college" level, (see Chapter IV).

These "Koran Schools" sometimes operated with government subsidies, but more often independently. The only estimate regarding enrollment and number of schools is Ruckmick's who wrote "...the best figures obtainable put the number at about 6,000 schools with perhaps 40,000 children learning to read Arabic in general and Koran in particular, but these children do not proceed very far with their general education."[51]

This unprecedented speed was made possible only by disregarding the traditional annual method of promotion grade-by-grade, and by giving students special promotions. The best sixth-grade students were promoted to grade eight, which shortened grade seven in the following year quantitatively and perhaps qualitatively. The best fifth-grade students were promoted to grade seven; the best grade one students to grade three and so on.[84]

This unorthodox procedure has been attacked for contributing to student attrition at the secondary level and this may be a valid criticism. It must not be overlooked, however, that if this approach had not been adopted manpower needs would not have been met. More students, especially the average, would have been encouraged to drop out and, most important of all, the development of secondary and higher education would have been delayed by at least a decade.

Under the circumstances impetus and momentum were provided by the eagerness and high motivation of the learners themselves. Many who taught in the schools in the years following the restoration speak very highly of the determination of the young people. Perham pointed out in 1946 that, "The educational scene in the country (Ethiopia) is indeed, mainly bright and hopeful, above all in the schools themselves, where all who have taught the children of the country testify to their enthusiasm and intelligence. The children are said to have excellent memories and though hampered in the acquisition of modern education by their ignorance of the world outside their town or village, are quick to learn new facts. Even bearded and senior men push their way into the schools, humbly but determinedly."[85] Another eyewitness added that in 1944, "...everywhere crowded with eager children, and everywhere many boys and girls for whom no room could be found were pleading for admission."[86]

A report on the period sums up the zeal of learners and teachers in the following words, "Perhaps no greater evidence could be cited with reference to the interest of Ethiopian students in getting an education than that one-half to two-thirds of a class of 150 students, many of them walking up to two hours daily to come to the school, continue in attendance even though they have no books or other learning materials and are taught by teachers whose education is limited by two, three or four years more than the students in the grade which they are teaching. No greater evidence of the desire of Ethiopians to make their contribution to the progress of their country can be cited than that teachers stay on the job without the assistance of adequate learning materials and teach classes enrolling 75 or more students."[87]

The pupils who flocked to school were eager to make up for lost time, and that eagerness was translated into an unprecedented demand for schooling. The government decided to expand the school system under pressure of this demand.

Patterns of Growth in the Education System

A pattern of growth is evident in the increased number of students, schools, teachers and other supportive personnel that were attracted to and stayed in the system. Although statistical data are lacking for the first years, and those for the rest of the decade are inaccurate, it is clear that the rate of growth in every part of the education system was phenomenal.

Student Enrollment

The number of students in school during the year 1941-43 is not known. In 1943-44 there were some 19,000 students enrolled in the schools, all of them primary and government-operated. Table 18 depicts the annual increment for the decade. This

Table 18

Enrollment in Government Schools

Year	No. of Schools	% of Increase
1943-44	19,000	-
1944-45	20,200	6.3
1945-46	33,000	6.3
1946-47	39,000	18.2
1947-48	42,000	7.7
1948-49	53,000	26.2
1949-50	59,700	12.6
1950-51	54,500	8.7

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Year Book 1951-53, p. 12; A Ten Year Plan for the Controlled Expansion of Ethiopian Education, p. 67; "Education Report: Analysis of Development in Recent Years," Ethiopian Observer 5:1, p. 66.

enrollment represents a growth from zero in 1941, and could be considered an unqualified success. However, the overwhelming majority of pupils were enrolled in one or two grade schools.

As late as 1950-51 few schools offered three and four-year programs. This state of affairs continued in the decades to follow, and has not been effectively overcome even today. The growth rate, despite these shortcomings, was 35.16 percent over the eight year period, no small achievement.

The table shows that a sharp decrease in enrollment occurred between 1949 and 1951, and this drop in enrollment continued to a record low in 1951-52. It began to climb in 1952-53 to where it was in 1949. This was a result of the Ethiopian Church's pulling out of the government education system.[88]

The Schools

The first secondary school was opened in 1943 and the second, a semigovernment institution, in 1946. The next seven academic schools were all located in Addis, except for one in Harar. A few trade or professional schools also provided instruction at the secondary level. However, although a start had been made in developing secondary schools and institutions of higher learning, the number of secondary schools was insignificant compared to elementary schools. During the first half of the period the elementary schools consisted of grades one to six; during the last half, they were expanded to include grades one to eight.

The Commercial School, the Teacher Training Institute and the Agriculture School at Ambo provided instruction at the secondary level. However, by the end of the decade the situation in secondary education had aroused the alarmed concern of a committee set up to investigate it. Their report pointed out that, "Upon the re-establishment of the Imperial Ethiopian Government in 1933 E.C. (1941) first priority in education had to be given to the securing of a sufficient number of competent administrators, technicians and professional personnel. These were essential for the efficient operation of government, and the need for them explains in large measure the emphasis which has hitherto been placed upon the rapid development of secondary and higher institutions as well as on an extended foreign study program."[89]

The same document remarks that it had become difficult to find a sufficient number of qualified candidates to enter secondary schools. The rapid development of secondary schools had diverted resources from the primary schools while many young people had to wait even for elementary schooling. It was suggested that the expansion of secondary schools be halted and attention be paid to the development of primary and middle schools.[90] However, the schools continued to expand both in numbers and in enrollment, and secondary output continued to be greater than the lower grades. Primarily to control this unruly expansion of the super-structure at the expense of the base, and to improve and regulate the curricula and the quality of instruction, an examination system was introduced.

Examination and Matriculation

Reference has been made to the international staffing of primary schools of Ethiopia. The Ethiopian school personnel then available lack tne necessary training and experience. Primarily as a check on curricula, instruction methods and materials, and to control the standard of performance of schoolchildren, the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts arranged a General Examination in 1945-46. This examination served to select student candidates for postprimary education. In 1946-47 a General Knowledge Examination was added to a battery of tests in Ethiopian history, geography and elementary science. The core subjects for the General Examination were Amharic, English and arithmetic.

When the General Examination started, candidates were drawn from those who had completed sixth grade. However, in time the standard was raised so that seventh and eighth graders sat the exam. By 1951, "all candidates were from the 7th grade."[91]

On the basis of the General Examination results, "Some estimate could be formed of the quality of teaching in general and in specific subjects in the various schools. The principal aim is to aid in the standardization of the subject matter taught and in the methods of teaching, through the distribution of a uniform curriculum of studies which is now in operation."[92]

Although the pass mark was normally fifty percent, the exam did not function automatically in that way. Directors of secondary and postprimary schools selected candidates from those who had the highest marks in general, and from those who had the highest marks in certain subjects, and from certain age groups. The selection of candidates on more than a pass in the the General Examination can be observed from the following figures.

The schools that admitted successful candidates to secondary and/or postprimary schools were Haile Selassie I Secondary School, General Wingate Secondary School, Menelik II School, Medhane Alem School (A.A.), the Teacher Training School, the Technical School and the Commercial School. In 1949 Medhane Alem Secondary School

Table 19

Number of Students who sat and passed the General Examination

Year	Number of Students Sat	No. of Students Accepted to Post-Primary Schools
1945-46	387	169
1946-47	653	274
1947-48	603	246
1948-49	418	-

Source: Ministry of Education, Year Book 1947-49, pp. 78-79.

and the Teacher Training School in Harar as well as the Teacher Training School in Jimma accepted some successful candidates to their postprimary grades.[93]

In addition to the General Examination, in 1949 tests were also administered for student transfer from one school to another. Some 146 students transferred on the basis of these tests.[94]

Once admitted to postprimary or secondary schools, the students spent a year or two preparing for senior secondary grades. The senior secondary grades consisted of grades nine through eleven, grades seven and eight being used as preparatory for junior high school years in which much attention was paid to learning English, science and mathematics. Students who succeeded in passing school-administered tests were then admitted to grade nine, and most of them were able to continue through grade twelve.

In 1950-51 the administration and structure of the General Examination was modified. The Canadian head of the Department of Teacher Education of the Ministry of Education was given the additional task of administering the General Examinations, which were by then given at the end of the eighth grade. The examinations were developed under the direction of a committee and were given at individual schools under the direction of the ministry. The tests were scored and records were kept in the office of the Director of Teacher Training. Before assignment, students were given a chance to indicate which secondary school they wished to attend. From these lists the headmasters of the secondary schools selected students for entrance to the ninth grade. Interestingly, all courses in the primary, middle and secondary schools were academic.[95]

The years needed to complete a secondary program varied from year to year and from school to school. However the two leading all-secondary schools, Haile Selassie I and General Wingate, accepted students on the basis of a successul pass in the General Examination in Amharic, English, Mathematics and general knowledge, school or achievement records, and a pass in oral and written tests administered by the school. In addition, the two schools used the first year at the secondary level as a transitional one, during which students prepared themselves for the full secondary school program. The fifth or final year was spent preparing for the University of London Matriculation Certificate Examination, the General Certificate of Education, or the Ethiopian School Leaving Examination. Successful candidates were guaranteed admission to local or overseas institutions of higher learning free of charge.[96]

Student Promotion

In 1950 the General Examination for grade eight was given to students at the close of grade seven, an unusual procedure which increased the number of students in the upper middle school grades. After this system had started there was no easy way to stop it, even had there been a desire to do so. The practice resulted in sending students into the secondary schools poorly prepared to do successful work.[97]

The secondary schools were under pressure to produce qualified students for University College or for admission to overseas institutions of higher education. The academic secondary schools had, in addition, to share better qualified students with the specialized secondary schools. After reviewing the problem a Ministry of Education Special Committee reported that, "There is little possibility of increasing the proportion of grade 8 students qualifying for admission to secondary level institutions, so long as the total number of students completing grade 8 remains low, unless selection standards are completely disregarded."[98]

In the academic secondary schools problems arose from a lack of relevant and proper curricula, teaching materials and instructional methods. The curriculum was patterned on prewar European practice and on conservative secondary school practice in the United States fifty years earlier. In Western countries innovation in secondary schools was usually resisted by the universities; in Ethiopia, the resistance came not from the higher institution, but the secondary schools themselves.[99]

The reason for this conservatism was not only the personal preference of the administrative and teaching personnel, coming from different countries with different educational philosophies. The causes also lay in the nature of the school-leaving examination, which offered papers in such fields as ancient history, and provided an excuse for the specialized curriculum of the academic secondary schools.[100]

Textbooks were written in English for English-speaking children. To expect non-English-speaking Ethiopian studentsto read and understand these materials was to ask the impossible. It was clear that students with a reading comprehension level of grade nine or lower could not use materials requiring grade twelve reading ability. This problem was worse for those students who were learning a third language.[101]

Language comprehension difficulties could have been minimized by the improvement of instructional methods, but available information shows that they were very poor. Little was done in remedial instruction, the improvement of reading ability, or the improvement of study habits. The foreign teachers in most of the schools used methods appropriate in their own countries.[102] The nature of the curriculum and methods of instruction undoubtedly had a negative effect on the holding power of the academic secondary schools. The situation was further aggravated by the students who, keenly aware of the importance of education, would not accept any instruction which they regarded as colonial or inferior. A further complication was the shortage of qualified, comptetent teachers. The ministry itself was not fully established and organized.[103] Yet despite all the deficiencies of the system, the performance of secondary school students in the University of London School-Leaving and the Ethiopian School-Leaving Examinations was impressive.

Another group of Ethiopians who operated schools for their own children were the Falashas (Ethiopian Jews). Data are also lacking here on conditions and the manner of operation. The source cited above provides the only information for the period under consideration. Ruckmick says, "the Falasha population is estimated as having about 300 schools with not more than 1,500 children attending them."[52]

Other nonministry schools included the various nurses' training schools, the schools for the armed forces, and other quasigovernment organizations.

Mission Schools

A modern author has observed that "...Christian missionaries were not as important in founding secular education in Ethiopia,"[53] As a historical fact missionaries, especially Protestants, have contributed materially to the development of secular education. They were not as aggressive as in other African or Asian countries, but they had ample reasons to be. Following the unhappy incidents that led to the expulsion of the Portuguese Jesuits in the sixteenth century, Ethiopians, especially the clergy, had been very wary of foreign missionaries. However, once Roman Catholicism had been successfully defied the conduct of the clergy and people became more relaxed.

In the middle of the nineteenth century both Catholic and Protestant missionaries were allowed to return to Ethiopia. They were expelled by Theodore II and by Yohannes for a time, but were readmitted by Emperor Menelik II. Ever since most of the missionaries have remained on friendly terms with the rulers and people of Ethiopia.[54]

The attitude of Ethiopians towards foreign missionaries as expressed through their political leaders has been ambivalent. The Shoan king Sahle Selassie expelled missionaries from his territories, saying they would teach his people false religion. He said he needed mechanics and artisans, but not missionaries.[55] Emperor Menelik II too was in favor of importing skills and ammunition, but wanted his country to remain independent, saying, "If Europeans come into our house to bring us civilization, we thank them very much, but they must bring it without us losing our sovereignty ...As intelligent persons we know how to profit from whatever aspect of their civilization is most useful to us."[56]

Emperor Haile Selassie I has understood the need for materials and skills but has tried to ensure that Ethiopian identity and sovereignty was preserved. He has said, "We need European progress because we are surrounded by it. That is at once a benefit and a misfortune. It will expedite our development but we are afraid of being swamped by it."[57]

The missionaries in Ethiopia contributed towards the development of education in the country. "By 1935, there were some 180 foreign missionaries in the 119 mission stations scattered over the country and catering for 6,717 students..."[58]

The Italian government violated the convention governing the treatment of missions in Africa and made it impossible for Protestant missionaries to stay in Ethiopia. By 1940 there were only eight missionaries remaining in the country.[59]

In 1941 the missionaries were able to return. Among Protestant groups that started work were the Sudan Interior Mission, the Bible Churchmens' Missionary Society, the American Presbyterian Mission, the Swedish Lutheran National Evangelical Mission and the Seventh Day Adventist Mission.

Although the missionaries were allowed to return by the reestablished Ethiopian government there remained some serious questions to be settled before allowing free reign to foreigners in such vital fields as religion and education. Some misunderstanding between the Ethiopian authorities and mission representatives were inevitable.

In 1944 the government promulgated a decree providing for the controlled and defined activities of missionaries operating in the country.[60] Article 2 established a committee on missions consisting of the Minister of Education as president, and the Minister of Interior and Foreign Affairs, or their duly designated representatives. Under Article 4, the Minister of Education can permit or refuse any application for missionary work and he can specify the area to which the societies shall confine their activities. Article 7 distinguishes between Ethiopian Church areas, where the inhabitants are predominantly Ethiopian Orthodox Christians, and open areas, where the inhabitants are predominantly nonchristians. In Ethiopian Church areas missions may establish hospitals and nondenominational schools, but may not proselytise (Article 8); in open areas they may teach, preach the Christian faith, open denominational schools (Article 12). Article 15 gives the Ministry of Education control in all schools over admissions, the curriculum, and organization.[61]

Private Schools

In the field of adult education, as was pointed out earlier in this chapter, private organizations took the lead. In the regular daytime educational programs there were also private or semiprivate schools that played significant roles. Among these were the English School, Princess Zenebe Work School and the Alliance Francaise School.

Among the oldest postliberation private schools in Addis Ababa was the Princess Zenebe Work School which started on December 1, 1942. The school was housed in buildings with a handsome compound donated by Her Majesty the late Empress Menen and was operated by the American educator Mrs. Ford. The school was subsidised by the Ministry of Education. It was a coeducational institution catering to both boarding and day students. Beginning with a modest enrollment of eight pupils in 1942 it grew to a large size and contributed to the education of many young people. The school also pioneered the Girl Guide movements in the capital.[64]

The English School was founded about 1946 as a private school catering primarily to British residents in Addis Ababa. It has gradually expanded to include students of over twenty different nationalities. It charged fees and was open to all children of Addis Ababa residents. The school was run according to the British model and offered both elementary and secondary programs up to the Cambridge (Overseas) School Certificate. It also had a kindergarten section. It was a boarding, coeducational day school with an enrollment of two hundred and an average daily attendance of 190. It received annual subsidies from the Ministry of Education.[65]

Founded in 1910 the Alliance Francaise in Addis Ababa was the oldest nongovernment school in Ethiopia. It was established under the direction of the Catholic Mission in Ethiopia and operated by the Brothers of St. Gabriel. In the period 1936-41 the Italians diverted the buildings to other uses and the Catholic brothers were expelled.

The school was reopened in 1943 and has remained under the direction of the head of the French diplomatic mission. The Alliance Francaise functioned after the French primary school model, with the director and some of the teachers assigned by the Ministry of National Education of France. The school was run with some assistance from the Ethiopian government but students' fees were paid by the Alliance Francaise.

A coeducational institution, it tried to give the students some knowledge of the French language and culture, and prepared them for the Certificate of Primary Studies of the French government. Graduates of the school either continued their education at the Gabre Mariam Lycee or, more commonly, took up jobs in government or private organizations.[66]

Schools of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church

The role of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in the past and today has been described in Chapter II. Much credit should be given to the church for providing educational opportunity.[67]

During the reconstruction era the church continued to operate in the field of education as it had in previous centuries but with diminished importance. The church's system of education, and indeed the church itself, had become rigid, defensive and stagnant as a result of enduring centuries of attack and of isolation from the rest of the world. Creative innovation in education, in literature and in the fine arts was virtually nil. Instead of attempting to adapt to a changing world, past achievements and outdated methodologies were perpetuated and glorified. It became apparent that if the national church was to hold its ground in the new Ethiopia, reform was urgently needed. The impetus for this reform was provided by Emperor Haile Selassie I.

As a first step, the Bible was translated into Amharic. Secondly, after long, drawnout and at times stormy negotiations, beginning in 1942, the church gained independence from the Church of Alexandria, with which she had been associated since the fourth century A.D.

Reforms were introduced in education for the clergy. In recognition of the need to bring the church more closely in line with the reorganized state, the education of clergy along modern lines was initiated.[68]

The church had passed through one of her most trying ordeals during the six years of the occupation, and welcomed some of the help given by the sovereign. The first law to deal with the church was passed on November 30, 1942.[69] This piece of legislation attempted to put the financial situation of the church in order, to create a central treasury and to provide for the appointment of clergy.

During the occupation exemption of church lands from taxation was abolished; this continued under the new law. The church, a major landowner, was subject to the land tax, and the revenue was to be used for the maintenance of the church itself.

Article 6 provided that the clergy should have "good character and ability; they shall be appointed in fixed numbers to each church according to its requirements and shall be assigned work of which they are capable and shall be provided with pay." The clergy were to stay close to the parish. Higher appointments were to be made by an Ecclesiastical Council with the approval of the emperor.

Although the church was allowed to exercise its jurisdiction over its congregations, through the confessional and the infliction of spiritual penalties, Article 10 removed all the temporal power over its adherents and handed it over to civil judges. A central treasury was established to finance the various activities of the church.[70] Some of these new measures were resisted stubbornly.

In accordance with the provisions of the decree on the training of the clergy, the

Theological College of the Holy Trinity was opened in December 1944. By June 1945 some two hundred students from many parts of the country were enrolled at the college. The director and three teachers were Copts and the remaining eight teachers were Ethiopians. The courses included secular as well as theological subjects. Ge'ez, Amharic, Arabic, English, Ethiopian studies and liturgy were taught.[71]

This series of reforms were not readily accepted by the church leadership. An early manifestation of resistance occurred in 1949, when the church claimed exemption from education tax. In November 1947 the Provincial Education Tax had been introduced, based exclusively upon rural land ownership. This law, the 1942 law governing the administration of the church, and the Land Tax Proclamation of 1944, required the church, like other private or corporate landowners, to pay the Provincial Education Tax.[72] However, the Church refused to pay the tax, claiming that it was providing educational opportunity through its own schools. The matter was referred to an ad hoc committee reporting to the Minister of Education, who had, since 1943, been the Emperor himself. After a series of meetings attended by the Archbishop, the Director of Education, and other prominent personalities, the committee reported that the church was liable to pay the Provincial Education Tax. The church appealed to the emperor and the appeal was sustained. As a result the church took over most of its schools from the government system, on the understanding that they would continue to operate on the lines established by the Ministry of Education.[73] However, wherever there were enough funds, the ministry continued to operate the schools, even though income was reduced by the exemption of lands from education tax.[74]

The figures conflict on the number of schools, students and the amount of revenue transferred to the church. The figures collected by the Long-Term Planning Committee when it made a study of the education system in 1953-54, are perhaps the most reliable; they are given in Table 20.

Table 20

Distribution by Province of Government Primary Schools Transferred From the Ministry of Education to Church Administration During 1949-51

Province	No. of Schools	No. of Students	Education Tax Loss Eth.$
Arrussi	15	506	35,000
Gemu Goffa	10	599	15,000
Hararghe	5	430	30,000
Illubabor	-	-	15,000
Kaffa	21	1255	10,000
Shoa	47	1109	200,000
Sidamo	25	1248	15,000
Tigre	35	1889	87,000
Wollega	19	1094	22,000
Wollo	-	-	60,000
Total.	177	8130	489,000

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, A Ten Year Plan for the Controlled Expansion of Ethiopian Education, p. 64.

Most of the schools transferred to the church in 1949-51 were of lower primary grades. But the loss of 177 schools and nearly a half million dollars revenue was a heavy blow to the infant education system then struggling to find its feet in Ethiopia.

It was later discovered that the schools that had been transferred to the church were closed or inoperative.[75] The Long-Term Committee, after reviewing the situation, pointed out that, "From what has been reported concerning the nature and extent of educational opportunity provided by the Church schools, it is apparent that this transfer has resulted in depriving the children in the areas involved of educational opportunity equal to that which was available where the schools were under Government operation and equal to the educational opportunity available in other areas where there are Government Schools."[76] The committee recommended that the government should take the schools over or establish new ones to replace them.[77]

This setback in the development of the education system in Ethiopia was almost as serious as that of 1936 when the Fascists closed all the government schools. According to Dr. Maaza, "The unfortunate outcome was that an already small and struggling modern school system received its second blow, and an opportunity was lost to combine the educational efforts of an ancient church with that of a government system."[78]

The church continued to maintain schools, mostly of lower grades, some of which tried to follow the ministry's curriculum; during the decade a significant number of students attended such schools.

Admissions, Promotions, Learner Characteristics, Examination and Graduation

In the spring of 1941, the prewar schools were reopened one by one in the capital and later in the provinces. Most of the young applicants were above the normal age for elementary schooling; some of them had been attending church schools during the occupation, some had spent their time fighting the invader alongside fathers and countrymen, a few had been drafted into Italian service, and some had lost one or both parents. A few had lived in exile with parents or relatives in Kenya, the Sudan or Palestine and had received some education before they returned to their country. Most of these young people, whatever their station in life, were aware of the importance of education.[79] A Ministry of Education report on this period pointed out that, "Thousands are everyday knocking at the door for entrance—a phenomenon which makes the national burden in this respect very heavy."[80]

With students of such diverse experience and expectation, "Naturally standards showed a good deal of variation; and the disparity of ages and of levels of previous education made the composition of classes somewhat peculiar."[81] Some of the students in elementary grades were in their late teens and twenties. A decision was made to retrieve as many of the promising young people as possible, and to meet the educational needs of youth and the manpower requirements of the country. Elementary school principals promoted bright students from one grade to the next as fast as possible.[82] As a result there occurred a fantastically rapid growth in the education system. Had the schools followed normal promotion procedures in 1941, (by ignoring refugees who had continued their education in exile) the first middle school class to be graduated would have been in 1949 and the first secondary school class would have been graduated in 1953, more than a decade later. In fact, the first secondary school admitted students to its ninth grade in 1943 and graduated its first twelfth-grade class in 1947.[83]

Matriculation

After completing secondary school, students desiring to pursue their education to college or university level, were required to sit for one of three examinations. They were the London Matriculation Examination, the General Certifcate of Education, and the Ethiopian Secondary School Certificate Examination.[104] The London Matriculation was used during the early years, but was soon succeeded by the General Certificate of Education and this, together with the Ethiopian Secondary School Certificate Examination, served as the basis for university entrance. In 1948 a group of secondary students sat for the College Entrance Examination of the Board of Regents of the State of New York. Those that succeeded were sent to the U.S.A. for further studies.[105] Introduced in 1946, the examinations provided a yardstick for comparing graduates of our secondary schools with those of other lands.

The performance of Ethiopian students was satisfactory, as Table 21 demonstrates:

Table 21

Results of the London Matriculation Examination

Date	No. Entered	No. Passed	No. Referred	No. Failed
June 1948	4	3	1 (English)	0
June 1949	11	5	3 (English)	3
January 1950	20	9	3 (English)	7
June 1950	6	6	0	0
January 1951	12	11	0	1

Source: Ministry of Education, Year Book 1949-51, p. 108.

Matriculants were either sent to overseas universities or were, from 1950, admitted to the University College of Addis Ababa. Others were sent abroad without passing any examinations, or even completing secondary education. In 1945 a group of boys and girls from elementary and secondary grades were sent to Cairo.[106] Ever since the opening of University College, students have continued to travel to the Middle East, Europe and America for further education, mostly under govenment scholarship schemes.

Teacher Supply and Demand

The demand for qualified teachers throughout the system had not abated since the beginning of modern education in Ethiopia. The shortage of qualified teachers was most acute in 1941. Before the Italian invasion there were some 230 teachers teaching in all-modern schools. Approximately thirty were foreigners. During the war and occupation over half the Ethiopian teachers were killed and the rest were exiled.[107] Some of the foreigners were driven out of the country. In 1941-42, one of the major problems facing the policy makers was the absence of qualified teachers at even primary school level. The few trained people available were quickly absorbed by government. To meet this urgent need some innovations in teacher recruitment were introduced. Anybody with an education, or who had learned the rudiments of reading and writing in church schools, even those who had only completed first, second or third grade, were hired as teachers.[108]

Ethiopian Teachers

Unfortunately there are no reliable data regarding the total number of school teachers. The fragmentary information makes any general statement on the subject impossible. However, there is some information on Ethiopian personnel recruited for government primary schools. Table 22 shows the number of teachers from 1943 through 1951.[109]

Table 22

Number of Teachers in Government Primary Schools

School Year	Number of Teachers	Percentage Increase
1943-44	202	-
1944-45	287	42.1
1945-46	409	42.5
1946-47	578	41.3
1947-48	683	18.2
1948-49	921	34.8
1949-50	1089	18.2
1950-51	1243	14.2

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, A Ten Year Plan for the Controlled Expansion of Ethiopian Education, p. 67.

It should be noted that, although the number of government schools in 1949-51 and the total student enrollment decreased, the number of teachers employed increased consistently year after year. As a Ministry of Education publication pointed out, "It would appear that the Government was employing additional teachers as rapidly as persons meeting the existing standards for qualification to teach became available, regardless of the fact that both the number of schools and students enrolled in Government schools were decreasing."[110]

Overcrowding and excessively large classes were not a problem. In 1951-52 the number of teachers was 1375 and the number of students 45,649, a teacher-pupil ratio of 1:30.[111] This happy situation was not to last very long. During the following decade student enrollment outstripped financial resources, and teacher recruitment and overcrowded classes became a major problem.

No information on the qualifications of primary school teachers is available. We do know that some teachers were well qualified for their task. To minimize the problem in the first years some headmasters (most of them expatriates) carried out evening or weekend training programs of inservice training for those teachers who needed instruction in academic and professional areas. The first special program for teachers opened in 1944 and the first students graduated in 1946-47. At that time there were 578 teachers who were teaching primary school. No data are available on the output of the special programs or on how many of the graduates have continued teaching, but they were only a small fraction of all teachers in primary grades.

Beginning in 1947, Vocational Teachers Training Courses at different levels were officially organized for teachers serving in government schools. The main emphasis of the courses was on professional preparation, but academic instruction was also included. Special courses were held in handicrafts, physical education and science for school dressers. The level of professional preparation remained, however, disturbingly low for the entire reconstruction era. Available data for 1953-54 provides some revealing information. "Unclassified" actually means, in the jargon of the time, that those who could hardly read or write were sent to conduct classes in such "less challenging" courses as Amharic, arts and crafts and physical education.

Table 23

Preparation of Teachers in Government Primary Schools in Terms of School Grades Completed

Teachers	Unclassified	Grades 1-4	Grades 5-7	Grade 8	Grade 8 Plus 1-year Teacher Education	Total
Amharic Language	713	-	-	-	-	713
Arts & Crafts	37	-	-	-	-	37
Physical Education	64	-	-	-	-	64
Regular Classroom	-	189	458	43	37	727
Total	814	189	458	43	37	1541
Percentage	52.8	12.3	29.7	2.8	2.4	100*

*It does not add up to 100 due to some rounding.

Source: Ministry of Education, Controlled Expansion, p. 78.

These teachers were hardly literate. In sum, only about two percent of primary school teachers had some training as teachers. The rest were totally unqualified. Two years earlier it must have been even worse. But the picture was not altogether grim. After the Restoration, and especially after World War II ended in 1945, more foreign teachers came to help out in teaching and administration, mainly at the postprimary levels.

International Teachers

In an attempt to introduce modern education to her people Ethiopia has depended on international assistance, personnel under the overall supervision of qualified Ethiopians. Sixty years ago, when plans for the first modern school in Addis Ababa were conceived under Menelik, teachers were recruited from the Copts, primarily to assuage the suspicions of the Ethiopian Church and the conservative elements that modern education would mean conversion to alien religions.

In the early 1920s when Tafari Makonnen School was inaugurated by the Emperor Haile Selassie, foreign teachers were brought over to help run the school. They were recruited on the basis of their ability in modern languages, mathematics and the sciences. By the time the war broke out in 1935, there were about thirty such educators in the country. In 1941 a call went out again for foreign educators to work with Ethiopians to develop the shattered education system. The response was small because of the war, but slowly the positions were filled.

The first groups of foreign personnel were from Britain. Britain had cooperated with the Ethiopian patriots, the exiles and the emperor in getting rid of the Fascists after an intense and heroic campaign. Agreements were concluded between the two governments which allowed Britain to use any facilities existing in Ethiopia for the conduct of the war. The British government was also to keep for her exclusive use some "reserved areas," primarily in the Ogaden region. In education the British council started English classes for adults and young people first in the capital city and later in several provincial capitals. The headmasters of the leading schools in Addis Ababa were British. When Haile Selassie I Secondary School, the first full secondary school in the country, opened in 1943 British personnel were in charge. But slowly apprehensions regarding the intentions of the British appeared in the minds of Ethiopians.

The British administrators, mostly of military background, let it be known that Ethiopia was to be run along the lines of the British East Africa, and that they expected full consultative and decision-making powers in internal affairs. There was a long debate but in the long run, with the backing of Foreign Minister Anthony Eden and Prime Minister Winston Churchill, Ethiopia regained her full independence, even though the last "reserved area" in the Ogaden was not restored to her until 1948. British interference hurt Ethiopian pride.[112] Britain was to realize this in no uncertain terms. Ethiopia's attitude was firmly expressed to her.

"Britain's interest in Ethiopia was not merely to help the country gain her lost freedom; she hoped also to exert political dominance over the country after Liberation. Realization of the futility of the effort, however, made her gradually lose hope and as a result, the active British consulates distributed all over the country, one in Addis Ababa, one in Harar, one in Jimma, and one in Dessie, closed one after the other."[113]

Ethiopia turned away from Britain towards the USA. An American economic mission was invited in 1944, a loan was accepted and a prospecting franchise was granted to an American company. American advisors were appointed in place of the British.

When American aid was not forthcoming in the expected amounts, Ethiopia also turned to Sweden. Sixteen Swedes arrived, most of them teachers. In 1946 the Russians established hospitals. Other countries were also approached for assistance and the response was favorable.[114] However, British personnel stayed on. At one time the heads of all the schools in Addis Ababa and all the important ministry advisors were British. Most of the other foreigners were from English-speaking countries, reflecting the postwar emphasis on English as the medium of instruction. They included Americans, Canadians and Indians as well as Swedes and Lebanese. In 1945 Hambrook, an American, became advisor in the Ministry of Education, replacing Harvey, the Briton who had been there since 1941. Another American, Ruckmick, became superintendant of schools in the same ministry. A few schools passed into the hands of Americans.

The French-Canadian Jesuits took over Tafari Makonnen School in 1945. The Swedes took over Haile Selassie I Secondary, Menelik II School and Itegue Menen School as well as the Technical School in Addis Ababa. The Swedes became the first instructors at the Imperial Body Guard, Air Force, Police Force and Army Cadet schools.

From 1948 Indian teachers and administrators were recruited, primarily to staff provincial schools. The coming of the Indians accelerated the expansion of education in the provinces.

The staffing of each school with one nationality, Swedes, English or Canadians, created a spirit of competition among Ethiopian schools which was both healthy and deleterious. It resulted in "competition in all activities, academic and extra-curricular. The school which produced the best athletes of the year, or had more students pass the London Matriculation boasted the most. This was indeed a general advantage." In fact, "the schools in Addis Ababa were much more lively, cleaner, and of a higher standard in 1949 than they are now (in the 1950s)."[115] By 1949 the Ministry of Education had imported no less than 286 foreigners to staff its schools.[116]

The consequences of the wholesale importation of foreigners varied. Margery Perham, an English citizen who lived here in the first half of the decade, pointed out that Ethiopians were suspicious of domination by a single foreign country and had imported teachers from many countries. This policy deprived Ethiopia of a unified educational system in the long-term interests of the country. She noted, "It is...regrettable that, in their ever-ready fear that a foreigner may gain too much influence or keep out an Ethiopian candidate for a post they have refused to allow a reasonable degree of continuity among the individuals employed or of confidence in them. Without these conditions no valuable influence or tradition can be built into the schools. The Ethiopians may succeed in avoiding culture confusion, but the perpetual changes of plans, persons and nationalities have undoubtedly produced something not far off administrative confusion in education and have discouraged many of those who were honestly trying to do good work for Ethiopia."[117]

Other foreigners thought otherwise. "The main problem of Ethiopia is that so many (people) want to force her to follow ready-made patterns of education and accept advice which just means: 'Do what we have done and all will be well with you.' Perhaps, in order to prove that precious years will not be lost and terrific difficulties accumulated. Is it less adventurous to undergo that experiment than a generally original Ethiopian one?"[118]

In retrospect, Ethiopian educators and policy makers would probably agree that the foreign teachers and school administrators created many problems with which the nation will have to deal in the years ahead. The foreigners were not provided with guidelines on our philosophies, our social goals, or what we hoped to achieve through education.

Ethiopia did not have the means to recruit the best qualified people for the job, even had such people been available. We brought in whoever we could, and our recruitment policies were influenced by foreign advisors, even at the ministry level. Looking back we can see that some outstanding educators were attracted to our cause. Under the circumstances it is difficult to see what other course could have been adopted.

Although recruiting foreign personnel was expensive they were difficult to retain. The main reason was lack of money. After school personnel had worked here and gained valuable experience their salaries were not increased. The best people left for America, Canada, or for other African countries which offered more attractive monetary rewards.[119] Some of the most promising young people were sent to study abroad (228 of them in 1949) in the hope that on their return they would be attracted to teaching. This, coupled with the opening of the new University College Department of Teacher Education in 1950, was to be the source of future teacher recruitment.[120]

In 1946-47 an attempt was made to regulate the work load of school personnel. The Ministry of Education required the provincial education officers to submit timetables showing teaching schedules. The ministry ordered that each teacher should be on duty for a minimum of thirty-five periods of forty-five minutes per week including study supervision, playground and library exercises. At the secondary level each teacher was required to carry a minimum work load of twenty-four hours per week. The headmasters and administrators were required to teach a minimum of ten periods a week, including courses in teacher training, in addition to their regular administrative duties. In smaller schools headmasters were expected to carry a greater teaching load.[121]

School Plants and Equipment

The importance of suitable school buildings cannot be overemphasized. Young people need to grow and develop physically, emotionally and intellectually during their school years. Good buildings with suitable equipment, furnishings and facilities aid uninterrupted growth and development. School buildings are more than stone, bricks and mortar. "They can either be restrictive or an expansive force. They can confine or set free the energies and interests of staff and students. This is made clear in the words of the late Sir Winston Churchill, "Man shapes the buildings and then the buildings shape man."[122]

In the 1941-42 period, many of the former buildings were restored to their original use. During the year there was neither money nor time to erect new buildings for school purposes. Enemy structures and old buildings were put to classroom use, but it was clear that new buildings had to be erected.

After liberation, the dislocation of social life, the distance children had to travel to school, and many other factors influenced the type of schools constructed. To encourage parents to send their children to school and to rehabilitate homeless and orphan children, provision had to be made not only to educate but to house, clothe and feed many children. Structures had to serve as dormitories, kitchens, dining rooms and offices as well as classrooms. Eventually the boarding system of education was abandoned in favor of a day school system, at least at the elementary level, and more classrooms were built. Between 1945 and 1950 more than $3,000,000 was spent on buildings.[123]

The Ministry of Education established an Architects' Department to superintend the building of new schools especially in the provinces.[124] The expansion of the school building program was rationalized according to criteria of location—whether existing towns and villages were likely to grow, whether the people would move to the new motor roads, of availability to a water supply (in cases where there was doubt, temporary buildings were erected instead of permanent ones), and criteria of available, suitable construction materials and skills. In some areas, sand and stones were available, but carpenters were scarce almost everywhere. Where possible, local material was used with joinery manufactured in Addis Ababa. However, where there was a lack of building materials and skills, schools were prefabricated in cedar wood and erected on preprepared foundations.

In Addis Ababa and a few provincial cities some of the buildings were permanent. Some were originally built as schools, others were taken over and adapted. Some of the buildings had adequate space, lighting, ventilation and safety standards; some were deficient.

The pressure for space was such that at times partially completed buildings were used. New sites were continually being surveyed and reserved as future sites for school construction.[125]

The cost of school building construction was high for the fragile economy. Table 24 shows that the pattern of expenditure was not regular, depending, as it did, on the availability of funds. The total investment in school buildings is remarkable.

Table 24

Number of Classroom Units and Amount of Expenditure in Eth. $

1945-51

Year	Number of Classroom Units Added During Year	% of Increase or Decrease	Building Expenditure	% of Increase or Decrease
1945-46	-	-	2,087,437	-
1946-47	69	-	2,460,174	17.9
1947-48	98	42.0	3,039,502	23.6
1948-49	82	-16.3	3,024,369	-5.0
1949-50	110	34.1	3,082,832	19.0
1950-51	80	-27.3	1,654,177	-46.3*
Total	439	-	15,348,491	-

*Due to negative figures and rounding it does not add up to 100.

Source: M. Perham, The Government of Ethiopia, p. 257.

The patterns followed were those used by the English Ministry of Education. School designs fall into five categories known as A, B, C, D, and E. The "A" type consisted of eight or more classrooms and an auditorium; class "B," six to eight classrooms with or without an auditorium; class "C," four to six classrooms with or without an auditorium; class "D," a permanent structure with two or three rooms, and class "E," two or three rooms of temporary construction.[126]

The auditorium of the school was to serve the community as well as the student body. In densely populated areas these facilities were to be used for public assemblies, parent-teacher meetings and other related civic activities.[127] But it is doubtful whether such activities ever took place.

Equipment

During the Reconstruction Era school equipment was scarce and not to be had anywhere. The country was landlocked, without port facilities, a state of affairs that further aggravated the situation. The Ministry of Education had to provide free schooling, clothing and medical services. Clothing, bedding, kitchen and dining room furniture and to be provided mostly from abroad.

Basic items like stationery, textbooks, vehicles, office equipment, sports and physical training equipment, and science equipment were needed. Although they were available, transportation costs were very high. In 1949 expenditure on school equipment was $118,897, on textbooks $85,203 and on clothing $70,561.[128] This financial burden had to be borne in the hope that an investment in education would yield dividends in the end.

Notes

1. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Education in Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education & Fine Arts, 1961), p. 10.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ministry of Education, *Year Book E.C. 1940-41 (1947-49)* (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education), pp. 32, 48, and 50; Maaza Bekele, "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia: Its Foundations, Its Development, Its Future, with Emphasis on Primary Education," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1966), p. 83.

5. Edward Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), pp. 7-8.

6. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Education in Ethiopia*, p. 10.

7. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 8; Germa Amare, "Government Education in Ethiopia," *Ethiopia Observer* 6:4 (1962), p. 336.

8. Ministry of Education, *Year Book E.C. 1942-43 (1947-51)*, p. 39.

9. Trudeau, *Higher Education in Ethiopia*, p. 8. These criticisms apply to the 1940s as well as to the other decades up to the present.

10. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *A Ten-Year Plan for Controlled Expansion of Ethiopian Education* (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education & Fine Arts, 1955), p. 42.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Sylvia Pankhurst, *Ethiopia, A Cultural History* (London: Lalibela House, 1955), pp. 577-578.

14. Ibid., p. 577; Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Year Book E.C. 1940-41 (1947-49)*, p. 52.

15. Pankhurst, *Ethiopia, A Cultural History*, p. 578.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.; Minstry of Education & Fine Arts, *Education in Ethiopia*, pp. 32-33.

19. Ministry of Education, *Year Book E.C. 1947-49*, p. 52; Pankhurst, *Ethiopia, A Cultural History*, p. 578.

20. Ministry of Education, and Fine Arts, *Year Book E.C. 1942-43 (1949-51)*, p. 30.

21. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Education in Ethiopia*, pp. 32-33.

22. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Elementary School Curriculum Years I-VI*, p. 151.

23. Ibid., pp. 151-174.

24. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Education in Ethiopia*, p. 33; Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Year Book E.C. 1942-43 (1949-51)*, pp. 43-56; Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Year Book E.C. 1940-41 (1947-49)*, pp. 55-60.

25. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Year Book E.C. 1942-43 (1949-51)*, p. 51.

26. Ibid., p. 54.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., p. 42.

29. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Education in Ethiopia*, pp. 7-8.

30. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Year Book E.C. 1940-41 (1947-49)*, p. 89.

31. Ibid., p. 91.

32. Ibid., pp. 92-92.

33. Ibid., pp. 92-93.

34. Ibid., p. 93.

35. Senedu Gebru, "Girls' Education," *Ethiopia Observer* 1:3 (1957), p. 76.

36. "The Ethiopian Woman," *Ibid.*, p. 74.

37. Ibid., pp. 74-75.

38. Ibid., p. 75.

39. Ibid., pp. 84-90.

40. Ibid., pp. 76-77.

41. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Education in Ethiopia*, p. 9.

42. "Empress Menen Handicraft School," *Ethiopia Observer*, 1:3 (1957), p. 80.

43. Ibid., p. 81.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. Ministry of Educaton and Fine Arts, *Year Book E.C. 1940-41 (1947-49)*, p. 82.

47. Ibid., p. 82.

48. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, A Ten-Year Plan for the Controlled Expansion of Ethiopian Education, p. 62.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid., pp. 62-63.

51. C.A. Ruckmick "The Little White School House in Ethiopia," Unpublished paper (July 18, 1950), p. 3.

52. Ibid.

53. Kobes Jasperdean, "Modernization in Ethiopia, 1916-1966: Politics and Education" (M.A. Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1966), p. 62.

54. Margery Perham, The Government of Ethiopia, 2nd. ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), p. 14.

55. Richard Pankhurst, Economic History of Ethiopia (Addis Ababa: Haile Selassie I University Press, 1971), p. 5.

56. Ibid., p. 24.

57. Ibid., p. 27. See also "The New Role of the Missionary," The Ethiopian Herald, 9 March 1971.

58. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook, E.C. 1944-45 (1951-53), pp. 111-112.

59. Perham, The Government of Ethiopia, p. 133.

60. Ministry of Pen, Negait Gazetta, Regulation concerning Activities of Foreign Missionary Societies, Decree No. 3 of 1944, (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, August 1944).

61. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Education in Ethiopia, Appendix I, p. 38.

62. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook E.C. 1944-45 (1951-53), pp. 110-112.

63. Ruckmick, "The Little White School House in Ethiopia," p. 3.

64. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook E.C. 1944-45 (1951-53), pp. 114-115.

65. Ibid., p. 113.

66. Ibid., pp. 119-120.

67. For description of the Church's Provision for education, see Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, A Ten Year Plan for the Controlled Expansion of Ethiopian Education, pp. 53-68.

68. Perham, The Government of Ethiopia, p. 130.

69. Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazetta, Regulations for the Administration of all Church lands. See also Perham, The Government of Ethiopia, pp. 128-130.

70. Perham, The Government of Ethiopia, pp. 131-132.

71. Ibid., p. 132; Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Review, June 1945, p. 7.

72. Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazetta, Proclamation No. 93 of 1947 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, November 1947); Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Education in Ethiopia, p. 39.

73. Ministry of Education, A Ten-Year Plan for the Controlled Expansion of Ethiopian Education, pp. 63-64; USA Operation Missions to Ethiopia, Report on the Organization and Administration of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts (Addis Ababa: USA Operations Mission to Ethiopia, October 1954), p. 8; Maaza Bekele, "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia: Its Foundations, Its Development, Its Future, with Emphasis in Primary Education," (Ph.D. diss., Teachers College, 1966), pp. 89-91; see also Minutes of the Board of Education for the period 1949-50 filed in the Board's Secretariat.

74. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, A Ten-Year Plan..., p. 63; Minutes of the Board of Education of Hidar 28, 1943 E.C.

75. See the Minutes of the Board of Education of January 29-31, 1951; See also in the Ministry of Education Library File No. 0102.

76. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, A Ten-Year Plan ...., P. 64.

77. Ibid.

78. Maaza Bekele, "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia," p. 91.

79. Ibid., pp. 76-77.

80. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook E.C. Calendar 1940-41 (1947-49), p. 87.

81. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Education in Ethiopia, 1961, p. 10; Ministry of Education, Yearbook 1951-53, pp. 31-32.

82. Maaza Bekele, A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia, p. 75.

83. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, A Ten-Year Plan ...., 1955, pp. 43-44.

84. Ibid., p. 44.

85. Perham, The Government of Ethiopia, p. 256.

86. Sylvia Pankhurst, "History of Ethiopian Schools," Ethiopia Observer, 2:4 (1958), p. 132; "My Impressions of Ethiopia," The Ethiopian Herald, 4 December 1943; Maaza Bekele, "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia," pp. 89-92.

87. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, A Ten-Year Plan for the Controlled Expansion of Education, p. 72; "Education Report: Analysis of Development in Recent Years," Ethiopia Observer, 5:1 (1961), p. 66; Ministry of Education, A Ten-Year Plan for the Controlled Expansion of Education, p. 67; Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook 1951-53, p. 12.

88. Maaza Bekele, "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia," pp. 89-92.

89. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Controlled Expansion of Education, p. 10.

90. Ibid., pp. x, 1, 33-35.

91. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook E.C. 1940-41 (1947-49), p. 78; Ministry of Education, Yearbook E.C. 1942-43 (1949-51), p. 40.

92. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook 1947-49, p. 78. Source: Ibid., pp. 78-79. The apparent reduction in the total number between the second and third year is explained by the fact that in some schools special examinations were held in addition to the General Examination to determine eligibility of candidates. Another factor was that some of the schools put additional grades in their primary schools, hence retaining their respective students for one or more years.

93. Ibid., p. 79.

94. Ibid.

95. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook E.C. 1944-45 (1951-53), pp. 20-21, 42-43.

96. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook E.C. 1942-43 (1949-51), pp. 7, 62, 95, 100, 108, and 196.

97. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Controlled Expansion, pp. 43-44.

98. Ibid., p. 44.

99. Ibid., p. 42.

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid., p. 43.

102. Ibid.

103. Maaza Bekele, "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia ...," p. 77.

104. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook 1949-51, pp. 7, 95, 100.

105. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook 1947-49, p. 37. Actually this Examination was arranged by David A. Talbot, an American citizen residing in Ethiopia. In an interview Dr. Talbot listed outstanding Ethiopian personalities, some of them Cabinet Ministers, who were educated under this scheme.

106. Maaza Bekele, "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia," p. 77.

107. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook 1947-49, p. 26.

108. Ibid., pp. 26, 84; Ministry of Education, Controlled Expansion of Education ..., pp. 66-67.

109. Ibid., pp. 56-57.

110. Ibid., p. 68.

111. Perham, The Government of Ethiopia, p. 396.

112. Amare, "Government Education in Ethiopia," pp. 337-338.

113. Perham, The Government of Ethiopia, p. 396.

114. Amare, "Government Education in Ethiopia," p. 338.

115. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook 1947-49, p. 89.

116. Perham, The Government of Ethiopia, p. 257.

117. Caleb Gattegno, "Ethiopia's Educational Problem", Ethiopia Observer (1958), p. 140.

118. Million Neqniq and others, Report on the Current Operation of the Education System in Ethiopia (Addis Ababa, November 1966), p. 60.

119. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook 1947-49, p. 89.

120. Ibid., p. 76.

121. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, The Development of Pre-Service Teacher Education 1937-1963 E.C. (1964), p. 55.

122. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook 1951-53, pp. 34-35.

123. Maaza Bekele, "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia," p. 286.

124. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook 1947-49, pp. 39-44.

125. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook 1947-49, p. 44.

126. Ibid.; Pankhurst, Ethiopia, A Cultural History, p. 575.

127. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook 1947-49, pp. 49-50.

Chapter VIII

THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA:

EDUCATION LEGISLATION, ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

Legislation

Menelik II promulgated the first law about education, and his daughter Empress Zewditu passed another in 1921. The two laws attempted to make education universal and compulsory, but they were premature and were never implemented.[1]

The first law of the reconstruction era appointed the Minister of Education.[2] It was passed only five days after the entry of the emperor into Addis Ababa in 1941, which indicates the importance that the government attached to education. The Minister apointed was Makonnen Desta, a graduate of Harvard University in the U.S. who had spent the Occupation in exile. This legislation was followed by Order No. 1 of 1943 to "define the powers and duties of Our ministers." Article 26 stipulated that the Minister of Education and Fine Arts was to prepare and submit draft laws necessary for the proper administration of his ministry. He was to make regulations and issue such orders as were necessary to carry out his work and to supervise its execution. Article 28 further specified that the minister was to develop education and fine arts, define the curriculum for schools and technical schools, control private education, establish an academy for promotion of research in languages and fine arts, keep himself informed on the progress of science and the arts abroad and make the results known to the people through publications, establish public libraries with books on science, arts and history, establish government museums and issue certificates of higher education.[3]

Decree No. 3 of 1944 regulated mission activities in Ethiopia. It specified which areas missionary activities were permitted and in which areas they were forbidden. A committee of the Ministers of Interior and Foreign Affairs or their deputies under the chairmanship of the Minister of Education was created. Applications from missionary societies had to be sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which referred them to the Ministry of Education. If the minister accepted an applicaiton, he would specify an area or areas to which the mission must confine its activities. The criteria for acceptance were whether the mission was well-established, whether it had a good reputation abroad and adequate funds and staff, and whether it was established in Ethiopia before 1935 or after June 1941.

A society should confine its activities to non-Christian areas. Proselytizing members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was forbidden. Missions were, however, permitted to establish hospitals or non-denominational schools in Orthodox areas. Religious instruction might be given if it was confined to the principles of Christianity common to all churches. In open areas the societies had the right to teach and preach the Christian faith of thier own denomination without restriction, provided that the language of such activity was Amharic, the national language. The right to teach foreign languages was assured.[4] This law bore dividends in the decades ahead.

Legal Notice No. 103 of 1947, "Customs Revised Import and Export Tariff Regulations", Article 350, provided that all imported goods whether duty free or not would pay a three percent ad valorem tax for the promotion of education and public health in Ethiopia.[5]

This provision was repeated in Legal Notice No 153 of 1951, "Customs Revised Import and Export Regulations" Article 430, and Legal Notice No. 162 of 1952 increased the tax to four percent.[6]

The orderly development of education, culture and religion required the involvement of a wide segment of the nation. Order No. 3 of 1947 was an attempt to share powers and responsibilities stated:

"Whereas to this end, it has seemed fitting to us to establish a Board of Education and Fine Arts which shall function in direct contact with us and shall be under our own direction,

"Now therefore, in accordance with Article 11 of our Constitution, we hereby order and appoint as follows:

"I. The direction, administration, supervision and guidance of all functions and controls of Our Imperial Government, relating to education, fine arts and religious and cultural instruction, within Our Empire shall come under Our exclusive control.

"II. A Board of Education and Fine Arts is hereby established..." The president and members of the Board were Ato Aklilu Habtewold, President; Like Siltant Melektou; Ambaye Woldemariam; Blatta Zewde Belaineh; Ato Abebe Retta; Ato Akalework Habtewold; Blatta Mersie Hazen Wolde Kirkos; and Ato Emmanuel Abraham.[7]

The emperor was to assume the Education and Fine Arts portfolio and share responsibility with a board representing a wide spectrum of opinion including the church. The board was to receive orders from the emperor.

These arrangements worked well for the next fifteen years. Another important piece of legislation promulgated in 1947 provided for the "Establishment of Tax for Education."

Proclamation No. 94 of 1947 levied this tax on all land, including Maderia Semon and Rist Gult lands.

Revenues were to be collected together with taxes payable under the Land Tax Proclamation of 1944, as shown in Table 25. In Shoa Amhara districts the education tax payable on Rist land is shown in Table 26.

Where land tenure systems varied, different rates were applied. In

Table 25

Rate of Education Tax Assessment

Provinces	Districts Payable	Rate of Educational Tax Each *Gasha* of Measured Land						Consolidated Educational Tax on Meas. *Gabbar* Land	
		Fertile		Semi-Fertile		Poor			
		Eth.$	Cts.	Eth.$	Cts.	Eth.$	Cts.	Eth. $	Cts.
Shoa Harrar Arussi Wollow	All Districts	15	-	12	-	4	50	6	0
Wollega Sidamo Illubabor Gemu Gofa Kaffa	All Districts	13	50	12	-	4	50	6	-

Source: Ministry of Pen, Education Tax Proclamation No. 94 of 1947, p. 16 *Negaret Gazetta*.

In Shoa Amhara Districts the education tax payable on *Rist* land is shown in Table 26.

Table 26

Rist*Tax Payable in Shoa Amhara District

First Class Land		Second Class Land		Third Class Land	
Eth. $	Cts.	Eth. $	Cts.	Eth. $	Cts.
6	-	4	50	1	50

* A system of landholding

Gojam, Tigre and Begamder the education tax was thirty percent of the land tax in force in 1927 plus the estimated tithe in cash. The law stipulated that to make the education tax effective the Land Tax Proclamation of 1944 should be fully enforced.[8]

Another law was proclaimed at the same time covering expenditure and accounting of local education tax funds. Local Boards of Education were set up, consisting of local government officials, the governor-general, the headmaster of the principal school in the provincial capital, and the senior provincial education officer as ex-officio members. The other members had to be over twenty-one years old and have lived in the province for over five years. Half the members retired every three years, but were eligible for reelection.

Article 7 stipulated that the local education board should meet at least once every six months and at such other times as the members should decide, should familiarize itself with local education, make recommendations to the Minister of Education, examine the balance sheet submitted to them annually by the Ministry of Finance under Article 8, and satisfy themselves that all the education tax had been spent on elementary education.

Article 8 stipulated that the local education tax collected under the Land Tax Proclamation of 1944 and its amendments should only be spent on elementary education in the province from which it had been collected.

The same article required the Minister of Finance or his agent to submit each year not earlier than 1 Tahsas (December) or later than 30 Megabit (March) to the local education board a balance sheet showing the amount of local education tax collected in the province and the expenditure on elementary education.

Under Article 9 the Minister of Education was required, with the approval of the board, to classify every school and educational establishment in the empire as elementary or higher, which would include universities, training colleges, technical schools, secondary schools and all educational establishments except elementary, police, and military training schools.

Article 10 specified that except for schools in Addis Ababa, all elementary schools would be supported from the Local Education Tax. All higher education expenses would be borne by the central treasury.[9]

General Notice No. 135 of 1950 was the Charter of the Boy Scouts Association of Ethiopia. It provided for a governing body consisting of the Chief Scout (the Late Prince Makonnen Haile Selassie, Duke of Harrar) and National Council.[10]

This series of laws provided a framework and structure for educational and financial administration. They were not, however, foolproof or completely effective, but without them even modest progress might not have been possible.

The Organization and Administration of Education

Educational administration in Ethiopia was highly centralized. The Ministry of Education and Fine Arts in Addis Ababa was an administrative unit of the central government. At its head was the minister with full representation in the Council of Ministers. The ministry had to shape a national educational policy, a task perhaps more difficult than that of any other ministry, because of the shortage of qualified teachers, buildings and teaching material. In the beginning improvisation was the order of the day. Long-range planning was set aside for a later date. However, as work progressed, organizational structures began to emerge, staffing slowly improved and the whole educational service began to function normally.[11] Until 1947 the Minister of Education had great executive power, and the freedom to exercise that power. However, when the Board of National Education was created, the emperor assumed "exclusive control" over culture, religion and education. The board and the Ministry divided the education administration into policy-making and executive arms.[12]

The Board of National Education

The Board of National Education consisted at first of eight people, but the number varied. Soon after the constitution of the board the emperor addressed the members as follows:

> "The work that you are now ordered to achieve is above all the various duties of Government that will give to Ethiopia and her children life. If it fails, it will bring destruction on the nation, you therefore should think hard and constructively for its successful completion.
>
> "Today we are placing this responsibility on you who are loyal and well educated in order that this important work, on which the whole welfare and good fortune of Ethiopia and her children rest, may come to fruition.
>
> "We are happy today to see you here in our presence ready to assume the responsibility to extend and better education in Ethiopia. It is not necessary to speak in detail on the subject; you know the benefits of education.
>
> "The Ministry of Education has been notified of our point of view that this Ministry should be well organized and developed even more than any other arm of Government Administration in order to raise Ethiopia's standard of education. You have been selected and instructed to work as the Board of Education and Fine Arts and to assist us while the management of this great task is carried on under our direct sponsorship. We shall from time to time give you our instructions.
>
> "To receive the benefits of education and art, it is necessary to learn, to know, and in general to be educated. The coming generation should be able to inherit a true civilization from the present and the next from them, so that by the help of the Almighty God this instruction will continue perpetually.
>
> "Belief in the Creator is the surest foundation of any civilization. This belief preserves civilization from decay and from evil. In putting our effort today in building Ethiopia's education, We believe that We must include and strengthen our spiritual belief. We feel it therefore fit and proper to include the Church on this Board and appoint Like Siltanat Meliktou to represent the church.
>
> "Our every help will be at your disposal and We recommend that you work diligently. You have been given the constitution and the regulations which We have prepared for your guidance in the development of Education and Fine Arts. We expect you to study them, submit your proposals and begin your work as early as possible."[13]

The specific tasks of the board were to formulate policy, to see to it that the education system was maintained in conformity with national objectives and that public morals were not undermined. From kindergarten up to university level, Ethiopian education had to nurture the spiritual, mental and physical well-being of the people, so essential to a modern state.[14]

The Board had to review the budget submitted to it, consider suggestions for reorganization in the ministry, and make recommendations about educational programs. The board was also empowered, on the emperor's instructions, to act with the authority of the minister if the post was vacant for any reason.[15]

The newly appointed minister, Ato Makonnen Desta, faced a formidable task in 1941. "On his shoulders fell the heavy responsibility for reorganizing the whole educational system, under circumstances perhaps more difficult than any other branch of the administrative structure."[16] The task of reorganizing the shattered education system with inadequte equipment and personnel was immense. In 1943 Ato Gashaw Zelleke, another graduate, was appointed director general. Until the 1960's there was no full Minister of Education and Fine Arts since the post was assumed by the emperor himself.[17] In 1944 Ato Emanuel Abraham replaced Ato Gashaw as Director General of Education,[18] and in 1947 he was himself replaced by Ato Akalework Habtewold.[19] The incumbent who changed frequently, was first director general and later vice minister, and he acted under the general guidance of the emperor and the National Board of Education. In the absence of a vice minister the board of education, under the direct supervision and authority of the emperor, carried out the functions of the minister.[20]

Under the head of the ministry was the director general, responsible to the minister, or in his absence, to the board. After 1947 this was not a political appointment and he did not act as minister. The duties of the director general consisted of the promotion and maintenance of an effective education system throughout the empire with the limitations of budget and resqurces. He was expected to take account of the training of individuals to meet the problems of modernization, the expansion of the ministry's activities into the provinces, and the maintenance of standards comparable to those required for entrance into foreign or national educational institutions of acknowledged standing. Budget expenditure, recruitment at all levels, approval of school sites, construction and maintenance of school buildings and transportation of staff and students were entrusted to the director general.

The director general had to account for all expenditures authorized by him, and to secure bids or tenders for contemplated expenditure whenever possible. He was authorized to sign contracts on behalf of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts or to delegate this task to others. He inspected and supervised schools, curricula, textbooks and other educational aids. He was responsible for coordinating the efforts of the ministry of education with the other divisions of the Ethiopian government and co-operating with them. He was required to prepare an annual budget and to prepare an annual report of the accomplishments, prospects and problems in which Ethiopians were enrolled and check on the objectives of such schools. He was also required to ensure "in so far as possible, that all education personnel are loyal to His Majesty and His Government."[21]

The Deputy Director General

The deputy director general was directly responsible to the minister and the director general. When necessary all the duties and responsibilities of the director general could be delegated to the deputy director. Normally, however, the amount of work assigned to the deputy director general depended on the personality of his chief. Since the chief executive in the ministry for most of this period was the director general, the deputy director was expected to carry a good work load.[22]

The Secretary General

The secretary general was responsible to all three executives and reported directly to them. The secretary general prepared correspondence for signature by the minister, the director general or the deputy. He could sign ministry documents himself as directed or according to internal regulations.

Regulations required that official correspondence must pass through the archives and copies of all documents must be kept there. The secretary general was charged with organizing and maintaining the archives. The provision of accurate translations of correspondence and documents, instructional material and other written matter and the supervision of categories of personnel not under the direction of other departments were the responsibility of the secretary general. There was only one incumbent throughout the decade.[23]

The Educational Advisor

Until 1960 the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts employed foreign educational advisors. When educational work resumed in 1941, although the leading schools were staffed largely by expatriates, there was only one foreigner in the ministry, the education advisor. That fist advisor was a Briton, who served for over four years, and was later replaced by an American.

The education advisor was an expert in the science of education who advised the minister or the director general on education programs and methods of improving the organization of the ministry. He was expected to study the system, gather data, and write proposals to present to the minister. He prepared plans for future requirements for curriculum, textbooks, visual aids and so on. His position was, however, purely advisory, and he might not exercise any authority except that which was clearly delegated to him.[24] The advisors often rendered invaluable service.

The Director of Provincial Education

During the last half of the period, education was spreading to the thirteen provinces. Communication and transport were very primitive and delayed the progress outside Addis Ababa. A Department of Provincial Education, attached to the ministry was created, headed by a Director of Provincial Education. His main responsibility was to coordinate the activities of provincial schools in cooperation with local school boards. Responsible to the Minister of Education he made periodic trips to the provinces to report on the situation. He was responsible for arranging an annual conference of provincial education officers coordinating programs, ensuring fair distribution of materials and supplies, and making recommendations on provincial education.[27]

Other departments of the Ministry are shown in Chart 2.

There were, in addition, several committees to investigate, report, and implement decisions. They were the General Examination Committee, Curriculum Committee, Textbook Committee, Directors of Postprimary School Committee, Inspection and Control Committee, and others.[28]

The Financing of Education

In 1941, money was scarce. The national treasury was empty, trade was at a standstill and the mechanism of trade with neighboring countries had been destroyed.

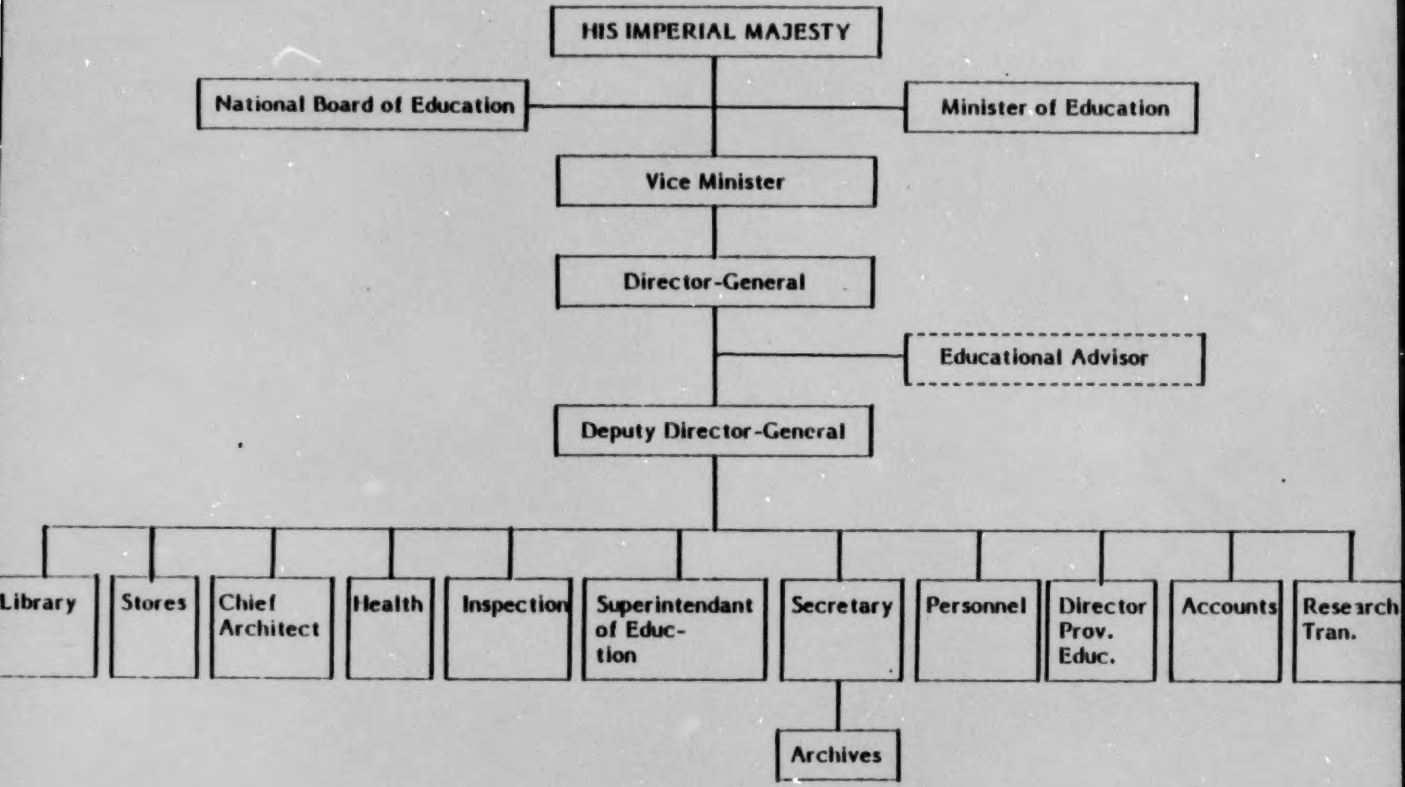
The Economic Background

Ethiopia is potentially rich in natural resources. She can produce many types of grain from the wheat which grows in the cool highlands, to maize, millet and other tropical and semitropical grains at lower altitudes. Cattle, sheep, goats, and beasts of burden are raised all over Ethiopia. Although not fully exploited, gold, platinum and coal

CHART 2

Organization Chart of the Ministry of Education & Fine Arts

1948 - 49


HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY
National Board of Education
Minister of Education
Vice Minister
Director-General
Educational Advisor
Deputy Director-General
Library
Stores
Chief Architect
Health
Inspection
Superintendant of Education
Secretary
Personnel
Director Prov. Educ.
Accounts
Research Tran.
Archives

Note: Broken lines, no incumbent.

Source: Ministry of Education, Yearbook 1947-49, p. 7.

are present and prospecting has been going on for more deposits. The Aksumites had established trade relations with peoples around the Red Sea before the Christian era. Material and cultural remains are still evident, imported during the days of flourishing trade with the outside world. The ruling class demanded fine silks and velvets; the common people needed salt to complement local supplies. Payment was made in gold, ivory, tusks and animal skins. In the late nineteenth century trade in coffee developed.

The main trade routes were from Aksum to the coast, first to Adulis and then to Massawa; through Sennar to the Sudan and Egypt; and from the southeast to the Danakil or Somali coast. These routes were subject to repeated interruption by lawless elements.[29]

Ethiopia never became a great trading country. Her traditions, like those of Medieval Spain, exalted the warrior and the priest; trade was despised and left to people of low status. Common people and rulers alike scorned and hated the tradesman on religious and political grounds. At the same time they realized their importance and depended on them in economic matters.[30]

Before the Fascist invasion in 1935 an important part of the business and commercial sector was in the hands of Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, Indians, and Britons. Many firms operating in Ethiopia were based in Aden, then a British Protectorate and an important commercial center. The Italians were, however, bent upon providing business opportunities for their own citizens and they expelled most of the businessmen.

Available reports indicate that before 1935 annual trade did not exceed Eth. $20,000,000 yearly and imports and exports generally balanced.[31] The three main exports were coffee, hides and beeswax. Just before 1936 between 10,000 and 20,000 tons of coffee were exported annually. About half of this was cultivated 'Harrari' and about half wild 'Abyssinian' coffe from Kaffa and elsewhere. Second in value were skins and hides, about 9,000 tons; "which, badly cleaned and sun-dried, were of low-grade quality."[32] Beeswax was not extensively cultivated; it was in demand for church candles and was of limited export value. Imports were mainly of cotton goods, including yarns for local cottage industry. In 1930 ninety percent of imports were in this category, and nearly half came from Japan and most of the rest from India.[33] Ethiopian trade was hindered by the rugged and mountainous country, the lack of a seaport, and the political situation at home and abroad.

By 1935 some progress had been made in trade and manufacture; there were a number of small oil mills and soap works, but more time and enterprise was needed. Somewhat harshly, Perham notes; "In spite of their ancient culture and close contacts with the world, the Ethiopians failed to develop their industries very much higher than the level of more primitive and pagan African countries. There was a higher standard of metal-work for religious and military purposes but the ordinary iron-workers, as in some neighbouring regions, remained a closed and despised caste. There was weaving, too, and cotton was planted in suitable conditions all over the country but the inadequacy of the local cotton strains led, in modern times, to a considerable importation of cotton. In building the Ethiopians, with the startling exception of Lalibela and a certain number of other well-made churches which survive from the middle ages, never rivalled or even approached their ancestors of the great days of Aksum."[34] Even the most critical observers of the Ethiopian scene would have to agree however, that since 1922 the development of trade and commerce have accelerated.

The Italian invasion, with its objective of making Ethiopia a "spilling ground for excess population, changed the whole picture. The mechanism of the corporative state violently forced trade into the channels of Italy's economic system.[35] No less than a thousand state-controlled companies were registered, including very large enterprises concerned with white colonization, with building ranches, and planting cotton, vegetables, fibers, or oil-seeds. Approximagely $1,330,000,000 was set aside for these schemes, with $100,000,000 to meet administration costs.[36]

To support development programs a policy of heavy importation was adopted. The rise in imports was estimated at nearly three thousand percent. At the same time exports dropped below the prewar level. However, the aggressors expended much effort in the construction of houses, offices, roads and bridges. They set out to build about ten thousand kilometers of roads, and actually succeeded in building 6,955 kilometers, 3,432 kilometers of which were "tarred or macadamized." The total cost was estimated at between $800,000,000 and $1,000,000,000. At one time about sixty thousand Italian workmen were working on road construction and some roads cost $80,000 per kilometer.[37]

The war of liberation destroyed many roads and bridges, both from abuse and from deliberate destruction. In 1944 the Ethiopian government pointed out that it needed $10,000,000 for road repair including ninety-six broken bridges, and $2,500,000 a year to maintain the system. It was cheaper to build new roads than maintain Italian-built roads. Twenty million dollars of road-making machinery was left behind, and in 1944 about 1,500 Italian commercial vehicles, including large diesel trucks, were still on Ethiopian roads.[37] The shops, offices and houses built for white citizens were thrown up in haste, and soon began to fall apart, though a few are still in good condition and in use. After the restoration even Britain was unable to extend a helping hand, but fortunately the rate of exports of coffee and cereals soared to the prewar level. In 1942 the adverse trade balance was $10,160,000, for 1943 it was 4,000,000 and for 1944 it amounted to 10,883,626. British military expenditure was welcome assistance.

Before 1935 main sources of revenue were provincial taxation, customs, the railway, concessions and monopolies, and imperial estates. The main expenditures were upkeep of the palace, public works, official salaries, social services, the army and the police. Some transactions were made in kind and the exact amounts are not known.

The Italians retained some of the existing taxation system and instituted some taxes of their own. By 1938 there were a large number of separate taxes, including a tithe on all products of the soil, a tax of one-thirtieth of the value of each head of livestock, a house and income tax, and taxes on servants, improvements, electricity consumption and even taxes on taxes to defray collection costs. Italy never introduced a scientific taxation system and in spite of the numerous taxes additional money was needed from Rome. The new colony was financed with credits voted by the Italian Parliament as part of the national budget with strict control from Rome.[38] When the restored Ethiopian Government assumed responsibility for reconstruction in 1941, the question of money loomed large.[39]

Ethiopia entered into long and difficult negotiations with her main ally, the United Kingdom, and on January 31, 1942 the first agreement was signed. Article 4 of the treaty, covering the finance, read: "His Majesty the Emperor, having intimated to the Government of the United Kingdom that he will require financial aid in order to reestablish his administration, the Government of the United Kingdom will grant his Majesty the sum of pounds sterling one million during the second year of the currency of this agreement."[40] If the arrangement remained in force for the next two years, Britain agreed to pay 500,000 pounds in the third and 25,000 pounds in the fourth year, quarterly, in advance. The Ethiopian government would absolve the British government from payment for the use of immovable property used by their forces in the prosecution of the war. Sections (c) and (d) of Article 4 stipulated that the emperor agreed to the closest cooperation between the Ethiopian authorities and their British advisers over public expenditure. In order to help the Ethiopian economy absorb the British funds and reactivate trade with surrounding territories, the Ethiopian Government would consult the British government on all currency matters.[41] The agreement was very highhanded regarding the use of funds supplied.

A British financial advisor, F. Stafford, was appointed by the emperor according to the terms of the treaty and another was placed in the customs department. The advisers, together with Ato Yilma Deresa, were given the difficult task of drawing up the first budget.[42]

The Budget

During 1941, 1942, and 1943 it proved impossible to draw up a proper budget. The newly-appointed officials were not accustomed to drawing up estimates, budgeting forward, submitting their plans and payments to public scrutiny and "acting under the right discipline of modern centralized finance." In addition problems of currency had to be overcome.[43]

The Maria Theresa dollar had been in use in 1935, and during the occupation the Italian government had used it together with the lira. After the reconquest East African and Indian currencies were used alongside the Italian and Ethiopian ones.

The Maria Theresa dollar was bulky and heavy (ninety percent silver) and inconvenient to handle. Large quantities had been brought over from England to finance the liberation effort. All these currencies were made legal tender with fixed rates of exchange. A branch of the English Barclays Bank was established in Addis Ababa, replacing a branch of the Bance Di Roma, and helped to stabilize the currencies and foster trade. The dollar was pegged at first at 1s. 10d., and in 1943 at 2s. The Ethiopians complained that this rate was the result of the withdrawal from Barclays authorities in Nairobi. The British replied that the price of silver in the world market had risen, and during the 1942 negotiations the Ethiopian government was urged to drop the "silver standard" with its attendant fluctuations. Instead of arguing it out with the British the Ethiopian government brought America into its confidence, and an arrangement was made with the United States under which a large amount of silver was made over under lend-lease. The loan permitted the issue of a new currency, consisting of one, five, ten, and twenty-five cents, with a fifty cent silver coin, and one, five, ten, one hundred, and five-hundred dollar notes. The dollar was officially rated at 5.52 grains of fine gold. Under the control of the State Bank of Ethiopia, the currency stabilized and replaced the remains of the foreign currencies.[44]

A rough estimate of revenue and expenditure was drawn up. Table 27 shows the budget for the decade in Ethiopian dollars.[45] Except for the years 1943-44 and 1948-49 the budget showed a healthy balance.

In 1941-42 extraordinary revenue constituted the larger part of total revenue. The United Kingdom under the terms of the 1942 treaty provided a subsidy, diminishing in the next two years until it reached a vanishing point leaving a deficit. Fortunately for Ethiopia the export market was good during most of the decade especially in coffee. When Britain lost most of her privileges under the 1944 Anglo-Ethiopian agreement she cut off financial aid to Ethiopia.

Table 27

Ethiopian Government Revenue and Expenditure for Ten Years, 1941-49 (Eth. $)

	Revenue			Expenditure	
Year	Ordinary	Extraordinary	Total	Total Ordinary Expenditure	Balance
1941-42	5,425,834.33	12,100,000.00	17,525,834.33	9,373,544.25	8,152,290.08+
1942-43	16,511,781.01	11,250,000.00	27,761,781.01	25,887,981.00	1,873,890.01+
1943-44	23,973,862.12	5,000,000.00	28,973,862.12	30,760,239.41	1,786,377.29-
1944-45	40,048,414.88	1,915,760.00	41,964,174.88	40,480,890.67	1,483,284.21+
1945-46	44,807,063.20	15,303,717.94	60,110,784.14	54,097,277.82	6,103,506.32+
1946-47	49,114,910.41	19,233,650.03	68,348,560.44	54,872,560.02	13,476,000.42+
1947-48	60,916,722.44	6,659,656.36	67,576,378.82	59,509,377.94	8,067,000.88+
1948-49	60,911,562.57	736,340.82	61,647,903.39	65,731,108.35	4,083,204.96-

Source: Ministry of Commerce & Industry, Economic Handbook of Ethiopia, (1951), p. 212.

+ Indicates surplus of budget

- Indicates deficit of budget

Note: Margery Perham, Government of Ethiopia, pp. 200-205 gives slightly different figures for the first three years. However, since most of the data were gathered from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry sources and internal consistency existed throughout, the latter source was retained.

In 1944-45 the American government offered U.S. $5,000,000, under lend-lease and the Swedish government extended a credit of 5,000,000 Kroner. In 1946 the United States extended a credit of U.S. $500,000, later increased to $1,000,000, primarily to finance the purchase of war surplus. In 1944 the Export-Import Bank of Washington had supplied U.S. $4,000,000 (fully paid back in 1946) for the purchase of automobiles, trucks, industrial machinery, gold-mining equipment, educational supplies and currency notes and coins. In 1947 the National City Bank of the United States advanced a credit of U.S. $900,000. In 1948 and 1949 Ethiopia's membership in the International Monetary Fund entitled her to draw a credit of U.S. $600,000. In 1950 and 1951 three development loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development totaled U.S. $8,000,000. A private U.S. loan of U.S. $324,000 provided aircraft and equipment for Ethiopian Airlines, the national carrier.[46] Other sources of extraordinary revenue included sales of government promissory notes to the State Bank of Ethiopia, the issues of coins, and profits on the government's capital investments, government-owned but self-operating enterprises, like the State Bank, Ethiopian Airlines, Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority, and the Imperal Ethiopian Tobacco Monopoly or from the sale of state assets.[47]

The ordinary revenues were derived from business, personal and land taxes, customs, and import and export taxes. Instead of getting deeper into debt, the government decided to enact a series of taxation laws to raise the funds to carry out reconstruction and development projects.[48] In 1942 a land tax was enacted. In 1944 an additional land tax was enacted which led to an increase in revenue. In 1944 personal and business tax laws provided for payment by all individuals and businesses.[49] These taxes, with the customs, health and education taxes, constituted ordinary revenue.[50]

Educational Finance

Complex educational developments required additional funding, which was provided by a 1947 law earmarking thirty percent of the land tax revenue for education.

Another proclamation provided for the expenditure and accounting of the education tax by local boards of education.[51] The basis for financing educational programs, in which so much confidence was placed, was laid. The emperor's goal was that "this Ministry (of Education) should be well organized and developed even more than any arm of the Government Administration in order to raise Ethiopia's standard of education."[52]

After the school year of 1947-48, elementary schools in the provinces were financed by the education tax on rural land. All other education facilities and programs, including elementary education in Addis Ababa, were financed by the National Treasury.[53]

Table 28 shows education tax revenue and expenditure each year for a period of five years.

In 1950-51 the decrease of one million dollars in revenue may have resulted from the churches exemption from education land-tax. There was a deficit of $180,966. The land-tax, earmarked for provincial primary education, helped to spread education, and for the first three years revenue increased steadily. Then increases in expenditure continued while revenue stagnated or actually decreased, a problem which was going to afflict educational programs during subsequent decades.

An official document leveled several valid criticisms at the existing system of provincial educational finance. Nearly all elementary education in the provinces was financed from the proceeds of the education tax, but elementary education in Addis Ababa and higher education were financed by the treasury. Further, the education tax

Table 28

Revenues and Expenditure of Land-Tax Money
Earmarked for Provincial Elementary Education (Eth. $)

Year	Income	Expenditure	Balance
1947-48	3,122,342.99	1,992,115.94	1,130,234.05 +
1948-49	4,654,416.43	3,042,663.31	1,611,753.12 +
1949-50	4,711,832.56	3,863,077.77	848,754.79 +
1950-51	3,763,903.11	3,944,869.13	680,966.02 -
1951-52	3,924,638.57	3,543,854.83	380,773.74 +

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Education Growth: The Hope We Have in Education; the Support We Give to Education. (Unpublished Amharic Report, Addis Ababa; Nehase 20, 1956 E.C.), p. 22; and C.A. Ruckmick, "The Little White Schoolhouse in Ethiopia," (Unpublised, Ministry of Education, July 18, 1950), p. 20.
+ sign indicates surplus of budget
- sign indicates deficit of budget

was based on the ownership of land, yet owners of urban property did not contribute to the cost of elementary education. There were several objections to this system. The education tax depended on land ownership and fertility and yielded an annual revenue which increased at a very slow rate. Since the growth of elementary education depended on the growth of revenue, it was obvious that a disparity between the lower and the upper levels of the government school system would develop.

An examination of the finances of all provinces showed that some were less favorably placed than others. The system created an inequality of educational opportunity in the provinces which would be more and more marked in the future. If the system was retained neither the controlled expansion of all divisions of the school system nor the distribution of schools on an adequate population basis would be achieved. To remedy this situation, an equalization program supported by the central treasury had to be worked out.[54] The problem persisted and the result was an increase in programs at secondary and higher levels while primary education was left to lag behind.[55]

Until 1947 most educational establishments were concentrated in the capital. Table 29 presents the patterns of expenditure for a period of ten years. During the first three years (1941-44) very little money was spent on provincial education.

In 1944-45 $362,908 was spent outside Addis Ababa, a seven percent increase over the previous year. The growth of expenditure over the ten year period was over nine

Table 29

National and Local Government Educational Expenditures for Ten Years

Year	Head Office and Addis Ababa Schools	Provinces	Total	% of Increase
	Eth. $	Eth. $	Eth. $	Eth. $
1941-42	208,808	-	208,808	-
1942-43	680,607	-	680,607	22.6
1943-44	903,751	-	903,751	32.8
1944-45	1,459,963	362,908	1,822,871	10.2
1945-46	5,649,697	730,454	6,380,152	25.0
1946-47	5,811,563	1,260,839	7,072,403	10.9
1947-48	5,778,326	2,056,237	7,834,563	10.8
1948-49	5,718,801	3,469,327	9,188,129	17.2
1949-50	5,419,884	4,090,245	9,510,129	3.5
1950-51	5,201,734	4,070,222	9,271,957	-2.5

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts; see also "Education Report Analysis of Developments in Recent Years", Ethiopia Observer 5:1 (1961), p. 71; Ministry of Education & Fine Arts, Year Book 1951-53, p. 3; Ministry of Education & Arts, Physical Planning Section, Education in Ethiopia (Addis Ababa, 1961), p. 17.

Note: Different sources give slightly differing figures for the years covered here. But cross-checking indicated that the figures retained come near to actual expenditure, although there is some variation with the Table just preceding this one.

million dollars, or about forty-five percent. This investment in education might not have been sufficient, but it certainly represented a nearly sacrificial commitment to education on the part of the Ethiopian government.

Itemized records of expenditure are not available for every year, but the few that are reveal an interesting story. In its eagerness to make education accessible the government had endeavoured to make it free. This included textbooks, supplies, clothing, board and dormitory facilities for almost all secondary and higher students and for some elementary pupils. Where board and dormitory facilities were not available cash was paid to the students. One observer remarked, "The period of urgent improvisation existed up to 1947, characterized by a policy of education at all costs. Free elementary education was followed by free boarding secondary education and free college education abroad for those who were chosen. It was a costly policy and the budget for education went up from 4 percent of the total national expenditure in 1944-45 to 12 percent in 1945-46 and 13.6 percent in 1948-49."[56]

Boarding facilities were necessary because many children were orphans, there was a lack of transport and many homes could not provide a supportive atmosphere for the young people.[57]

Board, lodging, clothing and other essentials taxed the slender budget heavily and obstructed a rapid growth in student enrollment. Thousands of dollars were spent annually to maintain boarding students. In 1949 there were approximately 53,000 students, of whom 2,975 were boarders.[58]

The purchase of two uniforms a year for those students was an expensive undertaking. One administrator who was involved noted that a conservative estimate indicated that ten day-students could have been educated for the cost of maintaining one boarding student.[59]

A Ministry of Education report assessed the situation and suggested that, "In the development of secondary level and higher institutions (elementary, too), it had been the policy of the Government to provide housing, food, and clothing without cost to the students, with the exception of a very limited number referred to as day students. The advisability of this policy in the early years of the development of the school system is not questioned. With the growth in student enrollment, however, the continuation of this policy has involved an increasing drain on the budget of the Ministry of Education...which it cannot afford to continue indefinately."[60]

Other methods of student support, such as loans, were recommended, but the practice of free student support continued well into the 1950s, draining away money that could have gone towards the expansion and improvement of educational programs for many more children.

Capital expenditure is partially listed in Table 30. It was of course modest, partly due to lack of funds partly because former offices and housing had been turned into classrooms. Fifteen million dollars of capital investment over a period of six years was no small commitment.

Table 30

Expenditure On Classroom Construction

Year	Expenditure on Buildings	No. of Classroom Units Added
1945-46	2,087,435	-
1946-47	2,460,174	69
1947-48	3,039,502	98
1948-49	3,024,369	82
1949-50	3,082,832	110
1950-51	1,654,177	80
Total	15,348,489	439

Source: Ministry of Education, Yearbook 1949-51, p. 77.

The Question of Uneven Progress

Ethiopia has always been an agrarian nation; most of the people, about ninety-eight percent, made their living from the land. The Education Year Book of 1947-48 gives the estimated population of Ethiopia as 15,000,000 and the school age population as 4,500,000.[61] The residents of the capital city numbered 300,000, a small fraction of the total population, but as in the prewar years, most educational activities tended to concentrate in the capital city. Old buildings, were restored and new ones constructed equipped and staffed in Addis Ababa.

Transport and communication problems restricted the growth of rural education and the center, which was easily accessible, developed faster. However, as early as 1942, the ministry had set up a framework for its activities in the provinces. Provincial education officers directly responsible to the central administration were appointed and where transport was available, supplies and equipment were dispatched. Each provincial education officer was given some leeway to provide teaching-learning material appropriate to local conditions. Increased budgetary and staffing provisions were made. In March 1947 a Director of Provincial Education was attached to the ministry, giving formal recognition to rural education. The first survey of provincial education was made, and in August 1947 a one month conference of all provincial education officers was called. It provided an opportunity for leading eductors to exchange ideas on the solution of their annual reports, consult the department heads of the ministry and share their experiences with one another.[62]

The expansion of provincial education put a heavy burden on the central treasury, yet the education tax based on land did not vary by more than two million dollars between 1947 and present.

More schools were built and equipped in Addis Ababa during reconstruction than in the rest of the country. In 1947-48 about $2,056,237 was spent on all provincial education programs together, while in Addis Ababa alone some five million dollars was spent. Schools in Addis Ababa were staffed by foreign teachers with high qualifications and were provided with costly equipment and facilities. Nearly all Addis Ababa schools catered to all the requirements of the students including clothing, food, lodging, medical services, books and stationery. In 1947-48, $248,264 was spent in Addis Ababa schools for capital equipment, $691,060 for food and $1,167,688 for new construction. The corresponding amounts for the provincial schools were $68,418 $108,130 and $675,401.[63]

The problem of imbalance between urban and rural areas created problems whose effects still vibrate in the life of this nation.

Innovation and Planning

The Period of Reconstruction was characterized by an attempt to make up for lost time and to adjust the national educational postures. In spite of all the haste, first degree innovation and planning were not lacking. The important innovations included the establishment of institutes such as Berhaneh Zare New for adult citizens, the establishment of a public library and for the first time the collection of statistics on school enrollment.

More important than any of these innovations was the introduction of the community education concept.

It was considered desirable to achieve not only general literacy but also to improve standards of health, especially in rural areas. An experimental station was established at Tabasse, near Debre Berhan. The programs included a clinic, childcare, Amharic lessons, homemaking and agricultural demonstrations. A second center was established at Shane, some forty kilometers from Addis Ababa. Adult education was provided in the capital city and a few centers outside, through evening classes, primarily at the British Council and Berhaneh Zare New.[64]

As early as 1944 there was concern for the spread of education to the masses. In that year the Ministry of education issued an important education policy. It laid down a complete plan for the expansion of education from primary to higher level, recognizing at the same time that lack of qualified teachers and money would permit only a gradual realization of the policy.

Mass Education

Affecting all ages and sexes, mass education was listed as the main objective. This was complementary to the maintenance of existing schools for children and the opening of new ones in towns and villages. Mass education aimed to spread literacy, to provide better hygiene and to encourage social life and recreation. The community center was to be used as a training ground, to be expanded through cooperative teams of men and women. It was hoped that the help of government departments would be secured. Schools of industrial arts and crafts would take part in the mass education drive.

The Education of Girls

This was recognized as being at least as important as education for boys, though coeducation was not yet acceptable to society. The Itegue Menen School for Girls was to develop secondary and teacher training departments, and the proposed University College of Addis Ababa would have a women's hostel from the start.

Secondary Education

The plan envisioned that Haile Selassie I Secondary School, which began operations in 1943, would remain the only secondary school in the country for the time being, so that its standards would be comparable to foreign secondary schools and mass education would have first claim to available funds. Moreover, before starting a new school, a shift system of classes was to be used at the existing secondary school.

Higher Education

Selected students were to be sent abroad after completing their secondary education. A site was to be set aside for a future University College which would emphasize the training of physicians, agriculturists and veterinarians, school directors and engineers. When the college was sufficiently developed it would not be necessary to send students abroad except for graduate work in certain areas.

Language in the Schools

Amharic was to remain the official language and an attempt would be made to build up a large literature. Amharic was to be taught in all schools, and English was to be the principal foreign language. In certain areas Arabic and other Ethiopian languages would be used in the initial stages. Although the use of foreign staff in education was unavoidable at the beginning, and Ethiopia was appreciative of the help this afforded, every effort was to be made to train Ethiopians to take over the work.

The Church in Education

It was hoped that the Ethiopian Orthodox Church would play a significant role in national education. An advanced school was established for theological studies, and secular subjects and teaching methods as well. The help of foreign mission societies would also be appreciated.

Finance

It was recognized that the available resources of the country would allow only a gradual realization of the plan. However, the government felt however slow the rate of progress, it was essential to have before it a complete picture of the educational expansion plan.[65]

Adult and mass education; correspondence and extension courses were projected Many bulletins and pamphlets were issued free or at cost-price to farmers, breeders, grain and meat handlers, canneries, tanneries, dairies and other industrial concerns with the improvement of their porducts in mind.[66]

Concluding Review

Modern education is relatively new to Ethiopia. The church was for many years the guardian of Ethiopian culture, and until comparatively recent times church schools represented the main means of formal education. They still occupied an important place during this era but less so.

At times their rigid resistance has almost disrupted the whole education system. During the reign of Emperor Menelik II the government built institutions teaching modern curricula and providing a means of cultural contact between Ethiopia and the outside world. The regency and reign of Emperor Haile Selassie I saw a great expansion of education activities and opportunity. Programs were developed, new schools were opened for boys and girls, and many students pursued specialized courses abroad. The work of these schools was abruptly terminated by the invasion of Ethiopia by Fascist Italy. A large proportion of these Ethiopians who had benefited from the educational opportunities provided here and abroad were killed, and a completely new beginning had to be made upon the return of the emperor and the reestablishment of Ethiopian independence in 1941.[67]

In spite of the special difficulties of the early years, the first four of which coincided with continuing global warfare, significant progress was made in the ten years after liberation.

At the time of liberation there were no adequate professional teachers available, but the government went ahead with the establishment of schools. Those who had more education than others, even though it was no more than the completion of the first, second or third grade, became the teachers. By 1951 there were over 522 schools offering at least one year of education, and more than one quarter operated full four-year primary school programs; there were also seven secondary level schools and one University College.[68] In ten years, approximately two hundred school buildings had been erected; student enrollment had increased two hundred percent; two thousand teachers had received special training; a complete organizational framework had been established; a system for financing provincial schools had evolved; and standard curricula had been developed and were in use in schools. A complete system ranging from kindergarten to college had been built.[69] Innovation, imaginative education legislation, and expansion in all aspects characterized the period, all achieved in the face of tremendous difficulties.

A policy of free education at all levels was followed. Education was considered a necessary tool for social mobilization and national development and a necessary investment.

"A policy of 'education at all cost' was followed. All talented students whether from the poorest socio-economic background or from the nobility, had equal opportunities. Free elementary education was followed by free boarding secondary education, and then by free college education at home and abroad, all expenses paid by the Ethiopian Government. Talent, merit, work and personal effort counted most. It was a costly policy, as was the policy of running a secondary school system with entirely foreign staff, but it was the only way to get quickly to this first goal; many of the present (1964) vice-ministers, assistant-ministers, directors-general of departments and others in office are products of this first post-war education drive."[70] Yet in spite of the progress that had been made the tasks that remained to achieve the stated educational objectives were tremendous. Only a fraction of the several million estimated school age population were receiving any type of education at all. Most Ethiopian teachers had less than a fourth-grade education. Many existing buildings were inadequate and there were serious shortages of equipment and supplies in many of the schools. There were few textbooks of quality even in the Amharic language. The introduction of English as a second language and as the vehicle of instruction beyond the fourth or fifth grades proved very difficult to handle for many and their progress was stifled. The imposition of modern education on an ancient culture raised many other problems which the Ministry of Education tried to solve, not always successfully. Long established patterns of living and traditional social concepts had to be adjusted to modern modes of thinking without destroying the basic culture of the people. The limits of available tax resources were being reached.[71]

The holding power of the schools was very low. Fifty percent of grade one students had dropped out before reaching the second year of schooling. Ninety percent of those entering grade one had dropped out before reaching grade five. "Strong consolidation was urgently needed. It was nearly useless to continue expanding this way; there was much too much waste."[72] Consolidation and planned expansion were urgently needed and these were the tasks to be accomplished during the ensuing decade.

Notes

1. These two laws may be still tending in the absence of any other law amending or replacing them.

2 Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazetta, General Notice No. 1 of 1941 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, May 10, 1941), p. 26.

3. Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazetta. Order No. 1 of 1943 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, January 29, 1943), pp. 26-27. This law has been amended by Order No. 44 of 1966 and Order No. 46 of 1966 successively, but the essential points of the 1943 law remain the same.

4. Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazetta, Decree No. 3 of 1944 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, August 27, 1944), pp. 125-128.

5. Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazetta, Legal Notice No. 103 of 1947 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, July 1947)

6. Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazetta, Legal Notice No. 153 of 1951 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, April, 1951); Negarit Gazetta, Legal Notice No. 162 of 1952 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, April 1952.

7. Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazetta, Order No. 3 of 1947 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, Novemver 30, 1947), p. 19.

8. Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazetta, Education Tax Proclamation No. 94 of 1947 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, November 30, 1947), pp. 15-16.

9. Ibid., pp. 17-19.

10. Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazetta, General Notice No. 1 of 1941 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, 1941), p. 26.

12. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Year Book E.C. 1940-41 (1947-49) (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, 1950), p. 8.

13. Ibid., pp. v-vi.

14. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

15. Ibid., p. 9.

16. Maaza Bekele, "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia: Its Foundations, Its Development, Its Future, with Emphasis in Primary Education," (Ph.D. Diss., Teachers College, Columbia, 1966); see Ministry of Education, Year Book E.C. 1940-41 (1947-49), p. 11.

17. Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazetta, General Notice of 1944 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, 1944).

18. Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazetta, Order No. 20 of 1943 (October 8, 1943).

19. Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazetta, General Notice No. 101 of 1947 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, June 6, 1947).

20. Ministry of Education, Year Book E.C. 1940-41 (1947-49), p. 11.

21. Ibid., pp. 11-13.

22. Ibid., p. 13.

23. Ibid., p. 14.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., pp. 15, 75-76.

27. Ibid., pp. 15-17.

28. Ibid., pp. 76, 79; Ministry of Education, Year Book 1949-51, pp. 38-39.

29. Margery Perham, The Government of Ethiopia (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), pp. 176-177.

30. Ibid., pp. 177-178.

31. Ibid., p. 178. The figures given are in British pounds, given in this text in equivalent Ethiopian money. Perham, quoting British Consul sources gives the following figures; 1912, $18,644,570, 1928-29, $28,228,520, 1929-30, $19,327,420.

32. Ibid., p. 179.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid., p. 180.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., p. 181.

38. Ibid., pp. 182-183.

39. Ibid., pp. 190-197.

40. Ibid., (Apppendix D) p. 418.

41. Ibid., pp. 198-199.

42. Ibid., pp. 199-200.

43. Ibid., pp. 212-224; Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazetta, Currency and Legal Tender Proclamation, 23 July 1945; Ethiopian Herald, 13 May 1946.

44. Ibid., p. 200.

45. See also Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, pp. 200-205.

46. Earnst W. Luther, *Ethiopia Today* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 62, 65-66.

47. Ibid., pp. 67-68. See also Ministry of Commerce and Industry, *Economic Handbook* of Ethiopia (1951), p. 212.

48. Ministry of Pen, *Negarit Gazetta*, Land Tax Proclamation No. 70 of 1944 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, 1944).

49. Ministry of Pen, *Negarit Gazetta*, Personal and Business Tax Proclamation No. 60 of 1943 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, 12 September 1943).

50. Ministry of Pen, *Negarit Gazetta*, Proclamation for the Establishment of Tax for Education No. 93 of 1947 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, 1947).

51. Ministry of Pen, *Negarit Gazetta*, Proclamation to provide for Education Expenditure No. 94 of 1947 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Pen, November 1947.)

52. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *A Ten-Year Plan for Controlled Expansion of Ethiopian Education* (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Educaiton and Fine Arts, 1965), Appendix p. 1.

53. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

54. Imperial Ethiopian Government, *Five Year Development Plan: 1957-1961* (Addis Ababa: Imperial Ethiopian Government), pp. 125-126.

55. See Ministry of Education, *Controlled Expansion of Education*, Appendix, p. 2.

56. "Education Report," *Ethiopian Observer* 6:1 (1949), p. 71.

57. Ministry of Education, *Year Book 1947-49*, pp. 44-45; Ministry of Education, *Report on the Organization and Administration of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts* (Addis Ababa, USA Mission to Ethiopia, Oct. 1954), p. 20.

58. Ministry of Education, *Year Book 1951-53*, p. 2.

59. C. Ruckmick. "The Little White Schoolhouse in Ethiopia" (July 18, 1950), p. 2.

60. Ministry of Education, *Controlled Expanion of Education*, p. 51.

61. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Year Book 1947-49*, pp. 89, 107.

62. Ibid., pp. 89-92.

63. Ibid., Opposite p. 50; David A. Talbot, *Ethiopia: Liberation Silver Jubilee* (1966), pp. 281-282.

64. Ministry of Education, *Education in Ethiopia*, p. 11.

65. Perham, The Government of Ethiopia, p. 252-254. Christian Bjerken, "Plans, Targets and Trends in Ethiopian Education," (Ph. D. diss., University of Maryland, 1970), p. 60.

66. Ministry of Education, Year Book 1949-51, p. 201.

67. Ministry of Education, Controlled Expansion of Education, pp. 9, 62.

68. Ibid., p. 62.

69. Ibid., p. ix, USA Operations Mission to Ethiopia, Report on the Organization and Administration of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts (Addis Ababa: Cooperative Education Program Press, October 1954), p. 19; Ministry of Education, Year Book 1947-49, p. viii.

70. Edward Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (PhD. diss., Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), p. 7.

71. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

72. Ibid.

Chapter IX

TERRITORY OF ERITREA, 1941-1962

The Political Background

Eritrea had been an Italian colony from 1890 to 1941, when it was under British military administration until the peace treaty. The former Italian colonies were disposed by the United Nations. On 2 December 1950, the UN General Assembly voted for the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia as an autonomous territory under the Ethiopian crown. An Eritrean constitution was drawn up under the direction of a UN commission in consultation with the people of the territory. The draft constitution was adopted by the UN, the Eritrean Assembly and the emperor of Ethiopia. As Paul and Clapham have noted "The steps involved in the federation were complicated and difficult: the preparation and ratification by popular assembly of an internal constitution for Eritrea, the distribution of powers between the 'federal' (Ethiopian) Government and the Eritrean Government, the ratification by the Emperor of both the Eritrean Constitution and the 'Federal Act' creating the federation, and promulgation by him of federal legislation creating a 'Federal Government' in Eritrea...to carry out federal responsibilities."[1]

During the long consummation of federation, "Ethiopia necessarily played a significant role because of historicalities, geographical proximity; ethnic relationsnip, and economic interdependence."[2] The legal basis of federation was the UN resolution of December 1950 later adopted in its entirety by both Ethiopia and Eritrea as the "Federal Act."[3]

The Federal Act provided that Eritrea should constitute an autonomous unit federated with Ethiopia under the Ethiopian crown, that the Eritrean government should have legislation, executive and judicial power over its domestic affairs, that the jurisdiction of the federal government should cover defense, foreign affairs, currency and finance and interstate commerce, and external and interstate communications including ports, and that the federal government should have the power to maintain the integrity of the federation.[4] Both the federal and Eritrean governments should ensure residents of Eritrea, of what ever nationality, race, sex, language or religion, the "enjoyment of human rights and fundamental liberties" including equality before the law, life, liberty and security of the person, property rights, freedom of opinion, of speech, and of religion and of education, freedom of peaceful assembly and association, privacy of correspondence and domicile, and the right to practice a profession subject to the law. Nobody should be arrested or detained, except by order of a competent authority, unless they were in flagrant violation of the law by force. The right to a fair trial and to petition the emperor and to appeal to him for the commutation of death sentences was recognized.[5]

The Eritrean constitution incorporated many of the ideas of the Declaration of Universal Human Rights recognized by the UN. Some of its articles read:

> Article 10: There shall be a representative of His Imperial Majestry, the Emperor of Ethiopia, Sovereign of the Federation.
> Article 23: All persons are born free and are equal before the law without distinction of nationality, race, sex or religion and, as such, shall enjoy civil rights and shall be subject to duties and obligations.
> Article 26: The right to freedom of conscience and religion shall include the right of everyone, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching,

> practice, worship and observance.
> Article 32: Everyone resident in Eritrea shall have the right to express his opinion through any medium whatever (press, speech, etc.) and to learn the opinions of others.
> Article 32: Everyone in Eritrea shall have the right to form associations or companies for lawful purposes.[6]

The End of the Federation

When the second elections to the Eritrean Assembly took place in 1956, there were no political parties. In December 1958 the Eritrean Assembly voted unanimously to abolish the Eritrean flag and raise the Ethiopian flag. In September 1959 the Eritrean Assembly voted unanimously to accept the penal code of Ethiopia in place of existing Etritrean legislation. In May 1960 they voted unanimously to change the name "Eritrean Government" to "Eritrean Administration," to accept the insignia of the imperial lion for administrative purposes and to change the Eritrean seal to read "Eritrean Administration under Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia." On 14 November 1962 the assembly voted unanimously for the abolition of the federation and on 15 November 1962 the end of the federation was ratified by imperial order.[7]

Eritrea was now part and parcel of Ethiopia, as the thirteenth of the provinces that constitute the empire.

What the British Found in Eritrea

The British commander of the northwestern front took over Eritrea from the Italians in 1941. For some time the administration of Eritrea under British rule remained as it was before the Italians left. There were of course problems of finance and there was no longrange planning by the British who were only providing a caretaker government, and many problems were put aside for future solution.[8] The major problems for the British military administration were the undeveloped nature of the territory, the absence of trained and experienced Eritreans, the many Italian soldiers and civilians still living in the territory, and the racist laws and practices entrenched there by Fascism. These problems had to be quickly dealt with by the new occupying power.

The British found the region "barren, treeless, waterless, teeming with 45,000 Italians and 100,000 Eritreans. The policy of the Italian government there had been not to encourage industry but to use Eritrea as a market for finished goods made in Italy. Captured documents revealed that...it was contrary to the policy of the Italian government to encourage industries in Eritrea."[9]

Policies of this type were common to all European colonialists and Italy was no exception. However, while the outlook of other Europeans became more liberal, especially after World War I, Italy

> ...under Fascist influence became more reactionary. In Eritrea the Italian citizen was a principal; the Eritrean an auxiliary. The Eritrean was required to produce inexpensive raw materials for Italian industry, to work for Italian enterprises as a cheap labourer, and to serve in Italy's colonial army as a low-paid mercenary. He remained subject to discriminatory legislation, he had no voice in his country's government; he was not associated with the Italian Administration expect in subordinate posts; and what he derived from social and public services was markedly less than his reasonable entitlement. And yet there was no Eritrean discontent. It was averted by a calculated policy of "bread

> and circuses:' food and consumer goods were always cheap and plentiful; taxation was at a token rate; and largesse was poured out in a rich shower of presents, doles, gratuities, honours and sinecures. Throughout the Italian regime the Eritrean remained content, docile, and obedient to his rulers.[10]

"The Italian policy had demanded no more than an exclusive instrument which would effectively translate government orders into action and, for this purpose, had preferred obedient government agents to chiefs or councils likely to reflect an unpredictable and perhaps inconvenient public opinion."[11]

The Italian role for the Eritreans was as unquestioning, uncomplaining instruments of the "grandeur of Rome." This policy, and racial segregation, underpinned all their other activities. Regarding education, the Italian government ordered during the occupation, that education activity be minimal.[12] In 1941, when the British military administration took over, there were only twenty-four four-grade primary schools. "The standard of teaching had been low; its scope designedly narrow."[13] To keep the Eritreans as ill-trained and ill-informed as possible, the Italians systematically developed and strengthened the color bar. "...Natives were reminded, specifically and everywhere, of their inferiority in their own country. The municipalities excluded them from all participation. In the central government hierarchy they had no part and were, after fifty years, no nearer to acquiring any; they could at best hope to be low-paid clerks or orderlies. Of advancement or training towards participation in government or of an administrative scheme which could lead to it, there was at no time a trace. There were to be, in perpetuity, rulers and the passive ruled. Meanwhile, native schools were few and poor.[14]

The Italians of course maintained segregated schools, one system for Italian children, another for Eritreans; one superior, the other inferior. "...In Eritrea," wrote Sylvia and Richard Pankhurst, "there was one school for every 820 Italians as against one for every 50,294 Eritreans. The schools for Eritreans numbered only 20: they were all primary. In the field of public health there were twenty-five times as many hospital beds for Italians as for Eritreans."[15]

The only schools which aspired to teach the inherent equality of man, or which attempted to provide normal standards of instruction were those run by the Swedish Evangelical Mission, and by a few similar organizations. These were closed by order of the Italian government in 1932.[16]

The British Attempt to Reconstruct

When the British took over the administration of Eritrea in 1941, they were still fighting Hitler in Europe. Ideological factors were involved, and so they tried to undermine racist laws and institute concepts of equality and responsibility in self-government. They felt justified in abolishing the whole body of offensive law designed to uphold white supremacy. At the same time they had to be cautious lest they offend the Italians who were helping them administer the country.[17] Gradually they succeeded in creating conditions that permitted the annulment of racist laws.

The Italian neglect of education for over fifty years left the British with a formidable task. There were no trained teachers or suitable textbooks and only a few school buildings. The financial resources for education available to the administration were severely limited. Each problem was tackled in time and a modest educational edifice was erected. A few schools were opened with a small number of trained teachers recruited from the Sudan, and from the few Eritreans with advanced training. As pupils and teachers became available more schools were opened, and eventually, after a system of teacher training was introduced in 1943, a steady flow of trained teachers poured into the schools. Arabic textbooks were brought from Egypt and the Sudan, and Tigrigna textbooks were prepared and printed by the administration. Where there were no suitable buildings, funds were raised by voluntary subscription and schools were built.[18] By 1946 it was reported that there were forty-two schools in Eritrea, twenty-seven operating in Tigrigna and fifteen in Arabic. Enrollment was about 3,360, with one hundred teachers. There were no secondary or technical schools. The little available education beyond the primary grades was provided by the Ethiopian government.[19] By 1950, two years prior to the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia, one middle school and fifty-nine primary schools had been set up.[20]

During the occupation instruction was in Italian and a number of Eritreans had a fair knowledge of colloquial Italian. The British needed English-speaking personnel and young Eritreans therefore demanded instruction in English; Italian was abandoned. In the last year of primary school children were taught English and at middle school level English was the language of instruction. The choice of a language of instruction in primary school was left to local educational committees, which invariably favored Tigrigna in Christian areas and Arabic in Moslem ones.

This limited experiment in education aroused enthusiasm among a large number of Eritreans to the surprise of the British. Parents were ready to make "substantial sacrifices" to send their children to school. "In the towns the young and even the middle-aged clamored to be given the opportunities denied them during the Italian regime." To meet the demand for adult education, English institutes were established in Asmara and other towns. Courses included: "typing, shorthand; and discussions, lectures, concerts, gramophone recitals, and film shows were arranged." The British council and administration cooperated in making books and periodicals available. Weekly newspapers were published in Tigrigna and Arabic.[21] No annual breakdowns of statistical information on the ten-year period of British administration are available, but the scanty information that we do have is given in Table 31.

Table 31

Expenditure by the British on Eritrean Education

Year	Expenditure on Italian Education (pound sterling)	Expenditure on Eritrean Education (pound sterling)
1943-44	11,648	2,081
1944-45	25,809	16,511
1945-46	28,041	22,282

Source: G.K.N. Trevaskis, Eritrea: A Colony in Transition, p. 40.

The expenditure was modest, but the enthusiasm aroused in the people of Eritrea for more education, so that they were ready to make almost any sacrifice, was of great importance.

About 1944, Sylvia Pankhurst, a staunch friend of Ethiopia, made a tour of Etritrea. She was confronted with the "stubborn" assertion that "Ethiopia could not accomplish in education, or any other field, what Britain could and would achieve for the Ethiopian people on both sides of the Italian-created border." However, she noted that British officials deplored the shortage of school facilities and materials in the primary schools they themselves had sponsored. In one girls' school, she saw classes conducted in a warehouse which the British director had converted, the girls sitting on the floor for lack of seats. The wool used for knitting was in such short supply that each student had to undo her work as soon as she had completed it so that the wool might be used by other students.

"The principal school for boys was housed in what had formerly been a Roman Catholic orphanage for half-castes. It was grievously deficient in equipment. The textbooks were a few sheets—half a dozen at most—of paper stenciled each with a few phrases and stitched together in the centre. In lieu of exercise books the boys wrote on old Italian forms which had been printed for use by the customs, immigration, military and other authorities, it was wholly elementary, barely reaching beyond the Tigrinya alphabet."[22]

When Ms. Pankhurst remarked to a British officer that she was favorably impressed by the Swedish mission school he remarked that, unlike the Catholic mission schools, "they are inclined to make the Eritrean conceited."[23] The missionaries were now reestablishing themselves and had begun to contribute to the development of education in Eritrea. Both the administration and the mission organizations had started the long-neglected job of educating Eritreans, but only at the primary level. "Secondary education had not been introduced anywhere when the British withdrew from Eritrea in 1952."[23] The development of a complete system of education up to university level was to wait until the territory was reunited with the rest of Ethiopia.

Education Under Federation, 1952-1962

Under the terms of the Federation in 1952, education in the territory was under the jurisdiction of the Eritrean government. Article 31 of the constitution, right to education and freedom to teach, provided that:

1. Everyone resident in Eritrea shall have the right to education. The Government shall make every effort to establish schools and to train teachers.
2. The Government shall encourage private persons and private associations and institutions, regardless of race, nationality, religion, sex or language, to open schools, provided that they can give proof of the required standards of morality and competence.
3. The instruction in the schools shall conform to the spirit of the Constitution. Article 38, Languages declared:
   1. Tigrinya and Arabic shall be the official languages of Eritrea.
   2. In accordance with established practice in Eritrea, the languages spoken and written by the various population groups shall be permitted to be used in dealing with the public authorities, as well as for religious or educational purposes and for all forms of expression of ideas.[25]

Under the terms of the constitution and the federal act, educational development was primarily the responsibility of the Eritrean government. However, these provisions did not exclude assistance from the Ethiopian Ministry of Education; and much assistance was in fact given.

Educational conditions in Eritrea were different from those in Ethiopia. For one thing, the languages of instruction were different. However, from the beginning the Ethiopian government tried to coordinate the Eritrean and the Ethiopian systems. A liaison officer and an education expert from the Ministry of Education established offices in Asmara. Amharic teachers were provided by the ministry and arrangements were made for students in Eritrea to take the national examinations and to proceed to secondary schools and colleges throughout the empire. A secondary school and a trade school were established, primarily with $578,000 provided by the treasury at the emperor's order.[26] The Naval School was located in Massawa. As time passed, more and more assistance was provided for the development of education in Eritrea.

The government education system in Eritrea was divided in two, one operated by the federal government and one by the Eritrean government. Schools run by the federal government were few in number and instruction in the lower grades was primarily in Amharic. Eritrean government schools made up the bulk of the system.

Nongovernment schools included those run by resident Italians for Italian and non-Italian children, and the Protestant and Catholic mission schools which admitted students from all segments of the community.[27]

The federal government provided some schools with library books and Amharic textbooks and in some instances with money. The main burden of educational progress from 1941 to 1952 was, however, borne by the Eritreans themselves.

Development of the Education System

There is little available data showing the complete picture of educational development during the decade of federation. What is available, mainly from 1955 onward, shows steady progress in student enrollment, physical plant expansion and teacher recruitment, with only occasional upsets.

School Teachers

Most government teachers were recruited locally from graduates of teacher training schools set up during the British administration and afterwards. There is no information on teacher qualifications or certification requirements for work in primary and middle schools.

For some schools, established in cooperation with the federal government, teachers, especially of Amharic, were sent from Addis Ababa. Other Eritrean government schools wanted Amharic teachers and were provided with them.

Table 32 shows the number of government school teachers over a period of six years. Between 1955-65 and 1960-61 the teaching force, most of whom were nationals, grow over sixty-eight percent. Its quality was maintained at the same level and such a growth rate would be phenomenal over such a short period.

TABLE 32

GOVERNMENT SCHOOL TEACHERS IN ERITREA 1955-56 TO 1960-61

Period	Nationals			Foreigners			Grand Total	% of Nationals
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total		
1955-1956	390	80	470	5	1	6	476	98.73
1956-1957	497	101	598	6	2	8	604	99.00
1957-1958	525	98	623	1	3	4	627	99.36
1958-1959	592	125	717	15	14	29	746	96.11
1959-1960	629	118	747	28	6	34	781	95.64
1960-1961	676	91	767	18	13	31	798	96.11

Sources: 1. For 1955-56 to 1959-60, Government Schools Enrollment, 1959-60, p. 21.
2. For 1960-61, School Census, 1960-61, p. 11.

Government Schools

Table 33 sets out the number of schools in operation, mostly by the Eritrean government, over a five-year period. The decrease in the number of schools in 1957-58 remains unexplained, but in the same year the federal government set up the Haile Selassie I Secondary School and the Eritrean government added a ninth grade to the Prince Makonnen School in Asmara. For the first time two secondary-level schools were operating in Eritrea.

Table 33

Government Schools in Eritrea, 1955-56 to 1959-60

Period	Elementary 1-8	% of Increase	Academic Secondary 9-12	% of Increase	Special I-IV	% of Increase	Total
1955-56	128	-	-	-	-	-	128
1956-57	141	10.15	-	-	-	-	141
1957-58	122	-15.57	2	0.0	2	0.0	126
1958-59	148	21.31	2	0.0	3	50.0	153
1959-60	154	4.05	3	50.0	3	0.0	160

Source: Government Schools Enrollment, 1959-60, p. 3.

Student Enrollment

Table 34 shows student enrollment in primary, secondary and special schools for seven years. Two interesting facts stand out: firstly the annual rate of increase in enrollment at both levels is large, and secondly, the number of female students in primary and special schools is relatively high compared to most of Ethiopia. The average proportion of female students for the seven-year period is twenty-four percent.

Comparative figures for students and teachers are shown in Table 35. This upward trend continued for the rest of the federation period and beyond. More students were enrolled and there was a relative shortage of classrooms and teachers. Eritrean youngsters seemed to excel in national and other examinations, showing their need to reassert their identity among the communities of the nation.

The development of education in Eritrea during the federation period was greatly assisted by nongovernment, church and missionary organizations. Table 36 shows the number of schools, teachers and students in the government, mission, private and church sectors of education for the two-year period, 1960-62. It should be noted that the growth rate was not even in all sectors.

Secondary Level Education

The Haile Selassie I Secondary School was the first institution of its type in Eritrea and was described as the "finest yet erected in all Ethiopia."[28] It was intended to be a boarding school for 450 pupils but the rapid increase in the demand for secondary education resulted in a change of plan. Three buildings that were intended for dormitories and a dining hall were converted into classrooms. This enabled the school to accommodate one thousand secondary level students.[29]

TABLE 34

STUDENTS ENROLLED IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS IN ERITREA BY GRADE AND SEX
1955/56 - 1961/62

Period	Primary Grades 1-8			Academic Secondary 9-12			Special Secondary I-V			Grand Total		
	Total	Female	% Female	Total	Female	% Female	Total	Female	% Female	Total	Female	% Female
1955-56	17727	3655	20.61	263	-	-	160	32	20.0	18150	3687	20.31
1956-57	22524	4368	19.39	334	-	-	226	51	22.56	23084	4419	19.14
1957-58	21918	5051	23.04	618	29	4.69	214	72	33.64	22750	5152	22.64
1958-59	25283	6599	26.10	607	23	3.78	300	54	18.00	26190	6676	25.49
1959-60	31382	8220	26.19	608	29	4.76	297	49	16.49	32287	8298	25.70
1960-61	33059	8381	25.35	642	24	3.73	304	25	8.22	34005	8430	24.70
1961-62	36606	9568	26.13	848	53	6.25	524	67	12.78	37978	9688	25.50

Source: Statistical Abstract 1964, p. 145.

TABLE 35

PERCENTAGE GROWTH RATE OF THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL SYSTEM IN ERITREA

	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60
Enrollment	27.16	1.45	15.12	23.13
Teachers	27.31	3.46	18.97	4.69
Schools	10.15	-10.63	21.42	4.57
Classroom Units	10.15	- 0.70	19.00	6.24

Source: Government Schools Enrollment, 1959-60, p. 5.

TABLE 36

DISTRIBUTION OF ERITREAN SCHOOLS, TEACHERS AND STUDENTS BY TYPE OF SCHOOL 1960-62

	1960-61	1961-62	% of Increase
Government Schools			
No. of Schools	171	38	-77.77
No. of Students	34005	30712	- 9.68
No. of Teachers:			
Ethiopian	767	733	- 4.43
Foreign	31	205	561.29
Total	798	938	17.54
% of Ethiopian Teachers	96.11	78.14	-
Mission Schools			
No. of Schools	49	16	-206.25
No. of Students	4513	4554	0.90
No. of Teachers:			
Ethiopian	132	94	-28.78
Foreign	16	88	450.00
Total	148	182	22.97
% of Ethiopian Teachers	28.40	59.58	-
Private Schools			
No. of Schools	44	24	-83.33
No. of Students	12168	5900	-51.51
No. of Teachers:			
Ethiopian	121	143	18.18
Foreign	305	97	-68.19
Total	426	240	-43.66
% of Ethiopian Teachers	28.40	59.58	-
Church Schools*			
No. of Schools	-	4	-
No. of Students	-	1328	-
No. of Teachers			
Ethiopian	-	48	-
Foreign	-	8	-
Total	-	56	-
% of Ethiopian Teachers	-	85.71	-

*Only schools following the Ministry of Education curriculum.

Source: Statistical Abstract, 1963, pp. 103-104.

In 1958 there were 331 boys and 9 girls enrolled. The headmaster was a Canadian, Mr. C. Demers. There were 24 teachers, 15 of whom were foreigners, four Indians, 3 English, 3 Canadian, 2 Norwegian, 1 American, 1 Swiss and 1 Czech. Three of the foreign teachers were women. Of the nationals, 6 were from Addis Ababa and 3 from Eritrea. The nationals taught morals, Amharic and sports. English was the language of instruction.

The curriculum of the school consisted of English, French, science, geography, mathematics, history and painting. "A library period for Amharic books is held weekly by one of the Ethiopian teachers. Each evening for an hour after classes terminate and all Saturday morning, the library is open for students who wish to read there under supervision."[30] Library books were supplied by the Ethiopian Ministry of Education and by the United States. This school, like others of its type in Ethiopia, was free. But until 1959 students had to purchase their own stationary.

The Prince Makonnen School in Asmara was the other academic secondary school in Eritrea. It was a day-school, housed in an old Italian building and operated by the Eritrea government education department. In 1958 there were 309 pupils, 290 boys and 19 girls. An Indian, Mr. B.C. Paul, was the headmaster. There were 3 Indian and 14 Ethiopian teachers; four of the Ethiopians had been trained as graduates in Beirut, Lebanon. For the previous three years the school had added a grade each year until in 1959 it reached full secondary status by adding a twelfth grade.

Table 37 shows the enrollment situation for one year, the last before the reunification of Eritrea with Ethiopia. Enrollment figures show marked progress within such a short period of time.

There were some vocational-trade schools of postelementary level. One of these was the Eritrean Vocational Trade School in Asmara. Started in September 1954, the school was operated by the Ethiopian and Eritrean governments in collaboration with the United States 'Point IV' program. The Eritrean government provided a site with some old Italian buildings and electricity. The Ethiopian government and 'Point IV' paid seventy percent and thirty percent of costs respectively.[31]

The admission requirement to the school was a pass in the grade eight leaving examination. Entrants had to be at least fourteen years old and "of sufficient strength and stature to cope with the machinery." The program lasted three years. The curriculum included English, Amharic, mechanical drawing, science, physical training and hygiene. Instruction was given in English except in the purely Amharic subjects.[32]

It was a boarding school. "Tuition, board and lodging, all equipment and tools required for the course, a pair of blankets, a pair of old sheets and pillows, together with serviceable overalls and medical attention when required, are supplied to the students free of charge."[33] Students were expected to clean and maintain the school premises.

In 1958 there were 170 students enrolled; one hundred had already completed the course and had received their diplomas. Fourteen graduates had been retained for a fourth year of training as apprentice teachers in the school. The teaching staff consisted of Americans and Ethiopians who were rapidly replacing the expatriates.[34]

Another postprimary vocational school was the Empress Menen School of Nursing at

TABLE 37

ENROLLMENT IN ERITREAN ACADEMIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS
1961-62

Secondary School	Sex	Grade 9		Grade 10		Grade 11		Grade 12		Total		Total Male and Female Students
		Students	Cu*	Students	Cu	Students	Cu	Students	Cu	Students	Cu	
Haile Selassie I (Asmara)	M	174	–	146	–	54	–	28	–	402	–	427
	F	18	6	4	5	3	2	–	2	25	15	
Prince Makonnen (Asmara)	M	253	–	59	–	60	–	21	–	393	–	421
	F	23	8	2	2	1	2	2	1	28	13	
Total	M	427	–	205	–	114	–	49	–	795	–	848
	F	41	14	6	7	4	4	2	3	53	28	

*Classroom units

Source: School Census for Ethiopia 1961-62, p. 22.

Asmara. Jointly established by the Ethiopian Ministry of Public Health and Point IV in 1955, and accredited by the International Council of Nursing of which Ethiopia had been a member since 1957, this vocational school provided a four-year program leading to an R.N. diploma. In 1958 there were sixty-seven students including twenty-five new entrants. Applicants far exceeded the number of places available. The teaching staff consisted of five Americans, one Eritrean and one Sudanese lady.[35]

In addition to the government postprimary schools, there were a few private ones, but in the absence of adequate data no account of them can be given here. It must also be taken into consideration that many Eritreans had access to secondary and university level education in Ethiopia, or were granted scholarships to study abroad.

Although educational development started late because of Fascist, racist and oppressive policies, once it had started, under the British and the federation it grew faster than expected. This was primarily due to the willingness of the people to undertake the heavy burden of investment in education, and to the enthusiasm of Eritrean children in seizing their opportunities and getting the most out of them.

On November 15, 1962 federation was formally replaced by complete integration. The development of Eritrean education compared to other provinces and to Addis Ababa is set out in Table 38. The rate of enrollment growth in Eritrea was higher than for any of the twelve provinces or Addis Ababa. The increase in teachers was higher in 1956-57 than any other province.

In the rate of growth of schools, except in 1957-58, Eritrea led the rest, although the number of classroom units in these schools may have been fewer than for the rest of Ethiopia. All in all, the rate of educational development was faster than in any other part of the empire. This dynamism was maintained beyond the federation period, as we shall see. On November 15, 1962 the emperor declared:

> In the last decade, the people of Eritrea have increasingly come to realise that the federation, alien to their tradition and experience, was superfluous and unnecessary among people whose unity had stood the test of time.
>
> The people of Eritrea...recognizing the harmful consequences of the operation of the federal system through the experience of the past decade, desirous of living together with their Ethiopian brothers, have formally requested, by their resolution voluntarily and unanimously adopted on November 14, 1962, that the federation be dissolved. In its place they have asked for the complete administrative integration of Eritrea with the rest of Ethiopia in order to facilitate and speed the economic growth and development of the nation. We have accepted this resolution and have consented to its being placed into effect.[37]

With this Eritrea became the thirteenth province of Ethiopia. Educational development in Eritrea was to be completely linked with that of Ethiopia.

TABLE 38

PERCENTAGE INCREASES OF ENROLLMENT, TEACHERS, SCHOOLS AND CLASSROOM UNITS IN ERITREA
1956/57 TO 1959/60

	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60
Enrollment				
Empire Total	24.43	12.98	5.48	7.94
12 Provinces	23.30	14.87	4.66	3.31
Addis Ababa	26.38	14.97	0.59	2.57
Eritrea	27.16	- 4.45	15.12	23.27
Teachers				
Empire Total	15.33	11.14	13.31	2.35
12 Provinces	12.53	13.89	6.81	4.14
Addis Ababa	12.55	12.76	28.41	-3.54
Eritrea	27.31	3.46	18.97	4.69
Schools				
Empire Total	4.99	2.78	1.59	0.94
12 Provinces	3.11	6.49	-4.57	-0.68
Addis Ababa	8.57	10.52	9.52	4.34
Eritrea	10.15	-10.63	21.42	4.57
Classroom Units				
Empire Total	12.53	8.73	8.24	6.78
12 Provinces	10.05	11.92	5.98	4.87
Addis Ababa	22.46	9.52	5.97	15.41
Eritrea	10.15	- 0.70	19.00	6.24

Source: Government Schools Enrollment, 1959-60, p. 5.

Notes

1. J.C. Paul and C. Clapham, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development* (Addis Ababa: Faculty of Law, Haile Selassie I University, 1967), p. 367
2. Ibid., p. 368.
3. Ibid.; Ministry of Pen, *Negarit Gazetta*, Order No. 6 of 1952.
4. Paul and Clapham, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development*, p. 374.
5. Ibid., pp. 379-380.
6. *The Constitution of Eritrea* as adopted by the Representative Assembly of Eritrea, 10 July 1952.
7. Ministry of Pen, *Negarit Gazetta*, Order No. 27 of 1962 (22nd Year, No. 3).
8. J.S. Trimingham, *The Christian Church and Mission in Ethiopia* (London: World Dominion Press, 1950), p. 16.
9. S. Pankhurst and R. Pankhurst, *Ethiopia and Eritrea, The Last Phase of the Re-Union Struggle, 1941-1952* (Woodford Green: Lalibella House, 1953), pp. 26-27.
10. G.K.N. Trevaskis, *Eritrea: A Colony in Transition, 1941-52* (London: Oxford University, 1960), p. 29.
11. Ibid., p. 31.
12. Ibid., p. 33.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Pankhurst, *Ethiopia and Eritrea*, pp. 229-230; Stephen H. Longrigg, *A Short History of Eritrea* (Oxford: Clareidon, 1945), p. 137.
16. Trevaskis, *Eritrea: A Colony in Transition*, pp. 134-35.
17. Ibid., p. 30.
18. Ibid., pp. 33-34.
19. Pankhurst, *Ethiopia and Eritrea*, p. 304.
20. Trevaskis, *Ethiopia: A Colony in Transition*, pp. 34-40.
21. Ibid., p. 40.
22. Pankhurst, *Ethiopia and Eritrea*, pp. 98-99.
23. Ibid., p. 106.

24. Ethiopia Observer 3:9 (1959):279.

25. Pankhurst, Ethiopia and Eritrea, pp. 33-35.

26. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Education in Ethiopia (Addis Ababa, 1961), p. 36; Year Book 1951-53, p. 121.

27. Information on this part was provided by Ato Alemu Begashaw, formerly education expert in Eritrea during part of the federation period.

28. "Eritrea's First Secondary School," Ethiopia Observer 3 (August 1959):222.

29. Ibid., p. 222.

30. Ibid.

31. "The Vocational Trade School," Ethiopia Observer 3 (August 1959):224.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid., pp. 224-225.

35. Ibid., pp. 216-217.

36. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Year Book 1951-53, p. 121.

37. "The Emperor's Speech on the Reunion of Eritrea," Ethiopia Observer 6:4 (1963):311.

CHAPTER X
CONSOLIDATION AND PLANNED EXPANSION, 1951-1961

The reconstruction era has been described as a time of improvisation. The overall objectives were education at any price, and free education for as many people as possible at all levels.

Upon the re-establishment of the Ethiopian government in 1941, the first priority was given to the training of competent administrators, technicians, and professionals, essential for the efficient functioning of government and industry. To this end the rapid development of secondary and higher institutions and extended programs of foreign study were emphasized. There was little time for careful planning for the future of the education system, and there were many pressing problems to be tackled.

A report on the period 1951-52, enumerated the achievements of the preceding ten years and identified the tasks ahead:

"The Ministry of Education is faced with many difficult problems. The present status of the Ethiopian School System can be illustrated with the following facts: Twenty percent of the entire budget of the Ministry of Education has gone into the employment of foreign teachers. There are 2,013 Ethiopian teachers, most of whom are ill-prepared for teaching. Approximately 60,000 children are enrolled in the schools. Only 35 elementary schools include all eight grades. Only one secondary school exists outside of Addis Ababa (in addition to the agricultural school at Jimma). Beginning classes often numbering as many as one hundred children are carried on with a third or half of them crowded into a classroom and the others sitting outside the building in the sun.

"Learning materials are extremely scarce and a school library of as many as ten books would be among the best in the smaller provincial schools. Equipment even of the most elementary nature is not available. Although English is the language of instruction beginning with the fifth grade, there are no English language newspapers so commonly used in schools of other countries for the study of world affairs and for recreational reading equipment for crafts activities and science education is found only in some of the larger schools. Viewed from a negative point of view, the situation seems to be extremely discouraging. Viewed positively in terms of the relatively few years during which the Imperial Ethiopian Government has had to build an educational system, amazing progress has been made.

"The basic need in Ethiopian education is for well trained Ethiopian teachers. Each year an increasing number of foreign teachers have had to be hired. Teacher training facilities are not being filled to capacity. The number of teachers leaving the profession is greater than the number being trained. Forty percent of the Ethiopian teachers have completed less than four years of elementary education. The training for other teachers has been almost entirely substantive with little attention to teaching methods. Specialists in curriculum development and teachers education are therefore needed to give intelligent direction to programs which can meet this basic need.

"Secondary schools have to be established as feeders to teachers education programs and to other programs of higher education in medicine, mining, engineering, public administration, and so forth. Looking ahead two years, the Ministry of Education in 1952 projected plans for the establishment of at least one secondary school in each of the twelve provinces to make secondary education available outside of Addis Ababa. Hundreds of elementary schools are needed to extend the opportunity for elementary education to more children.

"With English as the language of instruction beginning in the fifth grade, the problem of teaching English is particularly acute. Learning materials developed for use in Ethiopia are essential. A student newspaper published in Ethiopia for Ethiopian students is badly needed. Textbooks in geography, history and other school subjects should be prepared for use in the schools. Curriculum specialists and textbooks writers are needed to develop such materials. Audio-visual education equipment would make a decided contribution. Films, slides and other graphic materials especially for use in Ethiopia should be developed.

"As a consequence of European influence in the examination system, the curricula of Ethiopian schools are actually controlled by the nature of the examinations given at the close of elementary school for admission to secondary school, and at the close of secondary school for admission to college. It would seem very desirable to develop curricula which meet Ethiopia's needs. Test development specialists to construct tests adapted to the Ethiopian environment are therefore needed to prepare tests which will replace the subject matter tests which now dominate the curricula.

"In a country where there is a variety of native crafts, the schools have emphasized woodworking, almost exclusively. Weaving, basket making, ceramics and leather crafts, for which native materials are available, are given little attention. An elementary school crafts program, focusing attention on native crafts and potential home industry crafts is needed.

"The whole area of adult education, whether of the literacy type or for homemaking, child care or industrial training, is an area which offers unlimited opportunity.

"The greatest need appears to be for technical assistance and qualified specialized personnel to guide, assist and train Ethiopians in the development of their education program to achieve the objectives which they have set for themselves. Next to the need for personnel is the need for financial assistance for the purchase of equipment in the development of new programs and approaches to educational advancement.

"A large portion of Ethiopia's governmental budget is devoted to education. The Imperial Ethiopian government has built schools at a rapid pace throughout Ethiopia. It has invested heavily in building the super-structure of an educational system. This, however, probably has been done more rapidly than the building of necessary foundation institutions. It has a University College that would be a credit to any community in the United States. It has built and equipped the Technical School and the College of Technology. It has planned the Haile Selassie I Imperial Ethiopian University on which construction is underway. It is investing substantial sums for agricultural education and has plans for a Medical College."[1]

The report was made by a specialist from the U.S.A. as part of the agreement between the governments of Ethiopia and America. He had had a chance to see the educational situation from a neutral point of view.

By 1952 there were over sixty thousand students in all government schools, distributed as shown in Table 39. There were four hundred elementary schools, eleven technical and academic high schools and three colleges. A complete educational structure

Table 39

Total Enrollment of Government Schools in the Fall of 1952

(Eritrea is not included)

			% of Total
Primary Schools			
Grades 1 to 4 inclusive	Male:	45,397	75.49
	Female:	6,969	11.59
			87.08
Middle Schools			
Grades 5 to 8 inclusive	Male:	5,416	9.00
	Female:	637	1.06
Secondary Schools			
Academic and Special	Male:	1,471	2.45
	Female:	141	0.23
Higher Education	Male:	100	0.16
	Female:	1	

Source: E. Trudeau, Higher Education in Ethiopia (1964), p. 9.

had been built, ranging from kindergarten to college. Yet, fifty percent of grade one pupils dropped out by the end of the second year. Grade five, the beginning of middle school contained less than ten percent of first grade—a ninety percent dropout rate in four years.

There was increasingly heavy emphasis on the academic aspect. Elementary programs were primarily academic, preparing pupils for entry to the academic secondary schools. The academic secondary schools and even the technical schools were almost entirely concerned with preparing pupils for admission to colleges and universities abroad. The commercial, technical and agricultural school programs were regarded as second class, fit only for those who could not make the grade in academic secondary schools, or who had to work after finishing secondary school.

Another problem was the irrelevance of the curricula to the Ethiopian cultural heritage. For instance, secondary programs had to follow the London syllabus because graduates were expected to sit and pass the London School Matriculation. There was no history of Ethiopia, no Ge'ez, very little Amharic, and little geography of Ethiopia. Textbooks were all foreign-produced and primarily British.[2]

The need for adaptation, consolidation and coordination of the entire educational system, from first grade to college level was obvious, and this task was undertaken in 1953.

A Ten-Year Plan for the Controlled Expansion of Education

After the 1944 bilateral agreement initialed by Haile Selassie I and President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States and following the two governments in 1951-52, a Point IV Educational Advisory Group arrived in Ethiopia in 1953. The Ministry of Education planned to take the opportunity to launch a ten-year coordinated development plan. In October 1953 the Vice-Minister of Education, Ato Akalework Habtewold, appointed a long-term planning committee for Ethiopian education. The committee included fifteen ministry officials, school directors, administrators, and some Point IV representatives. The committee's terms of reference were defined at its first meeting on November 11, 1953, as follows:

"1. The Committee to be composed in the first instance of Ministry personnel and advisory staff.

"2. The Terms of Reference to be broad enough to permit the comprehensive survey of
   a. The existing school system,
   b. Schemes of work and academic standards at all levels,
   c. Recommendations as to possible reorganization and desirable developments.

"3. The Committee to be fully authorized to investigate at first hand, and to call for written and personal reports from administrators, school directors, teachers and others engaged in or concerned for Ethiopian education.

"4. The Committee should be encouraged to examine Ethiopian educational problems in the light of experience and developments in other lands.

"5. The Committee should not itself be required to work in such detail as to lose sight of all-important questions of fundamental policy. At the same time it should not rest content with recognizing difficulties and stating problems without indicating the lines along which it is believed satisfactory solutions may be found."[3]

The first report of the Long Term Planning Committee, "Basic Recommendations for the Reorganization and Development of Education in Ethiopia," was dated March 22, 1954. It was presented to the Board of Education, which after examining the report referred it back to the committee for further refinement; the committee was asked to do this twice more.

The third and final report was submitted to the Board of Education in June 1955. It included recommendations for the introduction of community schools for basic education as recommended in the first report; for the controlled development and expansion of the existing primary, middle, academic, secondary, technical, and commercial secondary schools; for the introduction of trade schools, a technical institute, and the College of Engineering. Questions of teacher preparation were dealt with at each level, and the report included recommendations from the financing of all these developments. While the report covered a wide field of educational activity, no claim was made that it was complete.

The committee felt that in planning educational development, it was not sufficient simply to identify ultimate goals. The establishment of worthwhile goals was vitally important, but effective planning has to indicate the way to attain them. Planning had to start from an accurate appraisal of existing circumstances, and include an assessment of available means. The committee listed some of the ills of education:

The committee believes that a study of the data now presented will show that, in the effort to satisfy Ethiopia's great need for competent administrations and professional personnel, the higher levels of education have been encouraged to develop and to expand more rapidly than the vitally important lower levels: Year by year it has become increasingly difficult to secure a sufficient number of qualified candidates to enter secondary schools and college programs. Moreover, with the present vertical organization of the school system, it has not been possible to meet the growing demand for education from all parts of the empire. In order to supply qualified candidates for higher education, some expansion of the elementary school system is essential. The expansion of this system should be so organized as to bring educational opportunity to a constantly increasing proportion of the Ethiopian people.

The content of instruction should be designed to fit the student for better living in his home community and environment as well as to provide a sound basis for the selection of sufficient able candidates for further training in academic, vocational and technical fields. Care must be taken to maintain appropriate standards of attainment for teaching personnel and in the various branches of instruction. These are some of the needs which the Committee has recognized and has attempted to satisfy in the course of its work."[4]

The Committee set out to draw up proposals based upon realities. They marked a positive step towards the achievement of their objectives: the adaptation of educational programs to the needs of the country, the spread of educational opportunity to a wider group, the selection and training of students to run the government and the rapidly developing industry and commerce and the improvement of the academic and general qualifications of those engaged in Ethiopian education.

A time limit of ten years was set and an attempt was made to recommend priorities for the admission of students and the allocation of graduates "at all levels and for all programs."

The Committee, noting that as a result of irregular development facilities for higher and secondary education exceeded the number of qualified students from primary and middle schools, decided to start with the already over-expanded upper levels. They dealt first with middle, then with academic secondary, primary, and basic schools. However, we will begin with the basic schools.

Community Schools for Basic Education

The term "controlling expansion," used in all seven sections of the report, seems a frightening one. Perhaps a better expression might have been "coordinated expansion," for the committee felt that the unplanned expansion of Ethiopian education had been responsible for the uneven development of the government school system and the disproportionate expenditure of funds. The report noted:

"Regardless of what their stated purpose may be, the primary middle and academic schools of the present government schools system are in reality preparatory schools of the academic type. Each is concerned with getting students ready for the school at the next higher level. Although Ethiopia needs an increasing number of academically prepared young men and women to provide technical and professional services and to supply leadership for the rapidly developing society, there is at present a limit to the number of students who should be selected for such preparation.

"At least equally important, if not even more important for the future progress of Ethiopia, is the development of a system of education designed to promote mass literacy, universalize the official national language, and to help the millions of Ethiopian children, youth and adults who are not selected for advanced academic and technical preparation to do better the things which they are going to do anyway—to live better, healthier and more productive lives."[5]

The committee reiterated that the main objective of the existing first to eighth and ninth to twelfth grade structure, set up after the Restoration, "Was to provide a small corps of clerical, technical, administrative, and professional personnel to man the government machinery and to get industry going again. Now that this object has been successfully accomplished, the time has come to think in terms of a shortest period of education and of a different type of education, spread much more widely over the population as a whole." Since the aim of the new plan should be:

"To consolidate the social and political unity of the Empire, and to develop its economic resources, it is essential that as soon as possible every man, woman and child in every province should have a minimum of basic education, including the ability to speak, read and write Amharic effectively. The quickest possible spread of universal fundamental education, including an effective command of Amharic language, should now be regarded as a basic objective of educational planning and prime responsibility of the Ministry of Education.

"The Chief vehicles of mass educational expansion in the future should be community schools for basic education, teaching normally a four year program, and designed to give every individual in the Empire a sufficient command of Amharic and other basic abilities to enable him to cope more effectively with the problems of everyday living, and to make a larger contribution towards the advancement of the community and the country."

The committee felt that Amharic as a national language was spreading slowly and haphazardly, and recommended the speeding up of the process by making it an effective medium of instruction in the new schools for basic education:

"Although the language of home must be the medium of instruction for all children when they first enter school, it should give place to Amharic as soon as this is possible. Where it is necessary to teach children to speak Amharic, this should begin early in their first school year. Teaching to read and write Amharic should begin later."[6]

Stating that approval by the Board of Education of the recommendation of the Long Term Committee was a great step forward, the committee pointed out that it was difficult to comprehend the full significance of a national movement for functional literacy in a single language among the sixteen million people of Ethiopia, speaking over fifty languages and dialects, a movement designed to enable every citizen, young and old, to meet his problems in everyday living and to make a greater contribution toward the advancement of his community and the empire. Yet this was exactly the responsibility of the community school for basic education.

The community school for basic education was designed to help all members of the community to live meaningful and productive lives. It was to consist of the equivalent of grades one through four.

The committee pointed out that Ethiopia might try to profit from the experience of other progressive societies by a thorough study of the reports of these countries, by bringing leaders from other countries to the community school development program, and by sending those responsible for the development of the community school in Ethiopia abroad. During the 1955-56 school year, 35 teachers with a minimum of two years experience and 35 with a minimum of one year, and with outstanding qualifications, should be selected for special preparation for work in the community school. Candidates for Basic School Teacher Training should continue to be recruited from the ranks of active teachers, their withdrawl being balanced by a corresponding increase in enrollment in the one-year teacher training program, until total enrollment of 35 leaders and 140 teachers was attained in the program in 1959-60.

The advisor for the Community School for Basic Education should be requested to report on professional prospects and appropriate salary classifications for Basic School personnel.

The Construction of houses for teachers and their families as part of the school component, in accordance with criteria approved by the Ministry of Education, should be the responsibility of the community.

In view of the important influence in a community of the teacher's home and family, the Basic Education Teacher Training School should give special training to teachers' wives during the program.

Specially qualified community school supervisors should be selected and appointed by the Ministry of Education, at least one supervisor for every fifteen schools. A one-year training school for community school personnel should be established by September 1956 .

A tract of fertile farmland on a good road to the capital should be provided for the training school for leaders and teachers in the Community Schools for Basic Education. Housing should be constructed, and the farm should be equipped and stocked as a school/farm laboratory by September 1956. The Ministry of Education should obtain an expert in low-cost school and housing construction in Near Eastern and African countries to collaborate in designing buildings for the training school and the Community School plants.

The cooperation of such ministries as Public Health, Agriculture, and Commerce and Industry, and the related Point IV and similar agencies and programs under these ministries should be sought, and maintained to ensure the development of a coordinated and unified community education program on a national scale.

Beginning in 1957, thirty-five community schools for basic education should be opened each year. Twenty-five schools should be opened in communities without government primary schools and ten in communities with incomplete primary schools, converting the existing schools into community schools.

It was recommended that, after approval of the recommendations, steps to ensure adequate financial support should be taken, as outlined in the body of the report.

To determine the location of the new community schools, a study should be made to determine the causes of inequality of educational opportunity in the various provinces and districts.

For guidance in the selection of candidates as community school leaders and teachers, the choice of the thirty-five communities in which schools were to be established in 1957 should be made as early as possible in the 1955-56 school year.

The estimated total cost of this program for a period of ten years (1956-57 to 1964-65) was $14,169,000.

The Controlled Expansion of Government Primary Schools

By this time the first four grades of schooling were designated as primary schools, in accordance with the recommendations of the first report of the Long Term Planning Committee.

By the end of 1952-53 there were 412 one-grade government primary schools in the empire; only 168 taught all four grades. The 1953-54 enrollment figure was 62,387, taught by 1,541 teachers. The committee remarked:

"The basic problem in planning the development of the Ethiopian government school system is the controlling of the development of the various levels of the system so the entire system develops in a coordinated manner with the expansion at each level controlled in terms of an overall plan with respect to its particular functions and the need for its product by succeedingly higher levels of the school system."[7]

Table 40

Number of Primary Schools Distributed According to the Number of Grades Taught in School Years 1951-52 to 1953-54.

Grades	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54
1,2,3 and 4	148	161	168
1, 2 and 3	229	254	264
1 and 2	313	343	357
1 only	380	412	412

Source: Controlled Expansion of Education, p.62.

The committee noted the willingness of the Ethiopian people to invest large sums in the operation of schools; the postwar growth of the school system had been impressive in view of the lack of qualified teachers, facilities, supplies and equipment. However, from 1949 to 1954 there was a slowdown in the growth rate, owing to the withdrawal of the Ethiopian church schools, and the policy of the Ministry of Education that, effective in 1953, no new teacher should have less than eight years of education. This policy was to have a significant impact on the expansion of the primary school system.

Church Schools

The report of the committee acknowledged the church's contribution for educational opportunity, past and present. Reliable statistics were not available, but it had been estimated that as many as 200,000 students were then enrolled in church schools, which were extremely limited both in the nature and the length of their programs. Naturally, they were primarily concerned with the teaching of religion, but they did provide an opportunity for children to learn Amharic and Geéz. It was hoped that in the years to come, the church would provide educational opportunity for even more children.

In the period 1949-51 the government turned over to the church a large number of government-operated schools in eight provinces. Wherever possible, the government continued to operate some schools, despite its reduced income after the exemption of church-owned land from education tax. One hundred and seventy-seven schools and 8,110 students were involved. The loss of revenue amounted to $489,000. The committee commented:

"From what has been reported concerning the nature and extent of educational opportunity produced by the church schools, it is apparent that this transfer has resulted in depriving the children in the areas involved of educational opportunity equal to that which was available when the schools were under government operation and equal to the educational opportunity available in other areas where there are government schools. Therefore, when the government is in a position to do so, it should take back these schools or establish new schools to replace those which were transferred to the church."[8]

The committee noted the exemption of the church land from provincial educational tax was a matter of broad government policy. However, from the point of view of sound educational finance, church land should not have been exempt unless the church could provide educational opportunity at least equal to that provided by the government in other areas. "Since the church is a large land holder, continuation of the policy of exempting church-owned land from taxation for educational purposes deprives the government of funds which are needed badly for the development of the government school system."[9] Accordingly, the committee recommended:

"1. Church-owned land should be subject to the payment of the provincial education tax.

"2. Government schools which have been transferred to the church should be re-established as government schools where this is in accordance with long term plans for the expansion of Ethiopian education."[10]

Growth in Primary Schools Enrollment

The enrollment of students in grades one through four is shown in Table 41. The growth in student enrollment of 15 percent from 1951-52, to 1952-53, and of nearly 19 percent from 1952-53 to 1953-54, was significant, since the annual increase in the overcrowding and excessively large classes was inevitable.

Table 41

The Number of Students Enrolled in Grades 1 to 4 in Government Primary Schools in the Provinces and in Addis Ababa, 1951-52 to 1953-54

Grades	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54
Provincial Schools			
1	22631	27151	33719
2	9501	10186	11514
3	5312	5628	6653
4	2740	2957	3283
Total	40184	45922	55169
Addis Ababa Schools			
1	2094	2828	2898
2	1383	1471	1810
3	1095	1108	1396
4	893	1138	1114
Total	5465	6545	7218
Grand Total	45649	52464	62387

Source: Controlled Expansion of Education, p. 66.

Growth in the Number of Primary School Teachers

During the period of 1949-51 the number of government schools and primary students decreased, but the number of teachers went up. The government was employing additional teachers as rapidly as they became available. However, from 1951-52 to 1952-53, the number of teachers increased by only ten percent. From 1952-53 to 1953-54 the increase dropped to less than two percent.

Table 42

The Number of Teachers in Government Primary Schools, 1951-52 to 1953-54

School Year	Number of Teachers
1951-52	1375
1952-53	1514
1953-54	1541

Source: Ten Year Plan for Controlled Expansion of Education, p.67.

The Ratio of Students Per Teacher

Table 43 shows the ratio of students to teachers over a period of three years (1951-52 to 1953-54). The Long Term Planning Committee paid due attention to the problem of overcrowding. In an attempt to collect data, the committee made a survey, and assembled some interesting information.

One school director, possibly atypical, reported half of his students were in first grade. Some classes had an enrollment of 150 at the beginning of the year.

The school had few books or teaching materials at this level and few books at any level. Only one teacher, apart from a foreigner, had completed seventh grade. The school was located in a small community in a heavily populated rural area, and many students walked as much as two hours to reach it. With inadequate teaching materials, and up to 150 in a class, many students lost interest and dropped out, or were frequently absent. Nevertheless, daily attendance in the classes ranged from 75 to 100.

Table 43

Number of Students Per Teacher in Government Primary Schools 1951-52 to 1953-54.

1951-52	1952-53	1953-54
Number of Teachers	1375	1514
Number of Students	45649	52467
Students Per Teacher	33	35

Source: Ten Year Plan for Controlled Expansion of Education, p. 68.

Another school director reported that, out of a total of 619 students in regular attendance in the primary school, 379 were enrolled in grade one. The first grade was divided into six sections of 52 to 70 students. There were 70 students in each of three sections known as "Feeder Groups," none of whom spoke Amharic when they first entered the school. Sixty percent were from six to fourteen years overage for the first grade. As soon as pupils in "Feeder" classes showed some exceptional interest or progress, they were transferred to the next three sections, which averaged 58 students.

This kind of situation was not uncommon, although the schools described were larger than average. A comparable state of affairs prevailed in a small four-grade school, surveyed in 1953. This school had a total enrollment of 129 students, 76 of them in the first grade; grades two, three and four had 29, 12 and 12 students respectively. Estimates of the number of children in the community aged between five and sixteen, ranged from 500 to 1,000. The estimated age distribution of the 129 children beginning with those five years of age and going through age 16 and 12, 5, 20, 7, 11, 13, 10, 14, 15, 12, 5 and 5. The age range of students in the first grade was from five to fourteen years inclusive.

Most school buildings were not built for such large classes, and the situation was further complicated by a lack of furniture, textbooks, supplies and equipment. In spite of this, it was evident that the students' eagerness to learn was matched only by the teachers' willingness to work with inadequate materials in classes of 75 or more.

The planning committee considered various solutions to overcrowding and the consequent high attrition rate. One was for the Ministry of Education immediately to employ additional teachers to reduce the size of the classes to the optimum, but unfortunately no additional teachers were available, for the schools had been permitted to grow without reference to teacher supply. In fact, an adequate supply of teachers was not ensured until early in 1953. Nor could the ministry obtain the necesary teaching and learning materials, particularly for lower grades, because insufficient preparations had been made.

Another solution that was suggested was for schools to operate a two-shift school day with half of the students in large classes attending in the morning and the others in the afternoon. This was fairly common practice in Western countries and in some schools in Ethiopia even then. More feasible, because of the distance which many students walked to school, would have been to divide them into as many different groups as necessary and then reduce the days each student would attend school The committee noted that:

> Regardless of the pattern according to which this solution to the problems of overcrowding would be carried out, it must be recognized that adopting the double or triple-shift plan is not really a solution to the problem; it is an escape from the problem. The two- or three-shift plan with students in attendance on alternate days or every third day cannot be given serious consideration. Such limited attendance would almost certainly react unfavorably on student interest and progress. It would seriously complicate the health program of the schools where daily attention to health conditions is essential. It would almost certainly result in a much less satisfactory situation than now exists. The remedy for too little educational opportunity for too many students obviously is not less educational opportunity for still more students.[11]

Another alternative was to establish a maximum class size, but this would limit educational opportunity to a few students who were fortunate enough to be admitted. Such a solution would be extremely difficult to administer, since accusations of favoritism would arise, and the person making selections would become unpopular in the community. The teacher was the best qualified person to make such decisions, it would be unwise to put him in an unpopular situation.

Yet another possibility was to drop from first grade any student over thirteen whose absences were not due to illness or otherwise accounted for. The dropping of such students from school for the rest of the year would reduce the enrollment in favor of those who attended regularly. The committee thought it possible that students six years overage would not continue through middle and secondary grades, and this solution would help those who wanted to attend the higher levels.

The committee therefore recommended that the supply of qualified teachers be increased, no new primary schools be established and no schools with less than four grades be authorized to add more grades until there were enough teachers, overage students be dropped if their attendance was poor, attendance regulations be strictly enforced, and school directors should be forbidden to give any teacher a teaching load exceeding a stipulated maximum.

For the overage students the committee recommended afternoon or evening classes; if a student showed unusual interest and capacity, he should be given special consideration and permitted to enroll in the regular program.

As far as the chronically absent student was concerned, it was recommended that "...Provision should be made that a student who is absent for one week or for a total of one week within any period of four consecutive weeks, unless there is unavoidable cause such as illness or need for his help in crop harvesting which has been reported to the director of the school and accepted by him as a satisfactory justification for his absence, should be dropped from enrollment in the regular program and transferred to the special out-of-school hours program for the remainder of the school year."[12]

Qualification Requirements for Primary School Teachers

In May and June 1953, the ministry decided not to employ any new teachers with less than an eighth grade education. The ministry also adopted for the first time a modern salary scale, stipulating primary school teachers with equivalent qualifications should be paid the same salary as teachers at any other level of the school system. Later the Long Term Committee approved the requirements for teacher certification and the salary schedule adopted by the ministry. Although the requirements for physical education and arts and crafts teachers had not yet been decided, eight years of elementary school plus one year of special teacher preparation were the minimum for teacher certification. The committee felt that although these certification requirements were lower than might be desired, in view of the task ahead in Ethiopian primary schools, it was all that could be expected. The committee summed up:

> "...The completion of grade eight plus (a) one year of special teacher preparation or (b) evidence of successful teaching experience over a period of at least one year should be the minimum requirement for the certification of new teachers to teach in primary school grades one through four."[13]

The Upgrading of Inservice Primary School Teachers

As late as 1954 the quality of teachers remained very low. Table 44 shows 53 percent as unclassified, that is presumably not advanced beyond the ability to read and write, and probably engaged to teach arts and crafts and some Amharic. The Long Term Committee pointed out that Ethiopia was deeply indebted to these teachers, working under such difficult conditions. However, if fully qualified teachers became available, it would be an injustice to the present teaching force to terminate their service, just as it was an injustice to children to be taught by unqualified teachers.

Table 44
Teachers in Primary Government Schools, 1953-54: School Grades Completed

Teachers	Unclassified	Grades 1-4	Grades 5-7	Grade 8	Grade 8 Plus one year teacher training	Total
Amharic Language	713					713
Arts and Crafts	37					37
Physical Education	64					64
Regular Classroom		189	458	43	37	727
Total	814	189	458	43	37	1541
Percent	52.8	12.3	29.7	2.8	2.4	99.2*

Source: Controlled Expansion of Education, p. 78.

It was therefore recommended that teachers on the job should be given the opportunity, through directed study courses and individual study, to demonstrate that they had achieved the equivalent of the minimum requirement of an eighth grade education. A time limit of six years was set for the teacher to meet the requirement for certification to teach. Teachers of Amharic were required to demonstrate competence "equivalent to that of native Amharic speaking teachers who qualify as regular classroom teachers in the primary schools."

The committee feared that many teachers would not be able to meet even this minimal standard within the time limit. Such teachers were to be pensioned off under the provision of a broad program, yet to be devised, involving financial contributions by both teachers in their old age or if they were incapacitated.

Projecting the Output of Primary School Teachers

When the Long Term Committee was organized there were only two sources of primary school teachers under Ministry of Education administration, the Haile Selassie I Day School special one-year teacher education program, and the Handicraft School special one-year teacher education program. The employment of special teachers of physical education in primary schools was considered an indefensible practice by the committee, which felt that gymnastics and games should be directed by a regular classroom teacher. All the other government teacher education programs were producing teachers for the middle and secondary schools. There was another, very limited, source of teachers for primary schools; the teacher preparation programs of the Mission Schools. However, until a policy had been established to certify such teachers for service in government schools, this program could not be depended on.

The Haile Selassie I Day School teacher education program would have an output of about 200 teachers by 1955. Plans had already been approved for the school to maintain this annual output. Fifteen teachers were needed each year for the next three years to supply the middle schools. The projected primary school teacher output of this program was therefore 185 in 1955, 1956, and 1957, and 200 thereafter. The teacher education program of the Handicraft School was supposed to produce thirty teachers annually for arts and crafts teaching positions; however, this number would be needed for each of the next three years to supply the middle schools.

The committee's projection of annual primary school teacher demand for the ten year period 1955-65 is shown in Table 45. It is easy to see that output would not exceed need until 1965, and that therefore projected teacher education programs should continue at maximum capacity over the ten-year period.

Table 45

Estimated Annual and Cumulative Need of Output of New Primary School Teachers

Need	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
Annual	505	258	165	110	110	110	231	232	232	232	110
Cumulative		763	928	1038	1148	1258	1489	1721	1953	2185	2295
Output											
Annual	185	185	230	230	230	230	230	230	230	230	230
Cumulative		370	555	785	1015	1245	1475	1705	1925	2165	2395

The committee knew that the rate of growth of the proposed primary school program was a factor of the amount of money and new teachers available, and since the cost of expansion depended on the number of teachers needed each year, training programs assumed further importance.

The expansion of the primary schools would not take less than an extra $22,483,000 over a ten-year period, in addition to regular expenditures. The committee made a series of recommendations based on the assumption that primary schools would eventually be replaced by community schools for basic education.

Recommendations

Taxation of church land: Church owned land should be subject to provincial education tax.

Re-establishment of ex-government schools: Government schools which had been transferred to the church should be re-established as government schools where this was in accordance with long term plans for the expansion of Ethiopian education.

Limitation of class size: The size of primary class should be limited to forty students per teacher until the supply of teachers permitted a lower number. If the enrollment (average daily attendance) in a class exceeded this maximum number, an additional class should be provided.

Length of period and arrangement of program: Recognizing the special needs of children at pimary level, the Ministry of Education should, in consultation with teachers and experts, determine the most satisfactory length for a class, and the best arrangement of the primary school program. The weekly teaching load for a primary school teacher should not exceed 22 ½ hours. Primary school teachers who were given extra teaching assignments should have their regular teaching load adjusted accordingly.

Special program for overage students: Students who were more than six years overage for primary grades should not be admitted to the regular school program if their enrollment resulted in classes of over forty students. They should be provided for in a special program. However, overage students already enrolled in regular classes or in the special program and showing evidence of superior achievement and interest should be permitted to continue in the regular school program.

School attendance regulations: Any student absent from school for one week, or for a total of one week in any consecutive four-week period, unless his absence was for unavoidable reasons which, when reported to the director, were accepted by him should be dropped from regular classes for the rest of the year or transferred to the special program.

Reduction of Class Size and Teacher Assignments; To reduce class size, to complete incomplete primary schools, and to provide guidance in the assignment of teachers to schools, the following steps were recommended, in order of priority:

(a) The enrollment of classes which exceeded the maximum should be reduced by enforcing the new admission standards and attendance regulations. Special programs should be set up only if it can be done without assigning a teaching load in excess of 22 ½ hours.

(b) Where it can be done without serious detriment to the quality of instruction, small grade two and three or three and four classes should be combined under one teacher, if both classes do not exceed thirty students, without one teacher teaching both classes in one room.

(c) A higher grade should be added to reduce class size.

Teacher Certification Requirements: The completion of grade eight plus one year of special teacher preparation or evidence of successful teaching experience of at least one year should be a minimum requirement for new teachers for primary school grades one through four.

Retirement of Substandard Teachers: Teachers employed by the Ministry of Education who did not meet the requirements for certification should be allowed six years, until Maskaram 1954 .E.C. (September 1961), to qualify, after which they might be retired at the discretion of the ministry.

Teacher Pension Proposal: A teacher retirement program, with contributions by both teachers and government, should be developed so teachers might retire with a pension.

Limitation of Primary School Expansion: In view of the proposed introduction of basic schools, the expansion of the primary school system over the ten-year period 1948-1957 E.C. (1955-65) should be limited to completion of incomplete primary schools so all primary schools have grades one through four.

Teacher Education Program: The present primary teacher education program should continue at full capacity over the ten year period, allowing for the development of a teacher education program for the new community schools for basic education.

Financial Implementation of Proposals: Steps should be taken to ensure sufficient financial support to make the proposed expansion program possible.

Controlled Expansion of Government Middle Schools: The term "middle school" was used by the committee to describe grades five through eight in the government school system.

In grade eight, students were selected for the various types of high schools (grades nine through twelve), and preparation for this had traditionally constituted the main function of the middle schools. When the number of students having completed grade four exceeded the number of places in grade five, only selected students would be admitted even to the middle schools.

The committee reiterated the government's desire to create educational opportunity for all the people of the empire, and noted the widespread enthusiasm for education. The committee felt expansion must be controlled under an overall long term plan if it was to be effective and economical.

There was a basic conflict in the development of Ethiopian education. The desire to create equal opportunity in basic education as rapidly as possible contradicted the desire to produce an educated nucleus, through the middle schools and higher, to meet the manpower needs of the rapidly advancing society. The report continued:

> With less than three percent of the school age population enrolled in government school, it is obvious that all the foreseeable government income that might be diverted into educational programs for years to come might be invested in the expansion of the basic education program alone. Since funds available for educational purposes, regardless of what proportion of the total income of the country may be allocated to education, are necessarily limited, the expansion of any level of the government school system—basic, middle, secondary or higher—is directly affected by the rate of expansion at any and all other levels, i.e., more money invested in expanding the middle school system means less money available for use in expanding the basic school system."[14]

The committee had to consider six interrelated factors in planning the expansion rate of the middle schools; financial support, teacher supply, building facilities, educational materials, manpower needs, and the existence of established schools. The question was not the desirability of increasing the number of middle schools, but one of emphasis on middle schools or basic education.

The Distribution of Schools: In the 1953-54 school year, there were twenty-three middle schools in the eleven provincial capitals, and sixteen in Addis Ababa. The remaining eighty were located in fifty-three of the seventy-five school districts, and twenty-two school districts had no middle schools at all. All the eleven provincial capitals had at least one four-grade middle school and all sixteen schools in Addis Ababa offered full programs: Twenty-one district or sub-district middle schools were complete and fifty-nine were not.

Table 46

Middle Schools Distributed According to the Number of Grades and Classes Within Each Grade in 1953-54

Grades	Number of Schools	Number of Schools by Number of Classes		Total Classes in All Schools
		1 Class	2 Classes	
5-8	60	57	3	63
5-7	75	69	6	81
5-6	96	79	17	113
5	119	99	20	139
Total	350	304	46	396

Source: Controlled Expansion of Education, p. 9.

The Middle School Teachers and Administrative Staff: In the 1953-54 school year, 344 Ethiopian and 172 foreign teachers and directors were employed in the middle schools. The committee had to consider six phases of teacher demand, to maintain the supply of teachers at the existing level, and to actually increase it:

1. Replacing teachers who have resigned.
2. Replacing foreign teachers.
3. Replacing teachers selected for secondary teacher training.
4. Providing at least one middle school in each district.
5. Completing the incomplete middle school.
6. Providing two classes in all grades in schools with two classes in the lower grades.

The projected demand for teachers over a four-year period beginning in 1954-55 was 159, 194, 198 and 147 annually.

Middle School Teacher Education Program: In 1953-54 there were five programs for middle school teachers: The Teacher Training School at Harar, the regular and special one-year teacher education programs at Haile Selassie I Day School in Addis Ababa, the special one-year program for arts and crafts teachers at Itegue Menen Handicraft School in Addis Ababa, and the regular vacation training program for teachers of gymnastics.

Three of these programs graduated 149 primary school teachers at the end of the 1953-54 school year: Twenty-five from the Teacher Training School, ninety-six from the special program and twenty-eight from the Handicraft School.

Certification Requirements for Middle School Teachers: The Long Term Planning Committee recommended the following interim regulations:

1. Graduates of the Teacher Training School at Harar, with four years preparation following the completion of grade eight, and regular twelfth grade graduates with one year of teacher preparation would be eligible to teach in any middle school grade.

2. Teachers who had completed grade ten or twleve with one additional year of teacher preparation in the special program would be eligible to teach in grades five and six.

3. Teachers who had completed grade eight or nine with one year of teacher preparation would, if their record was outstanding and if they were recommended by the director of the special program, be eligible to teach in grades five and six.

The committee projected that over four years, beginning 1953-54, the output of middle school teachers from all programs would be 68, 123, 157 and 160 annually. This totalled 190 less than projected demand over the same period; the balance was to be made up by recruiting foreign teachers.

The estimated cost over the four years for construction, furnishing and equipping new classrooms, operation, and salaries was $437.40, $609.12, $788.04, and $963.16 thousand annually. If middle school expansion extended over a seven year period, the total cost would be $6,853,720.

Conclusions and Recommendations: The Long Term Committee summarized its findings as follows:

"The continued expansion of the Ethiopian government school system is inevitable. If it is to achieve the greatest good with economy as to financial investment, the expansion must follow a carefully developed Long Term plan agreed upon by those who are in positions to control the direction and rate of expansion, and then adhered to, regardless of pressures which may be brought to change it. Provinces and communities which got an early start as in the development of a school system will undoubtedly want to continue to extend their schools upward and at the same time expand their enrollments at all levels. This is desirable. But if doing this deprived the people of other provinces and communities of the possibility of any educational opportunity for their children, the result for the country as a whole will be bad. Only by controlling expansion according to a carefully developed long-term plan will it be possible to spread educational opportunity equitably throughout the empire. This is essential.

"If the rate of expansion were limited only by ability to pay the financial cost of expansion, there would be little objection to permitting any province, district or community to tax itself as much as it wished to produce as much income as would be needed for any expansion it might desire. Financial resources, however, are only one factor limiting the rate of expansion of the schools. Teacher supply is a much more effective limiting factor in determining the rate of educational expansion. Since the supply of teachers is limited, and will continue to be limited for many years to come, too rapid expansion by individual communities, districts and provinces automatically will deprive other communities, districts and provinces of the possibility of extending educational opportunity to their peoples. This should be carefully guarded against.

"Ethiopia has extremely difficult problems to answer in setting up a plan for the controlled expansion of its educational system. In other countries, in which the national educational system developed slowly and gradually over a period of centuries, these problems did not arise. Which is more important today for Ethiopia to emphasize: More education for the masses of the population? or more education for those who already have some? These questions are extremely difficult to answer one way or the other because Ethiopia obviously needs both. There is a limit somewhere, however, to Ethiopia's ability. Considering the present stage of social and economic development, to absorb highly educated technical and professional personnel, i.e., there is a limit to the number of lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc., that might be absorbed by the economy. This ability to absorb the highly educated smaller proportion of the population is dependent upon the level of education of the masses. Therefore, if this reasoning is sound, the expansion of educational opportunity at the higher levels should in the years immediately ahead be limited and controlled according to plan in the interest of achieving the greatest possible spread of basic education."[15]

Recommendations

The Long Term Planning Committee recommended the following measures:

Expansion of the Government Middle School System: This is to be accomplished by completing the fifty-nine incomplete middle schools so that they all have four grades, by establishing a full four-grade middle school in the twenty-two school districts without one, and by providing, as soon as necessary, two classes in the upper grades of the twenty middle schools with two classes in the fifth grade.

Minimum Expansion Program: This should be completed within the next ten years, by 1964.

Limitation of Expansion: Unless basic education was available throughout the country, no new middle schools should be established except in school districts without one.

The Training of Middle School Teachers in the Training School at Harar: This should be limited to 300 students, 75 in grades nine through twelve, in preparation for general teaching in middle schools; special handicraft preparation, special preparation of physical education teachers, special preparation of directors should be limited.

Restriction of Training Institution: From September 1957 the Teacher Training School at Harar should be the only institution admitting students in preparation for regular classroom teaching in the middle schools.

In-Service Preparation of Middle School Directors: A vacation program for all middle school directors should start in 1955.

Practical Experience for Directors: As rapidly as possible, suitably qualified middle-school teachers should be given administrative responsibility under the supervision of outstanding directors until they can take over as directors in smaller schools. Such trainees should be required to attend vacation courses before appointment as school directors.

Full-Time Preparation of Directors: Beginning in 1960, or as soon as supply exceeds demand under the controlled expansion program, twenty to twenty-five outstanding experienced middle school teachers and directors should be selected for a one-year course as middle school directors, conducted at the Teacher Training School in Harar.

Finance: Steps should be taken immediately to ensure sufficient financial support for the minimum expansion program.

Building Construction Techniques: Experiments should be conducted to discover new materials and techniques to reduce the cost of new school buildings.

Standard Building Plans: Standard building plans should be prepared by the Architect's Department of the Ministry of Education to help school communities to build additional classrooms and buildings with adequate floor space and lighting.

Control of Expansion Program: The Ministry of Education should bring together all persons whose agreement to these proposals was necessary, to secure their endorsement of the controlled program or expansion, and to set up realistic annual goals.[16]

The Controlled Expansion of Academic Secondary Schools.

After dealing with community primary and middle schools, the Long Term Planning Committee turned its attention to academic secondary schools.

"Secondary education" normally covered grades nine through 12. Selection of students for the various secondary schools—academic, technical, commercial, agricultural and professional (teacher preparation) was made in grade eight. The function of the academic secondary schools was to prepare candidates for colleges and other higher institutions.

At the time, there were seven academic secondary schools, six in Addis Ababa and one in Harar, and buildings suitable for grades nine and ten had been prepared in all but one province.

The committee noted that seventeen percent of the national budget was devoted to education, but felt that much more could have been spent at the basic education level:

> The total budget of the empire would need to be invested in education if it is to telescope centuries of normal progress into decades of accelerated progress in its efforts to achieve modernization. But there is a limit to how much of the government income can be allocated for educational purposes. Whatever this amount may be, it is equally obvious that growth and expansion at the various levels of the school organization must be carefully controlled. The academic secondary schools should be expanded with reference to the relative needs of the other parts of the entire system, according to a long-term plan which will ensure a well-balanced educational system.[17]

It was felt that the existing secondary schools were not producing enough qualified candidates for higher institutions, as shown in Table 47.

Table 47
The Number of Students Enrolled in Grade 12 of the Academic Secondary School, Number Taking the School-Leaving Examination, and the Number Meeting Requirements for College Entrance in the School Year Ending in 1954.

Secondary School	Enrollment in Grade 12	No. Taking Examination	No. Qualifying for College Entrance
Haile Selassie I	21	18	18
Empress Menen (Girls)	9	9	3
General Wingate	19	19	10
Tafari Mekonnen	28	28	23
Haile Selassie I (Day)	0	0	0
Menelik II	5	5	3
Medhane Alem (Harar)	13	13	11
Total	95	92	68

Source: Controlled Expansion of Education, p. 38.

In 1952, of 70 students enrolled in grade twelve, only 57 qualified for college entrance; in 1953 the figures were 74 and 59 respectively. This rate of increase was enough to satisfy the needs of higher institutions.

The Need of Higher Institutions for Secondary School Graduates

Institutions existing or projected within the ten-year plan period (1955-65) included:

1. The University College of Addis Ababa, established in 1950.
2. The College of Engineering, established in 1952.
3. The Public Health College at Gondar, established in 1954.
4. The Institute of Building Technology, established in 1955.
5. The College of Agriculture, established in 1955.
6. Marine Training Institute, established in 1955.
7. The Institute of Technology, projected for 1957.
8. Military Training Institute, projected for 1957.

These and other institutions would need 4,450 secondary school graduates during the plan period.

With an estimated 110,153, 130 and 202 students qualifying annually for college entrance from 1955 to 1958 and 160, 285, 420, and 480 students needed for the entering classes, it was clear that the higher institutions could not admit as many students as they wanted. Less than half of the 1,345 students needed for the first four years of the plan period were likely to qualify.

The committee recommended expansion of secondary schools, improvement of the curriculum, materials, and methods of teaching, and better selection to cut down the attrition rate in secondary schools.

The committee was very critical of the curriculum in secondary schools, arguing that : "Anyone who is acquainted with modern developments in secondary education cannot avoid being critical of the curriculum and materials of instruction in the academic secondary schools of Ethiopia. The curriculum is patterned primarily after pre-war European practices and is comparable to conservative secondary school practices in the United States thirty years ago."[18]

One example of this conservatism was the emphasis on specialization at the secondary school level. In some schools students were specializing as early as the eleventh grade. Teaching optional subjects for early specialization, before the student had acquired a general education, was unsound and uneconomical.

The committee objected that the School Leaving Examination at the end of the secondary school program, with papers in specialized fields like ancient history, encouraged, or at least excused, specialization in academic secondary schools. The committee urged: "The Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination should be carefully evaluated to determine whether it is the best type of examination for use in establishing the eligibility of Ethiopian Secondary School students to entrance into higher education institutions and what influence it exercises in the continuation of the present curriculum."[19]

It was necessary to determine the existing pattern of student distribution, to establish criteria for expansion of the system. Table 48 shows the home provinces of secondary school students in the 1954-55 school year.

Table 48
Home Provinces of Students Enrolled in Academic Secondary Schools in the 1954-55 School Year

	Enrollment in Grades					
Province	Sub-Ninth	Ninth	Tenth	Eleventh	Twelfth	Total
Arussi	2	28	7	7	2	46
Begemder	9	30	9	9	3	60
Gomu Goffa	1	0	1	0	0	2
Gojam	8	24	10	2	5	49
Harar	5	87	36	48	31	207
Illubabor	4	32	5	6	4	51
Kaffa	4	5	4	3	2	18
Shoa	20	104	71	42	22	259
Sidamo	5	13	11	4	0	33
Tigre	20	35	32	33	14	134
Wallega	5	31	13	7	3	59
Wollo	9	26	11	19	10	75
Eritrea	1	7	13	5	5	31
Addis Ababa	1	124	74	30	46	275
Total	94	546	297	215	147	1299

Source: Controlled Expansion of Education, p. 47.

On the basis of this distribution pattern the Medhane Alem School in Harar, the Menelik II Secondary, the Medhane Alem in Addis Ababa, the Gondar School, Empress Menen, the Dessie and the Ambo Secondary schools (these schools outside of Addis Ababa were adding grades nine and ten) were to be expanded.

The committee noted that in 1954-55, there were seventy-seven foreign teachers and school directors employed by the Ministry of Education. Under the proposed plan, sixty-seven additional teachers would be needed, and with few exceptions, they would have to be recruited abroad.

Free maintenance of secondary students was costly ($50,000 in 1954-55 alone), and a program of loans to be paid back by the students was recommended. The estimated capital current expenditure for expansion of secondary education over the eleven years was $212,000 in the first year and $14,000,000 by the end of the period.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A Conference to Coordinate Plans for the Development of Higher Institutions: The Ministry of Education was urged to call heads of higher institutions together to develop a program for the expansion of higher education, consistent with the available supply of qualified students.

Selection and Retention of Academic Secondary Students: Careful selection and retention of students should be adopted by the Ministry of Education as a policy, and strictly implemented.

The Academic Secondary School Curriculum : A committee of directors of academic secondary schools and master teachers should be formed to study the secondary curriculum.

Evaluation and Improvement of Learning Materials: A committee of outstanding teachers from each major area in the academic secondary curriculum and other experts appointed by the ministry, should be appointed to evaluate the learning materials used in the secondary schools.

Evaluation and Improvement of Industrial Methods: The Cooperative Education Program's specialists in remedial instruction, linguistics, and in-service teacher education (recruited under Point IV), should be requested by the ministry to study the methods of instruction employed in secondary schools.

Coordination and Direction of the Academic Secondary Schools: The Ministry of Education should provide a qualified specialist in school administration, curriculum, and instruction to stimulate, direct and coordinate the efforts of administrations and teaching personnel in secondary schools to improve programs, materials, and methods of instruction.

Evaluation and Improvement of School Leaving Examination: A committee of heads of higher institutions and the director of an academic school, should study the school leaving examination, under the chairmanship of a specialist in educational measurement.

Expansion: Program expansion of existing secondary schools, and the building of three additional schools in the provinces should proceed as outlined in the report.

Financial Implementation: The government should make sure that enough money was available to put the program into effect.

Preparation of Ethiopian Personnel: Ethiopians with high potential should be assigned by the ministry to work with foreign specialists for job training; with subsequent foreign study might qualify to take over.

Absorption of Grade Eight Students: By 1967-68 the output of the middle schools, even with high selection standards, might exceed the capacity of the secondary schools and programs. This should be recognized by the ministry, and action should be taken to control the academic middle schools and to channel the extra students into suitable higher programs.

The Development and Control of Technical and Commercial Education

The last part of the Long Term Planning Committee's Report dealt with the development of technical-vocational education. The committee estimated that by 1955 there would be need for at least six hundred Ethiopian engineers and high level technicians, positions previously filled by foreigners.

In addition, many more middle level technicians were urgently needed. In a modern industrial society an average of one hundred skilled workmen would be required for each high level technician. The best way of training these workmen was on the job, but Ethiopia lacked the facilities and the shortage of skilled men was partly responsible for the unsatisfactory condition of Ethiopian technical enterprise. The alternative was to provide trade schools. The demand for technical personnel was summarized as follows:

Professional Engineers	200 - 300
Sub-professional Technicians	1,500 - 2,500
Skilled Workmen	50,000 - 100,000

These figures are not in agreement with the ratio quoted above, but it normally applied to more advanced countries than Ethiopia, where close supervision would be required.

The College of Engineering: By the time it had completed its second year of operation, all eight second year students were sent to the U.S.A. to complete their education. Admission to the college was based on the Ethiopian School Leaving Examination. The enrollment for 1954-55 included eighteen in a preparatory class, which was to be discontinued at the end of the year, twenty-eight first-year and six second-year students. There was an adequate physical plant.

The Technical School: The Technical School provided training in nine trades and technical skills. Students were assigned by the Ministry of Education on the basis of grade eight general examination results, and from 1955-56 a special aptitude test was used. The courses were three years long, but in 1956-57 a fourth year was added. The enrollment for 1954-55 was one hundred in the first year, fifty in the second year, and seventy-five in the third year.

The committee learned that the Technical School's programs were uneven, and that the school was a peculiar combination of technical institute and trade school. The radio, electricity, and automechanics departments required a high level of technical achievement, but in forging and welding, machine shop, and foundry departments the standard was not so high. It would have been possible to teach these subjects as simple skills, but since there were no Ethiopians qualified as technical managers or supervisors in these fields, it seemed advisable to offer broader technological training in order to give the young men the opportunity for greater responsibility. The building/construction program only operated for one year, and was then taken over by the new Ethio-Swedish Institute of Building Technology. Cabinet making, painting, and finishing should have been taught as skills at the trade school level, unless there was a need for supervisors; at that time no such need was evident.

Foreign Study: Between 1951-52 and 1953-54, fifty-three Technical School graduates were sent abroad on apprenticeships in mechanics, carpentry, radio engineering, printing and so on. The committee was told that in some cases the value of training received might not justify the expenditure of time and money. If a young man was to be sent abroad, his future usefulness to Ethiopia should be the primary consideration. The staff and equipment available in the Technical School were sufficient for most of present and prospective students.

Other Government Agencies: Because of the shortage of trained personnel, several government agencies found it necessary to establish their own schools or training organizations for their own specialists. These programs alleviated the shortage of technical personnel in Ethiopia until the Technical School could be converted into a true technical institute, and the committee felt that the Ministry of Education should cooperate with Civil Aviation, Telecommunications and the Air Force in the operation of their training schools.

Recommendations

The Committee recommended:

(a) The College of Engineering should be developed according to plan, with four-year programs in civil and industrial engineering. As soon as the secondary schools were graduating sufficient students to ensure an entering class of forty or more, a new course in electrical engineering should be added. Until the Engineering College developed full programs, only a few students should be sent abroad (after two years in the college), to train in fields such as chemical, architectural, and mining engineering. A program for agricultural and irrigation engineering should be developed and attached to the College of Agriculture.

(b) The Technical School's standards should be raised as rapidly as the supply of qualified students permitted, with the ultimate goal of establishing a true technical institute, with an intensive two-year program at the post-secondary level. This development would necessitate the elimination of the strictly trade school programs, and the addition of programs to train qualified engineering assistants. The Technical Institute should accept secondary school graduates for two years training as radio and electrical technicians, auto mechanics, metallurgists, mechanics, draftsmen and engineering aides. Engineering draftsmanship should be added at once to the Technical School program.

(c) A trade school, to complete the pattern of technical training in Ethiopia, was urgently needed. It would teach specific skills, and intensive one-year programs should be adequate. Except for some simple mathematics, no academic training was needed. As soon as suitable teachers could be trained, instruction should be in Amharic. The first school of this type might teach building trades.

(d) The total estimated cost of technical education for the twelve years 1954-55 to 1965-66 would be $16,292,700, including boarding facilities, or $14,035,700 without.

(e) The Long Term Planning Committee recognized that the special schools established by other government agencies were playing a vital role in relieving the acute shortage of technical personnel, and that they would continue to do so for some years. It was essential these programs received active support and cooperation from the Ministry of Education.

The Commercial School: The Commercial School in Addis Ababa was established to supply skilled workers for business and for government administration. During its first decade, the school had prospered under the Egyptian, Mr. Naguib. It had achieved a standard equal to the academic secondary schools and to Harar Teacher Training School, by offering a full four-year secondary program for boys, and a three-year course for girls. Admission was based on the performance of the Eighth Grade Examination, candidate's interest, and a personal interview.

In the school year 1954-55, the enrollment was:

Boys:	1st Year	25
	2nd Year	45(in two sections)
	3rd Year	22(administration)
	3rd Year	25(accounting)
	4th Year	18
	Total	135
Girls:	1st Year	14
	2nd Year	-
	3rd Year	20
	Total	34
Teaching Staff:	Commerce	4
	Shorthand & Typing	3
	English	2
	Amharic	1
	French	1
	Sports	1
	Total	12

Except for Amharic typing, commercial subjects were taught in English. Of the thirteen staff members, including the director, two were Ethiopian, teaching Amharic and Amharic typing. The staff included Ethiopians, Egyptians, Indians, Americans, Canadians, British and Persians.

Graduating students were prepared for Royal Society of Arts examinations and for internal school examinations.

The school was used for regular evening classes in English, bookkeeping, English and Amharic typing; business training, and English shorthand. In 1954-55 there were 253 students registered for evening courses.

The school's main problem was the lack of adequate school plant. The committee recommended the allocation of $6,536,300 over a ten-year period for dormitories and classrooms. This was very generous, considering that the total school budget for 1954 was only $215,500.

Recommendations

After reviewing existing conditions and future manpower needs, the committee recommended a modern building in a central location should be built as soon as possible. To increase the number of graduates, the annual intake should be increased, and an advisory committee consisting of representatives from the school, the ministry, government departments, and commercial undertakings should be appointed to review the curriculum.

The committee estimated the cost of these programs would be an extra $79,776,000 over the ten years 1954-55 to 1964-65.

These proposals and recommendations from the Long Term Planning Committee were timely, since for ten years Ethiopia had been under pressure to build more schools at government expense. There was no time to pause and consider earlier gains, or to direct future developments. In the rush, with all the shortages of the first post-war decade, it was inevitable that serious mistakes would be made. The committee tried to correct past errors, to take stock of gains, and to predict the future.[20]

As we shall see, some recommendations like the establishment of community schools were tried, but many were not. Although it is difficult to estimate the influence of the committee's deliberations on the Ethiopian education system, we can conjecture it was not significant.

The Organization and Administration of the Ministry of Education & Fine Arts

While the general educational plan was being considered, the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts asked the U.S. Operations Mission to sudy the organization and administration of the ministry, in view of the stated objectives of Ethiopian education. The U.S. Operations Mission, in turn, entered into a contract with a U.S. firm to make the study. A draft report was then studied by ministry officials and Point IV advisors.

Reasons for Reform in Organizational Arrangements

The final report stated that a sound organization for the planning and administration of education was especially important in the formative stages of the Ethiopian system, to compensate for the scarcity of resources, and to develop a philosophy of educational administration as a basis for the achievement of objectives. There was a danger that, without trained and experienced Ethiopians in well-defined and responsible administrative posts, development would be fragmentary. Unless the Ministry of Education could provide effective direction for all elements and bring them into an established pattern, "a lack of continuity may result." The report continued:

> The inability to accomplish rapidly the desired educational aims, or any other desired economic and social development programs, is due most often to lack of trained personnel, poor organizational and work methods, and inadequate financial resources. Correcting these inadequacies are necessarily long-range tasks. The fact that limited personnel and financial resources exist makes it imperative that the trained personnel which the government has and taxes which it collects be used in the most advantageous manner. This is the essential role and

> objective of public administration. This study of the Ministry of Education is concerned with the fundamental requirements concerning organization, staff, planning, work methods, and procedures through which attempts to meet the educational needs of the nation are translated into action and have their immediate effects. The recommendations set forth are designed to assist the Imperial Ethiopian Government to work most effectively toward implementing its educational policy. In this study the relation of the Ministry of Education to the general governmental structure has to be given consideration. The administration of modern governmental services requires effective inter-agency coordination and provision of facilitative services and assistance from central agencies specially charged with such responsibilities.[21]

The report reviewed the legal basis of the ministry's organization, the functions of the ministry, and the education system as it existed in 1953-54. The structure and organization of the ministry had been changed slightly since 1942, but the essential characteristics remained: the emperor retained the ministerial portfolio, and the Board of National Education was still responsible for policy, functioning under his direction. A Vice Minister supervised the day to day activities of the ministry, assisted by a Director General, his deputy, and the Education Advisory Group. However, the number of staff and departments in the central office had grown since the previous decade.

The report asserted:

"In getting underway the forces for the creation of a modern system of education, there has been recognition that to move too fast would be to endanger the tradition, customs, and national character of the nation. A completely centralized educational institution guided only by ideals of efficiency cannot be imposed at the same time, in its race to achieve national recognition and to compete with other nations of the world on modern terms, the nation cannot await the development of a system through which the Ministry of Education, under the direct sponsorship of the Emperor, has been faced with a situation in which acute recognition of problems, careful and patient planning, and effective and well-timed steps have been required and have much in evidence. The organizational arrangements of the ministry must necessarily take these requirements into account. The ministry needs to be organized to administer as effectively as possible the day-to-day activities for which it is responsible; it also needs to be organized to prepare itself to take over with trained local personnel the task of developing on a continuous basis, a truly Ethiopian educational system.

"In several respects, the ministry is not at present organized to accomplish in the most effective manner either of these objectives. There are several ways in which the ministry should now make attempts to establish a pattern of organization geared to consolidating and providing effective administration of present activities and providing the organizational framework for the assumption of additional functions as trained personnel and facilities become available."[22]

The report argued that the ministry's organization should show:

1. Unity: Specialized educational programs like agricultural and technical education integrated into the ministry.
2. Staff Services: Staff services, like the financial administration, should be organized logically in a few divisions.

3. Assignment of Best Qualified Personnel Available into Positions of Major Responsibility: The most effective use of foreign personnel should be made in an advisory capacity. To take full advantage of technical training possibilities, Ethiopian personnel should be assigned to positions within the regular organization of the ministry as counterparts to technical advisors, integrating improved techniques within the total program and providing more continuity.

4. Clear Channels of Authority and Acccountability: There should be clear channels from the executive and his principal assistants to personnel carrying out the educational program. Some of the defects of the existing organization were:

   a. The Vice Minister and Director General were overburdened with detail and with seeing visitors, which prevented them from giving time and attention to policy and planning.

   b. There was no single point of contact for provincial education officers or school directors with central office, so school directors were instructed by many different central office units. They often went directly to the Vice Minister or Director General with relatively minor matters.

   c. Certain necessary services had not been established, including budget, planning and research, and supervision and coordination of school maintenance.

   d. The records system was insufficient to furnish information for planning and administering programs. The archival system was unsuitable for modern office operations and resulted in delay and confusion.

   e. Insufficient attention had been paid within the ministry to the provision of continuous guidance in curriculum and teaching materials development to raise the level of instruction, to train Ethiopian personnel and curriculum specialists, and to the review and evaluation of programs. There were too many committees and insufficient coordination of their work.

   f. The arrangements for selection and placement of teachers and students were inadequate and confused.[23]

The report added pertinently:

> It is essential that Ethiopia make the maximum utilization of its resources, human and financial, in its efforts to build a modern educational system. In this respect, organizational arrangements based on sound principles and incorporating ways and means to obtain objectives are essential. The keystone in the development of the educational system is the Ministry of Education. The rate at which teachers are trained, teaching levels increased, school enrollment increased, additional facilities provided, and so forth depends more than anything else on how the Ministry of Education is organized and pursues its objectives. Investments in a stronger organization cannot but help to pay dividends.[24]

An organizational plan was proposed whose chief objectives were to strengthen programs, to establish staff and facilitative services on a functional basis, and to make effective use of foreign advisory personnel. The responsibilities of each unit in the organization were defined, but implementation was left to the ministry. We shall see that most recommendations were put into effect in form, if not in substance.

Compensation for Teaching Personnel

The report emphasized the need for adequate pay for educational personnel, so the ministry would have enough qualified people to carry out its education programs. By attracting trained people to teaching and by retaining those already on the job, the ministry would be able to expand and develop the educational system. One way of providing incentives was through adequate pay and satisfactory conditions.[25] This also applied to administrative and other non-teaching personnel. In fact, in 1953 the ministry and the Board of Education adopted a new improved salary plan for teaching personnel, but its implementation caused concern.

Since the Restoration, attracting and holding young, educated people to teaching had been difficult. There were many opportunities in other branches of government service, and salaries and conditions were better than in the Ministry of Education. As a result, many educated youths were not attracted to teaching and even those who started left as soon as they could. The few who stayed on were, by and large, the very young or unqualified with limited options. The new salary structure sought to remedy these problems.

It was based on recommendations by a teachers' salary committee set up by a conference called by the Vice-Minister in May 1953. School administrators, ministry officials and members of the U.S. Point IV educational advisory staff had participated in the conference. Under the new salary scheme, male and female teachers of equivalent education, professional training, and experience would get equal pay for equal work. The same principle would apply to primary and secondary school teachers, and every Ethiopian teacher was assured a minimum annual increment of $10 a month, paid automatically each year until the ceiling was reached.

Table 49 shows that a teacher's salary was based on general education level, specialized training, and teaching experience.

All new teachers were required to work in provincial schools for three years before they were eligible for assignment in Addis Ababa.[26]

In 1953, when the new salary scheme was formulated, the ministry went on record to the effect that in the future only those with a minimum of grade eight education plus one year of teacher training would be recruited. This was a drastic departure from past practice, and its effect was noticeable.

Table 49

Teacher Salary Schemes Based Upon Educational Achievement

Classes	Grades	Monthly Minimum	Salary ($) Maximum
16	1-4	40	70
15	5-7	30	90
14	8	60	110
13	9 or 8 + 1 T.E.*	110	170
12	10	140	200
11	9 + 1 T.E.	150	220
10	11	160	230
9	9 + 2 T.E. or 10 + 1 T.E.	170	260
8	12	180	280
7	10 + 2 T.E. or 11 + 1 T.E.	220	300
6	12 + 1 T.E.	250	350
5	12 + 2 College	300	400
4	1.0 + 2 College**	350	450
Degrees	B.A.	450	700
"	M.A.	550	800
"	Ph.D.	750	1,000

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* 8 + 1 T.E. stands for completion of grade 8 plus one year of teacher training. 12 + College means completion of grade 12 plus two years of college education.

** This seems to be a mistake in the source, perhaps it should read 12 + 3.
Source: "Problems of Education," Ethiopia Observer 2 (1958): 136.

Five Year Development Plan

In the post war period significant progress had been made in the economic and social fields. However, conditions did not allow coordination through national plans cutting across departments and agencies, even when such plans existed.

The 1944-45 ten-year program of industrial development was drawn up by the U.S. Technical Mission in Ethiopia. It was partially carried out, but agriculture and animal husbandry attempts were made to increase production and to carry out research. The various programs were coordinated through the Ethiopian government, the F.A.O. and the U.S. Operations Mission to Ethiopia. A program to develop forest resources was tried, and in 1952-56 the road network was extended. A three-year program to rehabilitate and extend the telecommunication network was carried out. Ethiopian Airlines was set up and airports built throughout the country. Attempts were made to improve the quality and quantity of the country's export commodities.[27]

A number of important studies had been made in mineral and water resources, in agriculture and forestry, in transport and communications, and in the construction of power stations, the establishment of new industries, and the development of fisheries.

On the basis of these studies, separate plans for long-term development were drawn up, including three- and twelve-year programs for road improvement, a five-year program for agriculture, projects for telecommunications, an Assab harbor development project, plans for development of water resources in Lake Tana and the Blue Nile, and the ten-year plan for education discussed above.[28]

The ground having been prepared for a comprehensive national plan, in 1954-55 the emperor ordered an assessment of the Ethiopian economy be made. On the basis of the survey and the various studies, a first five-year plan was drawn up. By the beginning of 1956 a special committee had been constituted to supervise the elaboration of a plan covering the five years from 1957 to 1961.

Education

The plan pointed out that in the fifteen years since Restoration considerable waste could have been avoided by better planning. Higher institutions had been allowed to expand without corresponding expansion in the basic levels, and, since resources were limited, more for higher institutions meant less for middle and primary schools, so secondary schools and colleges could not work to full capacity. "The present student capacity of the upper level far exceeds the current flow of students from the lower levels qualified for admission to the upper levels."[29]

The Five-Year Development Plan continued:

> There is at present in Ethiopia, an acute shortage of skill of all kinds and at all levels. The foreigners who are employed in the public services and who have come in numbers to manage industry and commerce are evidences of the current shortage of skills. It is understandable, therefore, the government, faced with a scarcity of qualified personnel to run the public services, should aim at the expansion of higher institutions. This objective, however, cannot be fully and efficiently attained unless the lower levels of the government schools system—the middle schools in particular—are also expanding rapidly.[30]

Government Primary Schools

Primary schools consisted of grades one through four, and in 1955-56 they numbered 438, of which only 27 taught all four grades. Overcrowding was severe, and many of the teachers had inadequate qualifications. The total number of students enrolled in these schools was 80,486, of whom 44,675, 18,229, 10,776, and 6,806 were enrolled in grades one through four. Of the 29,821 pupils enrolled in 1952-53, only 6,806 reached grade four in 1955-56—less than a quarter. The distsribution of school and classroom units by grades shows much the same picture. Of 438 primary schools, 207 had all grades, 97 had three grades, 70 had two grades and 64 had one grade. There were 732 classroom units in grade one, 497 in grade two, 384 in grade three, and 261 in grade four. Analysis of pupil enrollment, school, and classroom units by grade showed there was no balance between the grades, and there was much waste of effort and resources. The remedy was to complete incomplete primary schools and to arrest the pre-fourth grade dropout rate.

The Middle Schools

The middle schools, including grades five through eight, prepared students for post-primary school. Candidates who successfully completed grade eight qualified for secondary school. In 1955-56 there were 146 government middle schools of which 77 were teaching a full program. The total middle school student population was 1,155, of whom 896 were enrolled in grade eight; not all schools enrolled students in grade eight. There were 185 classroom units in grade five, 139 in grade six, 117 in grade seven, and 94 in grade eight; only half had the opportunity to finish middle school.

In 1952-53 there were 2,375 students in grade five, of whom 2,136, 1,606, and 1,896 students were admitted in succeeding years to grades six, seven, and eight. One hundred forty-six schools were not enough to satisfy the heavy demand for middle school grads, and the distribution of schools and classroom units only allowed about 50 percent of those admitted to complete the full four-year program. These factors, together with the shortage of qualified teachers, were responsible for the low output of middle school graduates.

Secondary Schools

In 1955-56 there were twenty-seven secondary level institutions, including sixteen special secondary schools, most of which taught full four-year specialized vocational courses. Students were admitted after passing the grade eight general examination. Of eleven academic secondary schools, three were in the provinces and in Eritrea, and the rest in Addis Ababa. Eight of them offered a full program from grade nine through twelve.

The total population of the twenty-seven schools was 3,633 students, of whom some four hundred were girls; 1,742 were enrolled in grade nine, 1,058 in grade ten, 511 in grade eleven, and 322 in grade twelve. This asymetrical enrollment pattern could be explained by the following factors:

1. Some secondary schools did not have full four-year programs.
2. Middle school output was increasing, so there were more students in the lower grades.
3. There was a high dropout rate in the academic secondary schools.

4. Many secondary school students left to get jobs.

5. Many students were taken from school by government services.

It was, as a result, practically impossible to get enough qualified candidates for higher institutions.[31]

Manpower Needs Versus Manpower Output

The First Five-Year Plan attempted to relate the manpower needs of the economy to the output of the elementary and secondary schools and the colleges, only to discover the output would fall short of the requirements.

Higher Institutions

The University College of Addis Ababa consisted of the Faculty of Science, the Faculty of Arts, Teacher Training for Secondary Schools, the College of Engineering, the Building Institute, the College of Agriculture, and the Public Health College at Gondar. Only the Faculties of Arts and Science provided a four-year college program.

Enrollment in the seven colleges in 1955-56 was 345; 187 were in the first year, ninety-one in the second, forty-nine in the third, and eighteen in the fourth. The eighteen senior students were all in the Faculty of Arts. In 1955-56 the intake capacity was 250, but there were only 187 candidates. It would obviously be a long time before higher institutions would be satisfied by the output of academic secondary schools.

Although student enrollment in the four divisions of the government schools had increased between 1952-53, and 1955-56 from 60,131 to 95,196, an overall increase of 58 percent, the secondary and higher levels had grown faster than primary and middle schools. In 1952-53 primary, middle, secondary schools and colleges shared 87.0 percent, 10.1 percent, 2.7 percent and 0.2 percent of the student population. In 1955-56 the shares were 84.7 percent, 11.7 percent, 3.2 percent and 0.4 percent respectively, showing that over the four years the upper levels had been expanding slightly more rapidly than the lower, and that, for lack of candidates, the colleges which provided most of Ethiopia's skilled high-level manpower could not function to full capacity.[32]

Although systematic data were not available, the planners tried to assess manpower supply and demand for all sectors of the economy as shown in Table 50. Of the 965 in the first column, about two-thirds were foreigners.

Table 50

Estimated Need for Personnel With Degrees by Sectors

	Sector	Estimated No. in 1956	Additional Requirements by 1957-61
A.	Administration	400	150-200
	Banks	53	30-40
	Commerce	50	20-30
	Total	503	200-270
B.	Manufacturing Industry	20	50-70
	Mining	10	20-30
	Electricity	10	15-20
	Transport	25	30-40
	Construction	20	40-50
	Total	85	155-210
C.	Agriculture	25	80-100
	Education	200	80-120
	Health	152	85-100
	Grand Total	965	600-800

Source: Ethiopia, Five Year Development Plan, 1957-1961, p. 131.

The planners then had to estimate the likelihood of these requirements being met in the plan period. An estimate of the output of degree level institutions, based on the current enrollment figure, was therefore made, as shown in Table 51.

Although only 440 students would graduate from home institutions, 640 degree-holders would have returned home after completion of work in overseas institutions, so it seemed likely that manpower needs would be met by 1961, without taking into account the needs of each sector. (See Table 52.)

The need for engineers and agriculturists would be satisfied, but there would not be enough doctors, teachers, or businessmen by 1961. It was hoped that some Ethiopian degree-holders would acquire enough experience and proficiency to replace foreign personnel. Since the colleges were working below capacity, there was no need for them to expand. They should concentrate on the improvement of curricula, and teaching materials and methods so as to raise their standards.

To meet the estimated need, the technical/vocational schools would have to produce 660 students per year for five years. It was therefore necessary to estimate the output of technical/vocational institutions for the 1957-61 period (See Table 53).

Estimates for the academic secondary, middle, primary and community schools were similar to those of the Ten Year Plan for the Controlled Expansion of Education, treated earlier in the present chapter. The shortage of candidates for higher institutions, the need for universal basic education and for equity in financing the school system were noted.[34] Chapter 11 discusses implementation in the education sector of the Five Year Development Plan.

Bilateral and International Cooperation

When these plans were put into effect, it was clear that technical and financial assistance were required more than ever, and the Ethiopian government sought it from bilateral and international sources.

Since 1941 Ethiopia had received help in foreign cash, equipment, facilities, and skilled personnel to help her stand on her feet again after the Fascist invasion. Aid and credits were extended first by the United Kingdom, but later the United States offered lend-lease equipment and supplies worth approximately U.S. $5,000. A Swedish loan of five million Kroners was made to Ethiopia in 1945, to facilitate salary transfers by Swedes employed in Ethiopia and to buy school and hospital equipment in Sweden. In 1946 the United States and Sweden extended additional credits to Ethiopia to purchase war-surplus stock. In 1944 the Export-Import Bank of Washington had lent U.S. $3,000,000 to buy industrial machinery, automobiles, and trucks. The main international participation in the development of Ethiopia, however, came in the 1950s. In 1950 and 1951 three IBRD loans totalling U.S. $8,500,000 were used to rehabilitate the road network, to establish a bank to make small loans to agriculture and industry, and to improve and extend the telecommunication system. Since Ethiopia had a good record in meeting interest and principal repayments on its foreign debts, it was relatively easy to secure additional foreign credits in the years to follow.[35]

In 1957 the Ethiopian government signed a contract with a Yugoslavian firm for the construction of modern docking facilities at the port of Assab, at a cost of $26,000,000, half of which was to be advanced by the firm at 3 percent interest.[36] Loans from the U.S.A. were used to found Ethiopian Airlines, which began operations in early 1946.[37] However, the largest perhaps most lasting assistance was in education. The United States, through its Point IV program, played a great part.

Table 51

Estimated Capacity and Output of Higher Education

		Capacity	Total Enrollment 1956-57	Estimated Output 1956-61
A.	Faculty of Arts	120	129	49
B.	Engineering College	200	63	110
	Faculty of Science	110	55	23
	Building Institute	200	30	72
	Total	510	148	205
C.	Agriculture College	200	86	128
D.	Secondary Teacher Training	125	32	58
	Grand Total	955	395	440

Source: Ethiopia, Five Year Development Plan, 1957-1961, p.132.

Table 52

Estimated Need for Technicians by Sector

	Sectors	Estimated No. in 1956	Additional Requirement for 1957-61	
A.	Administration	1,500	400	500
	Banks	220	100	150
	Commerce	1,000	150	200
	Total	2,720	650	850
B.	Manufacturing Industry	400	600	800
	Mining	100	200	300
	Electricity	120	150	200
	Transport	55	100	150
	Construction	40	100	150
	Total	715	1,150	1,600
C.	Agriculture and Forestry	90	400	500
D.	Education	650	800	1,000
E.	Health	368	300	400
	Grand Total	4,543	3,300	4,350

Source: Ethiopia, Five Year Development Plan, 1957-1961, p. 134.

Table 53

Estimated Output of Special Secondary Schools for 1957-1961

Schools	Total Enrollment in 1955-56	Estimated Output for 1957-61
Commercial School	224	459
Technical School	215	270
Vocational Trade School	-	470
Agricultural Secondary School	231	287
Middle School Teacher's Programs	456	571
Nursing School	105	170
Gondar Public Health College[1]	55	91
Total	1,286	2,318

[1] Community Nurses from the Public Health College are listed under Nursing Schools

Source: Ethiopia, Five Year Development Plan, 1957-1961, p. 135.

The Technical Cooperation Program, or Point IV, was enacted by the U.S. Congress in 1950. The Act for International Development was based on the premise "that technical and economic cooperation represents the method which enables countries to make the best use of their resources to overcome major obstacles to their progress and to permit them to get the development process going under its own momentum.

"The technical cooperation program is designed to demonstrate, improve techniques, and, through training therein, to assist in developing the skilled personnel essential to a development effort. Technical cooperation is related to the major economic development projects of the country... In addition to technical cooperation, which basically is the transferring of knowledge and skills from one country to another, funds were needed for direct utilization in economic development projects permitting capital improvements which supplement the work accomplished under technical cooperation.[38]

This was a cooperative venture between the governments of Ethiopia and the United States for the social and economic development of Ethiopia. The agreement covered a wide range of projects, but here we will deal only with education.

The Ethiopian government requested assistance in education from the U.S. government, and after various diplomatic exchanges, late in 1950 the emperor appointed a Point IV Inter-Ministerial Committee to consider the matter. The committee's proposals were discussed with U.S. government representatives in 1951. In June, an official request, submitted by Ethiopia to the U.S. government contained, as project No. III, a request for assistance in the development of primary and secondary schools.[39]

The proposal suggested an Ethio-American education service be established in Addis Ababa, to cooperate with the Ministry of Education on specific problems, but otherwise entirely separate and with no responsibility for schools or teaching staff.[40]

The U.S. government was asked to send a qualified administrator to help plan specific projects and to report on equipment and personnel furnished by the two governments, and on the proper execution of each project. However, no action was taken on the negotiation of the agreement until after the arrival of the U.S. Director of Technical Cooperation on May 1, 1953.[41]

Meanwhile, anticipating the development of a Point IV program, the Ethiopian government had established a Committee of Technical Education. The committee prepared detailed plans for technical education at all levels, starting with primary grades, where handicrafts and instruction in the use of simple tools would be encouraged. The plan drawn up by the committee included a four-year curriculum for the Technical College, where classes were to start in September 1952.[42]

According to an exchange of diplomatic notes on June 17 and 18, 1952, the two governments agreed to cooperate in a program in "Technical and Science Education in schools of secondary and elementary level, and the Technical College in Addis Ababa."[43]

Under the agreement, the U.S. would provide specialists acceptable to the government of Ethiopia, who would provide professional and technical advisory services, train Ethiopian personnel, and generally cooperate.[44]

Joint funds were set up, and joint control of the venture was invested in a special representative of the emperor and the U.S. Director of Technical Cooperation in Ethiopia. However, this joint administration had no control over the ordinary operation and management of Ethiopian schools.[45]

The Ministry of Education wanted four specialists, but it was impossible to find suitable people until the spring of 1953. In March, 1953, Dr. William Wrinkle arrived in Addis Ababa as Chief TCA Education Advisor to the ministry, and other advisors followed. Fruitful cooperative endeavours have since been carried out under this innovative agreement.[46]

The Point IV Cooperative Program in Ethiopia undertook to develop several types of teacher training programs, to upgrade existing teachers, and to train new ones for all levels. It developed new teaching materials for use in elementary and secondary schools. It undertook to improve language teaching and established guidance, testing and measurement services in the ministry.

The Ministry of Education and Point IV advisors initiated the program to prepare "teachers for the villages" at Debre Berhan, which although short lived, promised a response to community development needs at village level. The two units also established a communications media center to produce teaching materials. In short, the Point IV Ministry venture affected the Ethiopian education system more than any other single program since Restoration. Much diminished, it continues to play a vital role in the development of education in Ethiopia.

The United Nations, through UNESCO and UNICEF, had already begun to contribute to the development of education. More will be said of United Nations activities later. The bilateral and international agreements entered into by the Ethiopian government contributed significantly in the qualitative and quantitative development of all levels of education.

Summary

School plants are vital ingredients to the education system. In Ethiopia, during the first half of the Africa decade, there were shortages in school buildings, especially rooms for laboratory, cocurricular activities and assembly halls, the absence of which had hampered the progress of education. Later in the decade some of these problems found solution through the assistance of (1) community initiatives, (2) an IBRD loan and (3) the Swedish government.

First on their own, but later encouraged by the matching funds provided by the Swedish Agency for International Development (SIDA), the local people mobilized their resources to erect elementary school buildings. SIDA provided matching funds including technical experts in the building of elementary schools. These efforts on the part of the local people and SIDA relieved the government to concentrate on the expansion of secondary school buildings. The government secured loans from the IBRD, a branch of the World Bank, for the construction and expansion of second level education, including teacher training and technical/vocational school buildings. The first venture proved to be a successful one; since then two more loans have been negotiated with that institution.

Some of the important loans that were enacted which were related to education included: (1) the charter of the National Commission for UNESCO, (2) the charter of Asmara University, (3) the National Commission for Education and (4) the urban property and income tax for education. The impact that these pieces of legislation had on the education system was not significant, for the time being at least.

Education continued to receive a good share of the national budget through the decade. But in terms of GNP or GDP, Ethiopia continued to spend less on education than would have been expected as a nation which was lagging far behind in this vital area of development. When compared with other African countries, investment in education in Ethiopia was one of the lowest and according to the system itself, was small and not very efficient. It was expected that the Fourth Five Year Development Plan, which was to begin shortly, would take this into account and try to remedy the situation. The effective utilization of the promising, yet untapped potentialities of the mass media may provide part of the answer to the problems of size and efficiency of the Ethiopian school system.

Notes

1. U.S. Operations Mission, First Annual Progress Report, Point IV Cooperative Program in General Education (Addis Ababa, September 1953), p. 5-7.

2. Trudeau, Edward, "Higher Education in Ethiopia " (Ph.D. dissertation, New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1964), pp. 8-9.

3. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, A Ten Year Plan for the Controlled Expansion of Ethiopian Education (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, June 1955), p. 11. The source for the Long Term planning section is the one given here. No citation of source and page will be repeated unless direct quotation is made. For the rest relevent pages are the following:

   For the section on community schools, pp.90-107; primary schools, pp.53-61; academic secondary schools, pp.23-33; middle schools, pp.1-7; technical education, pp.128-136, and pp.149-152; and financing the proposed plan, pp.156-161.

4. Ibid., p.15.

5. Ibid., pp.91-92.

6. Ibid., pp.92-93.

7. Ibid., pp.62.

8. Ibid., pp.64.

9. Ibid., pp.65.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., p. 73.

12. Ibid., p.75.

13. Ibid., p.79.

14. Ibid., p.7.

15. Ibid., p.21.

16. Ibid., pp.4-6.

17. Ibid., pp.35-36.

18. Ibid., pp.42.

19. Ibid., pp.42-43.

20. To the query by the author why the recommendations of the committee were not implemented, the Vice Minister of Education replied: "We were not ready for that kind of program."

21. Ministry of Education and U.S.A. Operations Mission to Ethiopia, *Report on the Organization and Administration of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts* (revised, October, 1954), p. 3.

22. Ibid., p.20.

23. Ibid., pp.20-22.

24. Ibid., p.22.

25. Ibid., pp.22-23.

26. "Problems of Education", *Ethiopia Observer*, Vol. 2:4 (1958), pp. 135-136.

27. Imperial Ethiopian Government, *Five Year Development Plan: 1957-1961* (Addis Ababa: Imperial Ethiopian Government), pp. 1-2.

28. Ibid., pp.1-2.

29. Ibid., p.123.

30. Ibid., pp.125-127.

31. Ibid., pp.127-129.

32. Ibid., p.135.

33. Ibid., pp.137-140.

34. Lutter, Earnest W., *Ethiopia Today* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), pp.65-66.

35. Ibid., p.67.

36. Ibid., p.127.

37. Ibid., "Point IV: Its Concept and Development", *Ethiopia Observer*, 3:1 (1959), p. 3.

38. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Yearbook 1951-53* (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, 1954), p. 21.

39. Ibid., p.21.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid., pp.21-22.

42. Ibid., p.22.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid., pp.22-23.

46. "Point IV: Its Concept and Development", *Ethiopia Observer*, 3:1 (1959), pp. 3-9.

Chapter XI

CONSOLIDATION AND PLANNED EXPANSION 1951-1962 (CONTINUED)

The last chapter considered the plans and targets set for the development of education during the second decade after the Restoration. The purpose of the present chapter is to investigate to what extent the educational plans and targets set in the Long-Term and First Five Year Development Plans were attained. In doing so we will examine both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of educational development.

Plan Implementation

The Community Schools

Reference has been made previously to the experiment in community education in the township of Asebe Teferi, in Hararge, before the Italian invasion. After the Restoration the idea of a community school for basic education was resurrected. In 1943 the inhabitants of Debre Berhan, with the assistance of Mr. McLaren, organized the first village school as a community effort. The emperor had taken an interest in the project and he had often visited the project in the company of cabinet ministers.[1]

The Long-Term Planning Committee picked up the idea in 1953 and made a strong recommendation for its acceptance by the Board of Education. As outlined by the committee, the chief aims of the community school for basic education were to include "The preparation of the many Ethiopian children, young people and adults who are not selected for advanced academic and technical training to cope more effectively with the problems of every-day living, to lead better, healthier and more productive lives in their home villages, and to make a larger contribution towards the advancement of their communities and their country."[2]

The National Board of Education had accepted the idea in principle with enthusiasm, as is indicated by the following statements: "It is difficult to comprehend the full significance of a national movement aimed at achieving functional literacy in a single language among the sixteen million people of Ethiopia, who now speak more than fifty different languages and dialects, and designed to develop basic attitudes which will enable every citizen, both young and old, to meet more effectively his problems in everyday living and to make a greater contribution towards the advancement of his community and the Empire. Yet this is exactly the responsibility of the community school for basic education."[3]

To this end, special teachers to lead the programs had to be trained. One such community teacher training school was established in 1956 at Majete, about 250 kilometers northeast of Addis Ababa, with the sponsorship of UNESCO. The second such school was set up in Debre Berhan in 1957 with the assistance of USAID. The purpose of these two schools was to train teachers in community education along practical and functional lines so that the graduates would become leaders in the rural areas in which they were to teach. The institutions were excellently equipped and staffed by both nationals and expatriates. The curriculum included formal subjects but most of the time was devoted to practical subjects such as agriculture, health and manual skills. Both institutions were equipped with a brick-making machine for the making of mud and concrete bricks with which model houses were made by the students. Debre Berhan, located in a rural setting, had a model farm attached, complete with cowshed where cows were milked and butter and cheese made. Vegetables were grown in the school gardens for use at the hostels. There was a large poultry house where chickens were reared and eggs sold to the local community and to shops in Addis Ababa. A tree plantation scheme was also started.

"The idea behind these Training Schools was sound, the prospects of success good. They were well endowed, well sponsored, well equipped and pleasantly sited. The students were trained to teach in community schools and to initiate community activities. As they were to teach non-formal subjects, it was considered that entrance standards could be lowered. In Majete, students were admitted at various levels from grades 4 to 8, while at Debre Berhan most were admitted at grade 8 level."[4]

However, as time progressed, unforeseen problems began to crop up at both schools. Some of the problems were attributable to the low academic standard of the students, others to a "reluctance of many students to do practical or manual work while in training." Some students wanted to concentrate only on improving their academic qualifications. In some instances, when the students finally graduated, they were not accepted by the communities where they were assigned owing to their youthfulness. In other instances, parents insisted that academic subjects be taught at the community schools and not practical subjects, "saying that schools were meant to teach the formal skills, and that they, the fathers, were quite competent to teach their sons how to farm, or to look after herds or to plant trees, or to plough, while the mothers were the ones to teach their daughters all about health, child care, cooking and handicrafts."[5]

The training program was for a duration of one year. After that the teachers were to go out to teach basic education in the community schools that were being planned or were functioning in the empire. However, once graduated the teachers left their field in droves. After a period of five years it was found that 42.2 percent had left the teaching service. Accordingly the life span of these training institutions was very short. UNESCO phased out of the Majete project in 1960 (1953 Eth.C.) after only four years, and in 1963 (1956 Eth.C.) Debre Berhan was converted to a teacher training institute conducting a regular two-year program with admission standards fixed at completion of grade ten.[6] Thus the community schools for basic education that were established following the recommendation of the Long-Term Planning Committee closed down one by one until in 1964 they were amalgamated with the traditional type of schools, and since then school statistics have ceased accounting for them separately. The Ministry of Education source cited already has these pertinent and candid remarks to make on the subject:

> The main lesson learnt from the Majete and Debre Berhan projects is that good ideas, good equipment, a qualified staff and an ample budget do not gurantee success. In both of the above cases the missing ingredient that was not taken into account, and which led to the projects being abandoned, was that of students, parental and community attitudes, which resisted a new approach to education. This is indicative of the importance that is placed upon academic learning in Ethiopia and reflects prevailing student community opinion. A mere change in the curriculum or a change in the name of the institutions to 'functional schools' or 'action schools' or 'farm schools' or 'fundamental schools' will not alter people's opinion about the purpose of education, nor will they change people's attitudes towards a more realistic form of schooling.[7]

Obviously the people concerned, both parents and children, resisted a type of education designed to keep the rural children where they were while providing children of urban dwellers with the academic and traditionally more attractive programs; programs which consequently lead to social mobility. At any rate the people themselves must be involved in the decision-making process if any program is to be carried out. As one who had observed the failure of community schools put it, "What is important is not so much the introduction of new subjects or merely changing the content of the syllabus, as an entirely new approach to teaching through the application of new methods whereby children learn how to learn. This demands participation by pupils and the community through meaningful experimental procedures. Only in this way will attitudes be changed and new behaviour patterns formed."[8]

To sum it up, looking back at the community school for basic education plan we now see that, although community teacher training schools were opened at Majete and Debre Berhan they produced only community teachers and not community leaders. The original intention was that a well trained graduate from these institutions would be both a teacher and a leader. Some community schools were built by self-help projects. A few were amalgamated with the other regular primary schools, but others were abandoned after a few years of operation, and as early as 1960 had reached the "derelict stage" after parents had transferred their children to other schools which offered an academic education. Of the teachers who had graduated from the community teacher training schools, forty-two percent had left after a period of five years and many of the others attended extension classes or inservice courses so that they could improve their grades and enter the regular stream of primary teachers and teach in the higher grades.[9] The community school for basic education plan which promised much for the whole nation came to an end.

Regarding the rest of the Long-Term Planning Committee's recommendations for the orderly development of education, some of them were put into practice, but most of the recommendations were not. Perhaps what might be hoped is that the planning exercise itself had had a salutary effect on policy formulation and that it had brought an awareness in the educational leaders of the magnitude and extent of the problems that confronted the national education system. In addition to this, the plan had influenced the grade structure of the school and had brought out the need for the systematic collection of data on all aspects of the education system.

However, what was realized was very small in comparison to the efforts put into the plan and in comparison to what could have come out of it. The present writer has tried to ascertain why the plan was not put into operation. The answers received seem to indicate that there was not enough skilled manpower to undertake such sweeping reforms. A Ministry of Education publication records what seems to be a plausible reason. It states:

> The main reason for the Plan not being put into action was that it was too visionary and recommended that too much be attempted too quickly. The changes recommended were too sweeping in nature. As outlined on an administrative chart, the Plan appears well structured and orderly. To use a modern term, a good job was done in computerizing education in Ethiopia. But there could have been no sociologist on the committee for it ignored too many variables, chief of which were the existing administrative infrastructure, and secondly, vital social and human factors which could have indicated that change can take place only when people have been educated for change. They will be receptive to new ideas only when they understand the reasons for them and where they lead to. They will be fully cooperative only when they themselves have had some say in decision-making concerning the sort of education their children will receive. The parent in the countryside also wants the same educational opportunities as those provided in the cities. Any changes, therefore, in the education system must be nationally rather than geographically or parochially based.[10]

Unfortunately for Ethiopia, what has been said about education plan implementation applies to other sectors of the nation's life and still holds true.

Now let us look into the qualitative and quantitative aspects of educational development that took place during our decade. For in spite of failures in achieving set objectives some growth and change had taken place during the decade.

Structure, Objectives and Curriculum of the Educational Systems

The Structure of the System

With the establishment of the University College in Addis Ababa a third tier was added to the government educational system. The three step ladder consisted of the primary, secondary (including special postprimary schools such as agricultural, teacher training, commercial and trade schools) and the tertiary. During this decade even more than in the last decade, an increasing number of nongovernment schools appeared on the educational scene. These included schools established and operated by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (church schools), which had been in existence even before the government system, but now began to reform their curricular offerings and methodologies of instruction on a modest scale; schools maintained by foreign Protestant and Catholic missions (mission schools); and schools operated by private individuals or groups of people primarily for profit-making purposes (private schools).

Later it will be seen that the nongovernment schools enrolled about ten percent of primary school children during the decade.[11] Further some of these schools received some subvention from the government in the form of land, teachers, or at times even cash. By law the Ministry of Education was obliged to provide minimal supervision and control over the nongovernment school programs in order to ascertain that minimum standards, at least equal to those provided by government schools, were maintained. (Higher education, however, was administered under a separate board).

As far as the administration was concerned, it was still highly centralized in spite of the lip service paid to decentralization. At the end of grade six or grade eight a national examination was administered. The successful candidates were promoted to the seventh or ninth grades. At the completion of the twelfth grade another examination, the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate (E.S.L.C.), was administered. Successful candidates were then admitted to the University College or were sent abroad to study in foreign colleges and universities.

The Objectives

The objectives of education for the decade under discussion were a logical extension of the previous decade. They still reflected the nation's desire to provide more and better education for all children in the country. As the vice-minister of education put it:

> It has been and is still the essential objective of the Ministry of Education to extend and make elementary education available to all children of school age in the country, as the financial capacity of the country will permit. Along with academic studies, opportunity for education through handicraft and other practical activities should be made available to every child...It is also necessary to extend secondary schools for higher academic studies throughout the provinces and in Addis Ababa, subject to the limitations of the financial capacity of the country to support...(the Ministry) is also looking forward to other means of helping every individual child to develop both academically and in practical work so as to enable him to support himself independently in his future life.[12]

As far as the elementary schools program was concerned, the objectives were even more ambitious, even if ambiguous at the same time. These were:

1. To foster in children the traditional values of loyalty, unity and devotion to Emperor and Country, which have sustained the nation for thousands of years.
2. To meet the urgent need of spreading literacy throughout the nation, and of providing basic education, in the shortest possible time, in the national language.
3. To help children develop a sense of citizenship of their own country and of the world, and in so doing, to help them develop an appreciation for education, not only as a means of acquiring academic knowledge, but also as a means of acquiring healthy minds, healthy bodies and proper moral and spiritual values.
4. To give to children the kind of knowledge and experiences that will enable them to become more happy, useful and productive citizens when they have completed their basic education and returned to work in their own communities.
5. At the same time, to give to those who complete the elementary school course the proper foundation on which they can successfully complete secondary education in an academic or vocational school.[13]

That these objectives for Ethiopian education were very ambitious goes without saying in view of the then existing circumstances. By the early 1950s when they were stated, only about 200,000 of an estimated school population of 1½ to 2 million were receiving any type of education at all. Of those, only 70,000 were in government schools. Large areas of the country had no schools. Excluding approximately 900 Amharic teachers, about 200 of 1,320 Ethiopian teachers had less than a fourth grade education and only 344 had any secondary education. Many existing buildings were inadequate and there were serious shortages of equipment in many schools. Although Amharic was the native language for many of the school children, subject matter instruction was in English above the third grade so that all students at this level were required to learn at least one language and many students two new languages. The imposition of modern education methods upon an ancient culture and family pattern raised many other problems which the nation was going to have to meet. Long established patterns of living and traditional social concepts would have to be adjusted to modern modes of thinking without destroying the basic culture of the people.

At that time it was reported that the government was spending about one-fifth of its total tax revenues on education and related services. The limits of the then available tax resources was being reached. At the same time it was essential that the ministry should make outlays which were costly in relation to the number of people which education could reach. It was necessary to employ large numbers of foreign teachers. Boarding schools, in which all expenses of students were paid by the government, had to be used for several reasons: the number of war orphans; the difficulties of transportation; and the difficulty of providing schools for a sparsely distributed student population, in particular at the secondary level.[14] There was a shortage of trained personnel who could administer and coordinate the limited available resources, yet Ethiopia set herself the ambitious aims of spreading education throughout the provinces and increasing the number of children with universal primary education in mind. As we shall see, the objectives set were going to remain very illusory for a long time to come, even beyond the decade under discussion. But then, letting one's reach exceed one's grasp, as Browning said, is not a crime.

The Curriculum and Methods of Instruction

As pointed out already, for some time after the restoration, there were no structured grade curricula or textbooks for the schools. The school headmasters (who were foreigners) submitted to the ministry their schedule of curricula which if accepted became the guide for teaching. Obviously this method did not make for uniformity of subject matter taught in equivalent grades or levels of instruction.[15] In 1946 the ministry issued the first formal guidelines which attempted to correct the prevailing situation by standardizing the curriculum from grade one through six.[16]

The first curriculum was a 6-6 structure, that is, six years of elementary education followed by six years of secondary education. It was anticipated, however, that the elementary program would eventually expand to include grades seven and eight, while the secondary would then consist only of grades nine through twelve. It was envisaged that Amharic would be the language of instruction for the first two grades. English was to be used beginning in grades three and four in the teaching of art, science, physical education, handicraft, music, geography, history and arithmetic. When grades five and six were reached students were to receive instruction completely in English, except in the Amharic class.[17] At the secondary level English was to be the medium of instruction. Dr. Ayalew adds "these language goals proved quite unrealistic in terms of the availability and qualifications of the teachers and the limited number of textbooks, teaching aids, and other classroom materials."[18] Further the curriculum was bookish and encouraged passive assimilation of instruction rather than arousing the talent and curiosity of young children to ask and think through the problems of learning.[19]

Hindsight revealed that even the modest intentions as envisaged in the curriculum guide were not implemented for lack of qualified teachers, suitable textbooks and equipment. Ethiopian children were taught from teaching materials drawn from and based on British and American experiences. Even mathematics textbooks and teachers' guides, which contained universal principles, were rendered of little value because foreign application was made of them.[20]

Towards the beginning of 1950, and in line with the previous curriculum guide, grades seven and eight were made part of the elementary school. The reason for this was that a thorough training in the English language was essential before students proceeded to the secondary grades. Another advantage claimed for this change was that many Ethiopian young people dropped out of school before completing the elementary cycle; if these youths were to remain in school for a period of two additional years, they might achieve greater maturity and benefit from two additional years of school experience. It was also argued that staying two more years in school would enable them to be more mature physically and this in turn enhances employment opportunity. Furthermore, it was also believed that the decision was in line with the actions of the rest of the postwar world, which was extending the period of elementary education.

Thus the structure of the school curricula was changed from a 6-6 type to an 8-4 one (with the exception of a few experimental schools). This meant that the system now consisted of eight years of elementary education to be followed by four years of secondary education. The language of instruction from grade four on was to be English. "Each of these sequences of education, the eight year period and the four year period, was a complete whole. There was neither direct continuity between them nor an intermediate state."[21]

The course outlines specified in the curriculum guide for grades seven and eight were given in more detail than had been the case with the earlier guides. To the extent that these course outlines provided for greater standardization of instruction, they were an improvement. Ato Ayalew adds:

> However, based on foreign texts, they were no more closely geared to the needs of the unsophisticated Ethiopian student than was the earlier volume. For instance, science during those years called for little, if any mention of personal or community hygiene, human nutrition, health or safety measures, agriculture or the conservation of natural resources. It was highly theoretical in content and dealt with such items as the planets, magnetism, expansion of solids and liquids, carbon dioxide and carbonates, the atmosphere and combustion, the Bunsen burner and blowpipes, life histories and classification of various plants and animals. Little of this content had practical application for the pupil in a rural agricultural setting.[22]

The syllabi for the social sciences showed a similar lack of relevance. The history books used dealt with England and its expansion in Canada and India with America and France and biographical information about individuals who made various contributions to those countries.[23] Some mention was made of Africa but only as it related to David Livingstone and H.M. Stanley, and such people. The syllabi of other subjects indicated a lack of relevance to Ethiopian needs.[24]

As time went on, the structure of the curriculum and course guides was criticized severly in the following manner:

> This 8-4 curriculum was criticized on a number of grounds. One of the main criticisms dealt with the fact that it provided only for one type of education. Without diversified streaming of students into different types of classes, all students could not reach their full potential, some would receive the type of education for which they were not best suited, and the many areas of need to be served by an educated populace would not be adequately served. Another often heard criticism dealt with the language problem. With pupils trying to learn both foreign language and content during their elementary years, they had difficulty grasping either. The average pupil completing Grade 8 retained practically nothing of what he should have learned in the lower grades. Elimination of the language problem would mean that greater emphasis could be given to the content of the various subjects taught.[25]

Language of Instruction

Actually much of the problem revolved around the question of textbooks, the language of instruction and the quality of the teaching force, not merely the structure of the curriculum. As indicated above, it was decided to teach English as a subject beginning in the first two grades of primary education and above grade three all instruction, except the course in Amharic, was to be given in English. The main reason advanced in support of this decision was that available qualified teachers were conversant with English and that much of the teaching material was available only in the English language.

However, the Amharic language was not lacking in advocates, and these proponents pushed for Amharic to be the medium of instruction for subjects through the primary grades. Among the reasons listed in favor of Amharic as a language of instruction were: (1) Amharic had been the court language of Ethiopia since 1270 thereby gaining prestige and acceptance among a significant number of Ethiopians; (2) as things stood in the 1950s and earlier, anyone who wanted to get employed in the government services or to wield national influence had to have a good command of the Amharic language; (3) Amharic was the only language spoken in Ethiopia with a script of its own; the other languages spoken in the country employed the Amharic script, if any; (4) Amharic was the only language in the country with a rich literature and prestige of its own, and was the language of diplomacy and the means of communication not only within the country but with the outside world as well; (5) it was the only language spoken by a large number of Ethiopians (whether as a first or second language); and (6) the language had the inherent flexibility to grow with the advance of culture; science and technology.[26]

The opponents of Amharic as a language of instruction in the schools advanced the following arguments: Firstly, Amharic could not replace English because of its limited vocabulary. Years of isolationism had prevented the language from developing as they had similarly affected other aspects of national life. As a result of the absence of contact with the European world, Amharic had been unable to borrow and adapt scientific and technical terms from others. Secondly, it was argued that Amharic was spoken by a minority of people within the country, and by none outside it. It was therefore desirable that at least the educated people of the country should speak and understand well one international language. Thirdly, it was argued that printed matter, especially textbooks, was not available for instruction. This, too, it was argued, would militate against the use of Amharic as well as the unavailability of qualified teachers to conduct classes in that language.[27]

These were some of the arguments against Amharic replacing English as a language of learning. However, it ought to have been made clear that the linguists had already pointed out that Amharic had the inherent strength and flexibility to expand and accommodate the linguistic needs of modern society. Professor Cohen points out:

> Amharic was no more prepared for the development of the modern sciences and techniques than were the European languages before the evolution of European culture. It is well known that these languages employed Greek elements in constructing the words required for modern sciences using a few ancient Greek words and many newly formed combinations of Greek elements which have now been assimilated into the modern languages. Amharic, in its turn, is obliged to borrow for the same purposes. This is a natural phenomenon which should be observed, for in certain cases a choice may be made to facilitate the best incorporation of the new with the old.
>
> The future promises well for Amharic. As a national language, more and more widely spoken, assimilating diverse elements of populations speaking other languages, and more and more written with the rapid progress of education.[29]

Earlier in the same article the author assures us "Whatever manner is adopted Amharic remains an instrument completely and perfectly adaptable to the first nuances of expression, to the most diverse subjects, the most complicated reasoning."[29]

The other arguements against Amharic replacing English as a language of instruction could have been refuted to the satisfaction of many. Indeed after weighing the pros and cons of the issue, in the mid-fifties the Ministry of Education adopted the policy of using Amharic as a medium of instruction first through the primary grades and later on for all grades, without at the same time minimizing the costly commitment that this policy might entail initially by way of research and teaching material production.[30]

In the meantime with the coming of the Point 4 scheme and encouragement of research and the increase of trained national and foreign specialists interested in the study of educational problems in Ethiopia, the problem of language was discovered to be at the root of much of student dropout and class repetition. It was also discovered that, because of the difficulty of comprehending subject matter presented in the English language, students increasingly and consistently resorted to memorization of bits and pieces of facts in order to pass examinations. This in turn, in addition to the inevitable result of student wastage, resulted in the deterioration of the quality of education.[31]

All of these points were taken into consideration when the decision was made to use Amharic as a language of instruction. The intention above will not, of course, solve the larger problem of implementing the decision. But at least the commitment was made and that was a step in the right direction.

Along with the decision referred to in the preceding paragraphs, deliberate efforts were made to Ethiopianize the entire curriculum. Towards this end, in February 1957 the then director of the Department of Research and Curricula, Ato Million Neqniq, presented a report at the General Education Conference of Educators convened in Addis Ababa. In that report he pointed out that: (1) the programs of the schools were not adapted to national needs, (2) most of the imported textbooks were not suited at all to Ethiopian schools, and (3) the use of English in the early grades was absolutely unsound. In the report it was recommended that: (1) the eight years of primary grades be reduced to six years, and (2) Amharic should be employed as a medium of instruction.

Following the report the director general of the Ministry of Education, Ato Kebede Michael, formed a committee to study Ato Million's recommendations and to explore the best means to train primary school teachers. After deliberation the committee reported to the director general that the grade structure be reduced from eight years of primary and four years of secondary (8-4), to six years of primary (6), where the medium of instruction would be Amharic, two years of junior and three years of senior secondary school (2-3) where subjects would be taught in English. In other words the committee favored a 6-2-3 structure. The committee further elaborated that: (1) Amharic should be used as a medium of instruction in all primary grades; (2) English should be taught as a subject in the primary grades; (3) in junior and senior secondary schools, English should remain the medium of instruction; (4) greater emphasis should be put on culture as expressed through morals and music; (5) due emphasis should be placed on handicraft courses and on those courses that develop the esthetic values of children; (6) for girl students courses in home economics should be provided; and (7) physical training courses should be offered to all children.[32]

In July 1958 a drafting committee was established to prepare curriculum guides, first for the primary schools. Within a period of three months the drafting committee presented the new guidelines to the board of education in September 1958, whereupon it was approved with an additional stipulation providing for at first a small-scale tryout in a few selected schools.[33] Five schools were selected for the experiment, three of which were Amha Desta, Medhane Alem and Asfa Wossen School, all located in Addis Ababa.

At the same time, the purpose of the new structure was made clear. The purpose of the two years of junior secondary school education (grades seven and eight) was to be (1) a transitional stage between primary and secondary education and (2) a place where students were provided proper vocational and educational guidance and orientation necessary for life plans. Further, in the junior as well as in the senior secondary school grades, vocational courses were to be provided alongside the traditional academic subjects. In addition to instruction being in English at the junior secondary level, thirty-five percent of the time was to be devoted to learning English as a subject.[34]

In the meantime, while the committees were studying and drafting the policies and curriculum guidelines, work on research and the production of teaching materials appropriate for the various grades of the school system was being carried out in the Department of Research and Curriculum Development of the education ministry, which was established in 1956-57.[35]

The Experimental Elementary-Community School Curriculum, Grades 1-4

The experimental curriculum guide presented to and approved by the board of edcuation for a tryout showed some departures from the one drawn up in 1947.[36] It reflected some of the thinking of the Point 4 personnel along with research results particularly in the language areas. It also reflected the recommendations of the long-term planning committee, especially that aspect pertaining to the community schools.

In the introduction to the curriculum guide, it was stated that the present "curriculum is designed to serve the needs of elementary and/or community education in Ethiopia. It takes the form of six years of study to be taught completely in Amharic, with English taught as a subject, as early in the programme as possible."[37]

The program came into existence after a two-year study incorporating the thinking of school directors and teachers as well as other educational administrators. The "curriculum lays stress on...the approach to the teaching of various subjects, so that elementary education can become a much wider, more meaningful and useful experience for children."[38]

The first four years were a unit in themselves organized especially for older boys and girls and was meant to fulfill the "Community Education Programme." A minimal amount of academic subjects were provided, most of the time being devoted to practical training for the older boys and girls who might, at the end of the four year period, return to work in their respective communities as more useful and productive citizens than they would have been without the basic education; or these young people could attend vocational school, if one was available, for one year and then gain employment as semiskilled workers.

The young pupils, on the other hand, would have a chance to complete their primary education in two more years and would have the proper foundation on which their later education could build.[39] This structure was 1-4 or 1-6 depending primarily on the age of the learner. As far as the general aims of the new program are concerned, they have been listed earlier in the present chapter.

Content

The curriculum was divided into academic and nonacademic subjects as follows:

Academic

- Amharic
- Arithmetic
- Social Studies
- Natural Sciences
- English
- Music
- Morals

Nonacademic

- Health Education
- Agriculture
- Arts and Crafts
- Homemaking
- Physical Education and Games

The drafting committee urged the established schools of the nation to apply this program fully in the first three grades of the primary schools and with certain modifications, based on what the children had learned already, in the fourth, fifth and sixth grades. New schools and schools with fourth grade and below could adopt it fully. After a transition period of three years, the entire program should be covered by all schools. It added "all subjects should be taught in accordance with the outlines made for each grade, and with the syllabi worked out for each subject."[40]

Language Teaching

Since all teaching was to be in Amharic, and English was to be taught as a language, special attention was to be paid to the teaching of both languages. In cases where Amharic was the second language, special adaptation should be made to the program of the first two years in order to meet the special needs of the learners.

In cases where Amharic was the language of the home, the children were expected to begin learning English as early as possible, provided there was a teacher qualified to teach it. "This should apply to the younger pupils who will finish the six years of education; the older ones will not need it."[41]

Integration of Subject Matter

It was specified in the curriculum guide that, although the program was divided into various subjects, all subject matter had been written in such a way that integration of subjects could be accomplished. In this way the child would be able to acquire a complete body of knowledge as he went from one grade to the next during the six years of education.

When a teacher was completely responsible for a class, the integration could be easily achieved. Where this was not the case, "frequent staff meetings and discussions can facilitate understanding and cooperation among teachers."[42]

Teaching Load and Length of Periods

The teachers in the primary grades were expected to teach a maximum of thirty hours per week. In addition the entire staff of the school was required to share responsiblity for extracurricular activities. The length of the period was to be from ten to forty minutes in the lower grades (grades 1 and 2) and forty minutes in the upper grades. Double periods were to be given for nonacademic subjects such as gardening, homemaking, and arts and crafts. In the fifth and sixth grades, where laboratory work was required, at least one double period per week was to be provided for each such subject.[43]

Tests

At the beginning of each year the school director was expected to administer screening tests for all new applicants. This was intended primarily for ability grouping in the classes. At the end of the fourth year of schooling a general examination was to be administered for the purpose of ascertaining the achievement level of the older pupils who would be leaving school, and a diagnostic test for the younger pupils who would continue, to assess the levels of difficulty.

The final examination was to be given by the Ministry of Education at the end of the sixth grade. On the basis of this test learners might be directed to a one-year vocational school.[44]

Grouping

Grouping in the first two grades was to be done according to age and ability and at the same time "to take into consideration the needs and interests of each group. It is absolutely essential that these principles of grouping be applied in each school in order that both the older and the younger pupils might be able to use their educational experience to the maximum degree,"[45] urged the curriculum guide. The average class size was not to exceed fifty pupils. For grades five and six the class size was to be between thirty-five and forty pupils.

Efficient use of space was recommended. As far as teachers with special skills were concerned they were to be "utilized in their special fields by the director of the school. Thus the school can more easily fulfil the entire programme of work."[46]

Use of Community Resources and Adapting the School Program to the Community

Here a new departure is noted. The curriculum guide stipulated that:

> A well-organized school is one which is set up for the community, and which works in harmony with the community. There are in each community people with certain skills who would perhaps be willing to give their services to the furtherance of education of the young...A man specially skilled in some craft might be willing to share his knowledge with a group of big boys; or a lady who is specially skilled in the art of cooking national dishes might be willing to help the girls in their home-making classes, or a man who can sing well and play one or more national instruments might be willing to teach this to children.
>
> It is the duty of the director to survey his district for all available resources. If he has good relationships with the community, he will undoubtedly be able to find resources which he can use.[47]

Further the school was to provide programs and activities in line with the principal occupation of the particular community where it is located. By bringing the school nearer to the community and vice versa the "headmaster can make his school's programme a living and effective part of the community development. At the same time he can give children the kind of educational experience which will make them more useful, happy and productive citizens."[48]

The New Program is Adopted Nationwide

Meanwhile the new curriculum was being tried out in the five selected schools, as indicated earlier in this chapter. Reports were submitted by the school director and teachers of each participating school. Almost all reports were in favor of the new program. And so the change was effected in most of the government primary schools.

As far as the secondary level was concerned, it was expected that by 1962-63 some of them would try it and, depending on a favorable outcome, it would be adopted by all secondary schools.[49] Meanwhile the existing practices would continue.

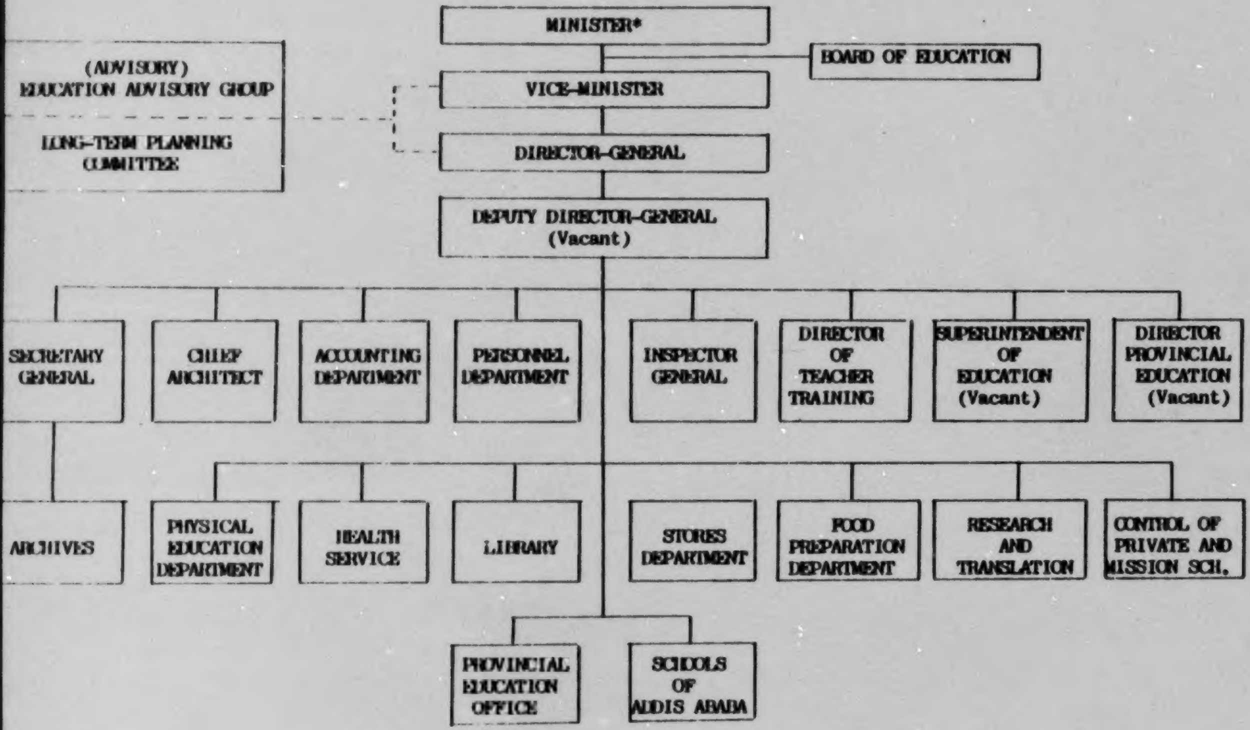
Organization, Administration and Supervision

The general setup of the ministry and its organization basically remained similar to what they were in the reconstruction decade. The emperor continued to retain the ministerial portfolio, and the vice-minister continued to carry out the day-to-day administrative transactions, while the national board of education provided guidelines regarding policy formation and implementation.

As time progressed through the period 1941-1951 some modifications in the organizational structure were made, but these changes seemed to have come as a result of natural growth rather than as deliberate, thought out changes to answer specific needs (see Chart 3).

CHART 3

PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND FINE ARTS, IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT


MINISTER*
BOARD OF EDUCATION
(ADVISORY) EDUCATION ADVISORY GROUP
LONG-TERM PLANNING COMMITTEE
VICE-MINISTER
DIRECTOR-GENERAL
DEPUTY DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Vacant)
SECRETARY GENERAL
CHIEF ARCHITECT
ACCOUNTING DEPARTMENT
PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT
INSPECTOR GENERAL
DIRECTOR OF TEACHER TRAINING
SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION (Vacant)
DIRECTOR PROVINCIAL EDUCATION (Vacant)
ARCHIVES
PHYSICAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
HEALTH SERVICE
LIBRARY
STORES DEPARTMENT
FOOD PREPARATION DEPARTMENT
RESEARCH AND TRANSLATION
CONTROL OF PRIVATE AND MISSION SCH.
PROVINCIAL EDUCATION OFFICE
SCHOOLS OF ADDIS ABABA

* His Imperial Majesty retains the Ministerial Portfolio.

Source: "Report on the Organization and Administration of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts." Oct. 1954, p. 11.

At this time the ministry commissioned an independent organization to make a thorough study of the whole structure of the administrative setup and the functions of each unit and subunit thereof vis-a-vis the continuing challenge to make more education available to more children with the available limited human and financial resources.[50]

The study appraised the existing setup and came up with some pointed criticisms. First it commended the achievements in education made over the past ten years. It stated:

> In getting underway the forces for the creation of a modern system of education, there has been recognition that to move too fast would be to endanger the tradition, customs, and national character of the nation. A completely centralized educational institution guided only by ideals of efficiency cannot be imposed. At the same time, in its race to achieve national recognition and to compete with other nations of the world on modern terms, the nation cannot await the development of a system through the evolutionary processes which have been common to most countries. Thus, the Ministry of Education, under the direct sponsorship of the Emperor, has been faced with a situation in which acute recognition of problems, careful and patient planning, and effective and well-timed steps have been required and have been much in evidence. The Ministry, in order to accomplish its objectives, must do things which are necessary to build the base for eduational development but which, in themselves, will not be permanent features of the system. For example, the Ministry must employ foreign teachers at considerable more expense than would be required to pay local teachers. At the same time, it is necessary for the Ministry to conduct widespread teacher training programmes to attempt to increase immediately the supply of better qualified Ethiopian teachers. Another essential expense is the boarding schools which are necessary in view of the lack of transportation. The use of English for subject matter teaching is another temporary, stop-gap arrangement that is required in the absence of trained Ethiopian teachers and Amharic language teaching materials...The organizational arrangements of the Ministry must necessarily take these requirements into account. That is, the Ministry needs to be organized to administer as effectively as possible the day-to-day activities for which it is responsible; it also needs to be organized to prepare itself to take over with trained local personnel the task of developing, on a continuous basis, a truly Ethiopian educational system.[51]

The report continued, "In several respects the Ministry is not at present orgnanized to accomplish in the most effective manner either of these objectives."[52] The ministry should aim to achieve the following objectives as more trained personnel and facilities become available:

1. Unity: Specialized educational programmes, such as agricultural and other technical education, should be integrated into the Ministry of Education.

2. Appropriate Staff Services: The staff and facilitative services—such as financial administration, personnel administration, research and planning and others—should be organized logically in a small number of divisions.

3. Assignment of Best Qualified Personnel into Positions of Major Responsibility: The most effective use of foreign personnel can be made in an advisory capacity. In order that the fullest advantage may be taken of the technical training possibilites, Ethiopian personnel should be assigned to positions within the regular organization of the Ministry as counterparts to technical advisors. Thus improved techniques can be integrated better within the total programme and more continuity provided.

4. Clear Channels of Authority and Accountability: The channels from the executive and his principal assistants to persons carrying out aspects of the edcuational programme should be universally understood.[53]

The report went on to add: "The present organization...does not provide the desirable characteristics set forth above."[54] Some of the defects of the existing organization were listed as follows:

1. The Vice-Minister and Director General are overburdened with details and the necessity of seeing visitors which prevent them from giving necessary time and attention to policy and planning matters.

2. There is not a single point of contact for provincial education officers or school directors with the central office, with the result that school directors must seek assistance from, and in turn are instructed by, many different central office units. Or, as is more frequently the case, they go directly to the Vice-Minister or Director General with all types of matters, many of them minor.

3. Certain necessary staff or facilitative services have not been established in the organization. Among the missing are budgetary, planning and research, and the necessary supervision and coordination of school maintenance.

4. The records system is quite inadequate; insufficient personnel and other records are maintained to furnish information which is required for planning and administering programmes. The archives system is not adopted for easy access by personnel who have the need to do so.

5. There has not been sufficient attention to developing organizational arrangements within the Ministry for the provision of continuous guidance and direction in the development of curricula, teaching materials, and other standards designed to raise the level of instruction. These specific deficiencies include:

   a) Insufficient attention to training Ethiopian personnel as supervisors and curriculum specialists.

   b) There are inadequate facilities for review and evaluation of programmes, and there are tendencies not to follow up on newly installed programmes in order to see that they are properly understood and followed.

c) Administrative processes have been encumbered by an overuse of committees and there is insufficient coordination of their work. The committee device has some usefulness in its presentation of opportunities to gain the advice and points of view of representative personnel within the educational system. The technical work in curricula development, preparation of teaching materials, and other aspects of developing technical phases of the educational programme cannot be done effectively by committees. They cannot spend sufficient time in staff work, they delay the implementing of day-to-day decisions, and they cannot provide sufficient continuity to programme administration.

6. The arrangements for selection and placement of teachers or students are inadequate and confused.[55]

The reporter pointed out that, in considering the organization arrangements, to correct existing deficiences trained personnel are needed to fill the important positions. But while acknowledging these constraints, it was necessary to look ahead and provide for the present and future. It reiterated once again that organization arrangements by themselves do not remedy deficiencies, but at least they provide the framework for the effective dynamic functioning of the various parts of the ministry.

"It is essential that Ethiopia make the maximum utilization of its resources, human and financial, in its efforts to build a modern educational system. In this respect organizational arrangements based on sound princeples and incorporating ways and means to obtain objectives are essential. The keystone in the development of the educational system is the Ministry of Education. The rate at which teachers are trained, teaching levels increased, school enrolment increased, additional facilities provided...depends more than anything else on how the Ministry of Education is organized and pursues its objectives. Investments in a stronger organization cannot but help to pay dividends."[56]

The recommended organization of the ministry is shown in Chart 4. Among other things it was intended to strengthen the operating programs, and to establish staff and facilitative services on a functional basis. The proposed plan also took recognition of the fact that organizational arrangements need to be adopted to actual program requirements and particular needs of the ministry.[57] The study and recommendation provided a detailed description of the functions of each unit and that of the head of each unit. It was the most thorough study and recommendation ever made of the that ministry to date. To what extent the document was accepted is not clear, but it was evident that although implementation did not materialize during our decade, some of the recommendations were put into effect in the following decade.

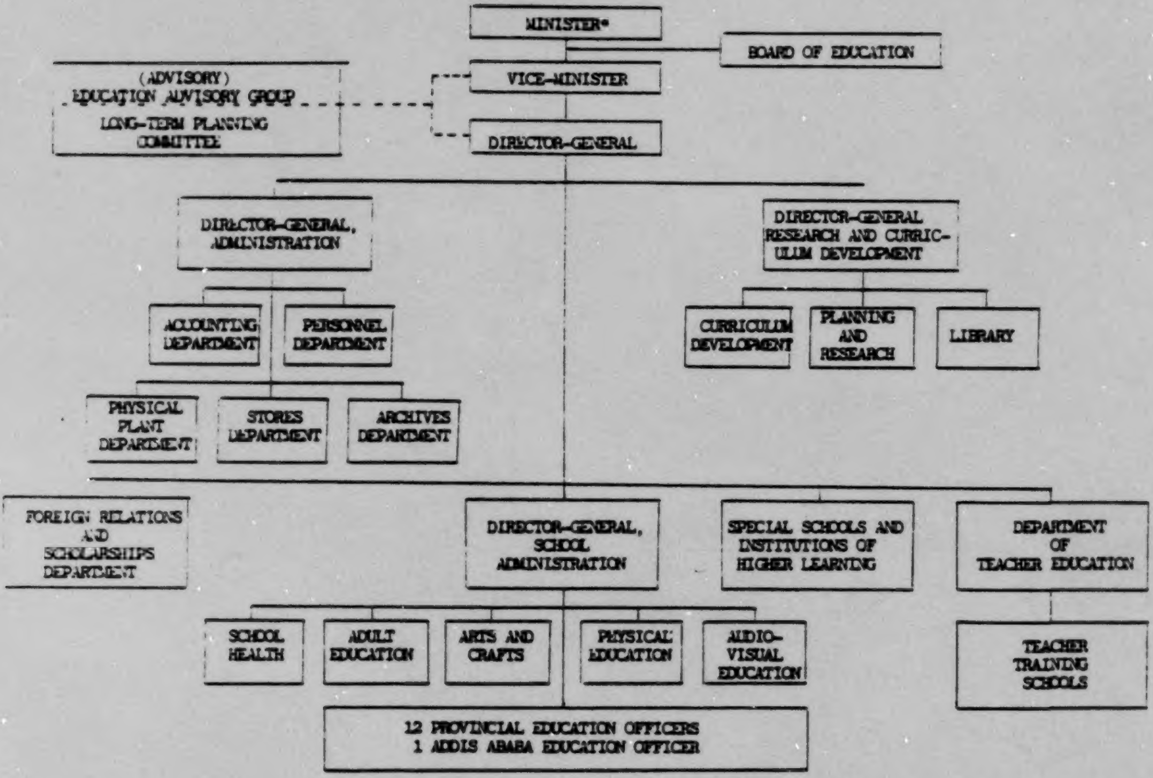
Supervision

In the ministry itself an office was established for school supervision. In the late 1940s that function was assumed by the director of teacher education, but later on it was an independent unit within the ministry. From this office school supervisors were sent out, mostly for the primary grades. As indicated in the chart the recommended organization provided for a provincial education officer for each of the twelve provinces and for the schools of Addis Ababa. This differed from the existing arrangement only in respect to the schools of the capital where in the past each individual headmaster had reported directly to the director general of the ministry.[58] However, finding trained administrators and supervisors at all levels still remained the greatest single obstacle.

Now we shall turn our attention to the particulars of the learning facilities.

CHART 4

RECOMMENDED ORGANIZATION OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND FINE ARTS IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT


MINISTER*
BOARD OF EDUCATION
(ADVISORY)
EDUCATION ADVISORY GROUP
LONG-TERM PLANNING COMMITTEE
VICE-MINISTER
DIRECTOR-GENERAL
DIRECTOR-GENERAL, ADMINISTRATION
DIRECTOR-GENERAL RESEARCH AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT
ACCOUNTING DEPARTMENT
PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT
CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT
PLANNING AND RESEARCH
LIBRARY
PHYSICAL PLANT DEPARTMENT
STORES DEPARTMENT
ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT
FOREIGN RELATIONS AND SCHOLARSHIPS DEPARTMENT
DIRECTOR-GENERAL, SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION
SPECIAL SCHOOLS AND INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING
DEPARTMENT OF TEACHER EDUCATION
SCHOOL HEALTH
ADULT EDUCATION
ARTS AND CRAFTS
PHYSICAL EDUCATION
AUDIO-VISUAL EDUCATION
TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS
12 PROVINCIAL EDUCATION OFFICERS
1 ADDIS ABABA EDUCATION OFFICER

* His Imperial Majesty retains the Ministerial Portfolio.

Source: "Report on the Organization and Administration of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts." October 1954, p. 25.

School Buildings and Equipment

School Buildings

The program of school construction and expansion in the 1950s continued at a relatively slower pace than during the reconstruction decade. But still, some new structures of varying size and quality were constructed, some old houses were converted into classrooms, and in other ways improvisation was the order of the day in school plant expansion.

The type of buildings provided for the schools also varied, those put up in the capital being different from those put up in the provinces. The former were more modern in structural design and esthetic values while those in the provinces were modest. Except in the provincial capitals, the buildings in the provinces were less impressive and made out of local materials and by local skills, in most instances. The records indicate that by and large the buildings put up in the provincial capitals were impressive.

More than in the previous decade, extensive expansion was undertaken to spread education in the provinces. This program proved very taxing and expensive. As a 1954 report of the ministry indicated "Building and construction works for the erection of new structures are retarded because of the enormous cost brought about by the problem of getting materials and men on the spot to erect new buildings."[60]

However, the establishment of a Department of Architecture in the ministry helped in the selection of school sites, drawing plans, and approving and supervising constructions.

When the system of education was reestablished after the war, as pointed out already, school children had to be housed, fed and clothed. Accordingly, a number of buildings had been put up to house boarders. Now, since the boarding system was being dismantled, some of the former buildings had to be converted to classroom use while new ones had to be erected to provide schooling opportunities to children within walking distance from home. Further, during our decade, at least one senior school was established in each of the capitals of the twelve provinces, whereas formerly there had only been one (in Harar). All these building ventures placed a heavy burden on the limited resources of the ministry. Yet the program of school construction had to go on. However, to the credit of the ministry's architecture department some of the buildings that were erected during this decade have withstood heavy wear and tear and are still in good shape. This was done, as might be recalled, against great opposition to building schools that looked like palaces. On the other hand, it is sad to witness today many a fine structure that was erected to house boarding students standing idle because converting these buildings to classrooms is costly.[61]

Summing up, it can be stated that investment in building construction continued but at a relatively diminished rate compared with the previous decade or in relation to the high rate of growth of the school system.

Equipment and library facilities were expanded during the decade. Commenting on this issue, the director of research and curriculum noted "Although the production of teaching and learning materials in 1956 and 1957 increased more than 50 percent beyond all educational materials ever produced at any one time in the history of Ethiopian education, still more modern and up-to-date materials need to be prepared and printed in sufficient quantity to serve not only the government schools but also church and private schools."[62]

Thus more teaching aids and facilities were produced but they were not enough to meet all needs. However, the equitable distribution of equipment, facilities and teaching aids was improved during this decade.

Teaching Staff

Qualifications of Existing Teaching Personnel

Since the restoration, finding qualified teachers in sufficient numbers for all schools at all levels in Ethiopia had been one of the most formidable problems. In fact there were only two categories of people, namely, national teachers who were untrained or inexperienced or both, and foreigners who in most cases were neither well trained nor aware of Ethiopian realities. The former were chosen on the dubious criteria of ability to read (some of them were able to write as well) and willingness to teach. As a result many unqualified people had been brought into the system, and although it was a necessary expedient at the time, it was very hard later on either to retain and use them or to lay them off when better qualified people were available (see the relevant section of the Reconstruction Period). Thus, this problem was to continue to plague the school system way into the seventies.

At the beginning of our decade, for instance, many of the elementary school teachers were unqualified, as Table 54 indicates. Out of the total number of 1,541 government elementary school teachers during the school year 1953-54, 814 or 53 percent, were classified as Amharic, arts and crafts or physical education teachers. What these terms meant were that the Amharic teachers were those that had a rudimentary knowledge of reading and writing, but for the rest of the teachers of that group the ability of reading and writing was not mandatory. Hence it might well be assumed that over half of the teaching force was made up of illiterates and semiliterates. Of the rest, 189, or 12 percent, were classified as having attained the equivalent of grades 1 to 4, 458, or about 30 percent, grade 5 to 7, 43, or 3 percent, had grade 8 education, and 37, or 2 percent, had the required preparation of grade 8 plus 1 year of teacher training. This was indeed a dismal situation.

The long-term planning committee of the ministry took note of the situation and made the following pertinent remarks: "It would be difficult to find anyone, anywhere, who had an interest in the education of children or in the building up of a sound eduational system, who would argue that teachers in the primary grades need less preparation than those who teach in the middle grades or that they can teach larger classes just as effectively. Yet that is exactly what is done in most countries. Ethiopia is exceptional in the sense that the average preparation of her primary school teachers is much lower and the size of the classes they teach is much larger"[63] (emphasis added). The grave situation in primary teachers' qualifications prompted the ministry to take action, action which, if overdue, would nevertheless rectify the situation.

Certification Requirements for Primary School Teachers

When the first systematic salary schedule, referred to in the preceding chapter, was developed in May and June of 1953, the Ministry of Education adopted a policy not to employ new teachers who had less than a completed eighth-grade education. In October

TABLE 54

PREPARATION OF GOVERNMENT PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS IN TERMS OF SCHOOL GRADES COMPLETED IN 1953-54

Teachers	Unclassified	Grades 1-4	Grades 5-7	Grade 8	Grade 8 Plus 1 Year Teacher Ed.	Total
Amharic Language	713	-	-	-	-	713
Arts and Crafts	37	-	-	-	-	37
Physical Education	64	-	-	-	-	64
Regular Classroom	-	189	458	43	37	727
Total	814	189	458	43	37	1431
Percent	52.7	12.3	29.7	2.8	2.5	100.0

1954 the long term planning committee approved the requirement that minimum preparation for regular primary school teachers should be the completion of the eighth grade plus one year of teacher education. Preparation requirements for physical education and arts and crafts teachers had not yet been decided upon but the direction of the general policy indicated that the completion of eight years of primary school plus one year of special teacher education should be the minimal requirement for teacher certification. The committee recognized that this minimal requirement was less than might be desired, but, "in view of the big job ahead in staffing Ethiopian schools with teachers who have at least this minimum level of preparation, it is all that may reasonably be expected in the years immediately ahead."[64]

Then the committee summarized its stipulation for primary school teaching certification in the following words. "The completion of grade eight plus (a) one year teacher preparation or (b) evidence of successful teaching experience over a period of at least one year should be the minimum requirement for the certification of new teachers to teach in primary school grades 1 through 4."[65]

While efforts were being made to upgrade certification requirements for new teachers, the problems connected with the low standard of preparation of the existing primary school techers were not forgotten.

The Upgrading of Inservice Primary School Teachers

The long term committee affirmed that Ethiopia was deeply indebted to the primary school teachers who had remained on the job under difficult and sometimes trying conditions. Even if there had been a sufficient number of teachers available at the time the new policy was brought into effect, fully qualified according to the recommended minimum certification requirements, it would have been an injustice to the members of the existing teaching force to terminate their teaching service. On the other hand, it was an injustice to children to have them taught by teachers whose education was at extremely low levels.[66]

It was therefore recommended that currently employed teachers should be given the opportunity, through directed study courses, individual study and in other ways yet to be devised under the inservice teacher education program, to demonstrate that they had achieved the equivalent of the minimum requirement of an eighth-grade education. There was to be a time limit set, by which time the teacher must meet the established minimum requirement for certification to teach. Six years was considered enough time for any teacher then employed in the primary schools to raise his level of education to the equivalent of completion of eighth-grade. This was also to apply to the special teachers of Amharic in that they should be required to demonstrate competence in the Amharic language and in the teaching of the language equivalent to that of native Amharic-speaking teachers who qualify as regular classroom teachers in the primary schools.[67]

If, on the other hand, there were some teachers who could not meet this minimum standard of preparation even after a period of six years, such teachers should be retired and granted a pension according to the provisions of a broad teacher retirement program, yet to be devised but involving financial contributions by both teachers and the government, which would provide for the retirement of teachers when they reached a specified age or became incapacitated for further satisfactory teaching service. In other words teachers then employed who did not meet the minimum certification requirements to teach in the primary schools were to be given at least six years, up to September 1961, in which to meet the minimum standards, after which date they might be retired at the discretion of the ministry.[68]

At the same time, more teachers for primary and secondary schools were to be prepared (1) to replace teachers who did not meet the minimum requirement for certification by September 1961, (2) to reduce class size and teaching load to the desired maximum, (3) to replace teachers who leave the profession by death, resignation, and the like (seventy-five annually at that time), (4) to replace teachers who were selected for preparation for teaching in the new schools for basic education, (5) to provide new teachers to complete the incomplete primary schools, and (6) to provide new teachers needed for the 1955 to 1965 planned expansion period.[69]

This policy by the ministry to upgrade the qualifications of primary school teachers was commendable. But implementing the policy was not an easy task in circumstances of continued pressure for admission by a larger number of children, which in turn sent the enrollment figures soaring. As a result, by the end of the decade, we find that a vast proportion of the teachers were still underqualified. A survey conducted in 1962 by the bureau of educational research and statistics of the ministry revealed that some 62.4 percent had only elementary education or lower, without any type of teacher training; about 13 percent had three to four years of teacher training; 16 percent had one year of teacher training at various entry levels, and 9 percent had some community teacher training at various entry levels.[70] In other words most of the teachers were teaching at grade levels beyond the level of training they themselves had had. At any rate, teacher training and recruitment continued throughout the decade, as we shall see in the following pages.

Teacher Training and Recruitment

The elementary teacher training program in Ethiopia was started with the help of the British council. Later additional help was obtained from Canada. Fortunately these two groups of people were devoted professionals and as a result teacher education started on the right note,[71] as we have observed already.

In 1952-53 the first teacher training school was transferred from Addis Ababa to Harar. In the following year two types of teacher training programs were started at Haile Selassie I Day School in Addis Ababa, one of eight plus four years, another of eight plus one (eight years in primary education followed either by four or one year of teacher training).

The demand for qualified teachers continued to mount and in 1956-57 the Majete Community Teaching Training School was opened under the sponsorhsip of UNESCO. The following year the Debre Berhan Community Teacher Training School under the auspices of USAID became operational also. (These last two schools were specifically designed to prepare special teachers for basic education as recommended by the long term planning committee). In 1958-59 a number of one-year teacher training programs were initiated by several of the senior secondary schools.

The variety and number of these teacher training institutions is shown in Table 55. In the column on the left of the table can be seen the number of students enrolled in the ten teacher training institutions over a period of eight years. The university college of Addis Ababa had already started to prepare secondary school teachers within Ethiopia. Three four-year teacher training schools were preparing teachers for the middle schools, while a one-year teacher training stream in Addis Ababa was training teachers to meet emergency situations. The other two professional and vocational secondary schools had also taken upon themselves some teacher training functions. The two community teacher training schools were producing specialized teachers for rural schools.

These institutes and colleges together had produced over three thousand teachers

TABLE 55

ENROLLMENT AND GRADUATION FROM TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTIONS
1960-61

	Number of Students Enrolled in Teacher Education Institutions by Year									Graduate Teachers by Year									
	1952 1953	1953 1954	1954 1955	1955 1956	1956 1957	1957 1958	1958 1959	1959 1960	Total	1952 1953	1953 1954	1954 1955	1955 1956	1956 1957	1957 1958	1958 1959	1959 1960	1960 1961	Total
Secondary School Teachers																			
University College - A.A.	-	-	-	25	46	47	71	95	284	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	16	18	54
Elementary School Teachers																			
4-Year Teacher Training - A.A.	-	52	87	59	106	170	180	239	893	-	52	87	49	9	9	9	25	27	267
4-Year Teacher Training - Harar	118	196	260	315	353	340	370	277	2229	30	25	47	62	69	59	80	96	128	596
4-Year Girls Teacher Training - A.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	114	145	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1-Year Teacher Training - A.A.	-	53	143	161	150	152	122	120	901	-	53	143	161	150	148	118	120	130	1023
Theological Teacher Training - A.A.	-	-	- -	-	-	40	41	43	124	-	-	-	-	-	40	-	-	43	83
Arts and Crafts Teacher Training - A.A.	-	29	30	30	30	37	13	19	188	-	29	30	30	30	34	-	-	8	161
Teacher Training - Asmara	-	-	-	-	-	-	79	47	126	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	30	50
Community Education																			
Community Development Workers Training - Majete	-	-	-	-	30	39	36	34	139	-	-	-	-	30	31	35	34	-	130
Community Teacher Training - Debre Berhan	-	-	-	-	84	189	206	160	639	-	-	-	-	84	189	206	160	-	639
Totals	118	330	520	590	799	1014	1149	1148	5668	30	159	307	302	372	510	468	471	384	3003

Sources: 1. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, School Census for Ethiopia 1960-1961, p. 22.

2. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Government, Mission, Private, Community and Church Schools 1959-1960, p. 22.

during a period of nine years, as can be observed in the right-hand column of the same table. This addition to the teaching force, although far from meeting requirements, was a commendable effort on the part of the ministry. Numbers alone do not, of course, tell the whole story; there is still the question of quality. But it would be safe to assume that after having gone through the kind of training then in existence, these graduates were much more qualified than had been possible up to that time. If the ministry were able to produce additional teachers at this rate and if it were able to retain them on the job, the future augured well for the supply of teachers.

Inservice Training Programs

Since the restoration, the Ministry of Education has realized the importance of upgrading teachers. Accordingly, efforts have been made to organize inservice teacher training to orient teachers to new methods or to introduce new curricula. Both short- and long-term programs have been organized, the former usually on an ad hoc basis with small select groups of teachers, and the latter designed to provide professional and academic programs for the upgrading of teachers. The shortage of funds, however, has always been a limiting factor in the number of courses that could be organized in any given year.[72] Nevertheless the inservice programs have contributed greatly to the upgrading of teachers and the enhancement of instruction. Through the combined efforts of preservice and inservice teacher training programs a relatively strong teaching force has been maintained in the school system.

The Total Teaching Force

Table 56 sets out the number of government school teachers by sex and nationality for the twelve provinces and Addis Ababa over a period of six years. Most of the foreigners were teaching at the postprimary levels while almost all the Ethiopians taught at the primary level, the latter being, not surprisingly, in the majority. The rate of increase from one year to the next was sluggish but steady.

Female teachers had already joined the force but their number in both the national and foreign categories remained very small.

As pointed out repeatedly, the Ethiopian government was not the only one that carried out the heavy responsibility of educational development in the country. There were the foreign mission societies, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and other private organizations conducting viable programs in the country. Table 57 indicates the actual number and percentage of teachers maintained by these organizations vis-a-vis the government school teachers.

In this table it can be observed that the government school teachers constituted sixty-nine percent of the total teaching force, followed by the mission school teachers with fourteen percent. The total of nongovernment school teachers comes to thirty-one percent, which is no small figure. However, the nongovernment organizations had most of their teachers at primary school level, which is still the trend today. It is also of interest to note the different proportions of female teachers in all categories. The female teachers represented eleven percent of the government, twenty-seven percent of

TABLE 56

A SIX YEAR STUDY OF GOVERNMENT SCHOOL TEACHERS IN THE 12 PROVINCES AND ADDIS ABABA 1955-56 TO 1960-61

PERIOD	12 Provinces						Addis Ababa						Empire Total						
	Ethiopians			Foreigners			Ethiopians			Foreigners			Ethiopians			Foreigners			Grand
	M	F	TOTAL	M	F	TOTAL	M	F	TOTAL	M	F	TOTAL	M	F	TOTAL	M	F	TOTAL	TOTAL
1955-56	1766	122	1888	125	38	163	365	74	439	176	86	262	2131	196	2327	301	124	425	2742
1956-57	2019	142	2161	121	36	157	390	80	470	226	93	319	2409	222	2646	347	129	476	3122
1957-58	2294	156	2450	143	47	190	481	95	576	224	101	325	2775	251	3026	367	148	515	3541
1958-59	2422	183	2605	172	43	215	605	166	771	273	113	386	3027	340	3376	445	156	601	3977
1959-60	2561	185	2746	157	34	191	643	146	789	228	99	327	3204	331	3535	385	133	518	4053
1960-61	2774	196	2970	171	33	204	624	160	784	247	88	335	3398	356	3754	418	121	539	4293

Sources: 1. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Government, Mission, Private, Community and Church Schools 1959-60, p. 2.

2. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, School Census for Ethiopia 1960-61, p. 11.

TABLE 57

NUMBER OF TEACHERS IN GOVERNMENT AND NONGOVERNMENT SCHOOLS IN 1960-61[1] BY SEX AND GRADE LEVELS TAUGHT

Level of Schools Taught	Government Schools	% of Total Sch.	Mission Schools	% of Total Sch.	Private Schools	% of Total Sch.	Commun. Schools	% of Total Sch.	Church[2] Schools	% of Total Sch.	Total All Schools	% of all Schools
Elementary and Secondary teachers	4657	68.9	942	13.9	648	9.6	232	3.2	282	4.2	6761	99.8
... of which females	493	–	250	–	281	–	3	–	3	–	1030	–
Higher Institution teachers	136	100.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	–
... of which females	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	298	100.0
Special Schools teachers	298	100.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	82	–
... of which females	82	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	82	–
All teachers	5091	–	942	13.1	648	9.0	232	3.2	282	3.9	7195	100.0
... of which females	581	70.8	250	–	281	–	3	–	3	–	1118	–

1. Including teachers in Eritrean schools.
2. Church schools following Ministry of Education Approved Curriculum.

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, School Census, 1960-61, p. 7.

the mission, forty-three percent of the private and only one percent of the church school teachers. Of the combined total, female teachers constituted sixteen percent. There is no apparent explanation for the fact that private schools employed more female teachers than the other categories.

The number of teachers graduating from the various training institutions annually, combined with those who had been going through the inservice training programs promised well for teacher requirements, and had this trend continued the problems of teacher shortage would have been minimized over the years. But, unfortunately, qualified teachers began to leave the teaching profession for other better paying positions in the country.

Teacher Wastage

A survey made by the Ministry of Education at the end of our decade (1960-61) of those teachers who had graduated over a period of nine years (1952-53 to 1960-61) revealed that of those who had graduated from the one-year teacher training programs twenty-three percent had left the profession, of the four year teacher graduates twenty-eight percent, of the community teacher training graduates forty-two percent and of the total graduates about thirty percent had left the teaching field. Of the whole group, the most stable ones seem to have been the graduates from the one year training program followed by graduates from the four year program. The largest attrition occurred among graduates from the community teacher training program. This last phenomenon is interesting in view of the fact that these were a group of teachers who were specially trained to work in the rural setting, and that the life of the training institutions was short. There must have been some identifiable reason for this exodus from the teaching service.

An analysis of reports on both the Majete and Debre Berhan Community Teacher Training Schools highlighted some of the reasons as follows: The entrance qualifications to these two schools were much lower than in the regular T.T.I.s (teacher training institute). The majority had entered at grade eight level for one or two years training, while some were admitted from grades four, five, six and seven levels. Later in the training period, when it was realized that the entry level was far too low, some were admitted at grade nine, ten and eleven levels and given one year of training. As academic standards reached were lower than those of the regular schools, the status of these teachers was viewed as inferior vis-a-vis the status of graduates from regular T.T.I.s. The additional fact that the curriculum of the community T.T.I. was weighted on the practical side confirmed the feeling. Teachers of this category consequently felt themselves to be second-class professionals and left.[74]

Secondly, since the academic standard they achieved was lower, they received a lower salary. Further, they were expected to teach in English when most of them had themselves only reached grade eight level. Thirdly, "many of the graduates found they were not always readily accepted by local rural communities and elders, owing to their relative youthfulness and inadequate educational background. Furthermore, their inexperience in coping with new and difficult situations coupled with their immaturity frequently compelled them to leave their jobs."[75]

However, the rate of wastage, in the teaching service, averaging as it did less than five percent annually, was not intolerable as such. What aggravated the situation was not the number so much as the quality of the teachers who left. Dr. Aklilu Habte, who made a study of the teacher wastage problem, observed that "Several school districts in the fourteen provinces visited by the writer characterize the teachers who leave their schools as active, responsible teachers, teachers who generally come forth with suggestions for the improvement of their schools. If those who leave teaching have the qualities ascribed to them by their directors, then the school system is being deprived of the members who are most likely to give useful service to the nation."[76]

According to this same source, the reasons given by the teachers who had already left the profession included in descending order of importance, economic hardship, unfavorable administrative setup, unfavorable working conditions in the schools, absence of further educational opportunities, difficulties in living and working in rural areas, feeling of being forgotten by educational authorities, indiscriminate recruitment to the teaching service, and the low social prestige accorded to teachers by government officials and local community members.

It is not surprising that economic factors headed the list of grievances. True enough, the other quasi-governmental and private organizations that these young people went to paid them much higher salaries than the Ministry of Edcuation.

Administrative inefficiency was given as another factor. Dr. Aklilu reports "Teachers seem to have lost all faith in the Ministry of Education and its officials, whether these officials are stationed in the central offices the provincial offices, the awrajas or the schools. The Ministry is described as the epitome of the 'Zemene Mesafint' Administration in Ethiopian History...a house full of lords, each one circulating memos to contradict and weaken the stand of the others."[77]

Dr. Aklilu continued "The Ministry is sometimes pictured as a remote island peopled with incompetent and corrupt clerks and administrators, whose sole preoccupation...besides coffee-drinking and gossip...is the devising of ways and means to oppress teachers."[78] Teachers also felt that the perceived oppression and suppression of teachers by central and local ministry officials increased with the distance a given school was located from Addis Ababa. Teachers felt that "they are looked upon as menials to be moved about at the whim of officials, transferred or punished indiscriminately as awraja and provincial education officers think fit."[79] Teachers felt that there was "too much favoritism based on family relationship, bribery, tribal affinity and the passing of derogative information to higher authorities."[80] Further, the teachers believed that the ministry had no way of identifying competent individuals from incompetent ones and they feared that they had no one to guard them from "exploitation, unfair treatment, unjustifiable mishandling by officials or unfair accusations by students and parents...Teachers feel they are fighting the world single-handed and it is not surprising that they prefer to work for employers who are likely to give them fair treatment."[81] Thus, as far as the teachers were concerned, they felt insecure and apprehensive of the job-related situation—material as well as psychological.

Unfavorable conditions were given as the third reason for leaving the teaching service. Under this category teachers listed the absence of teaching aids, chalkboards or a desk for the teacher. Classrooms were overcrowded, school directors (principals) assign teaching duties regardless of the teachers' qualifications; teachers were required to stick to preplanned, preprogrammed teaching requirements, regardless of the applicability of what they teach to children of different localities. Furthermore, it was pointed out, "School directors...are selected on the basis of every criterion except ability and professional qualification. This alone caused more teachers to resign in disgust."[82] More efforts had to be made not only in training quality teachers, but in retaining those on the job as well.

Secondary School Teachers

So far we have primarily considered elementary school teachers, those who can be prepared within the country. The secondary school teachers who taught in the 1950s were mostly foreigners, except a few Ethiopians temporarily retained as Amharic teachers. Thus in 1955 the Long-Term Planning Committee pointed out that as far as the secondary schools were concerned "Teacher supply...need not be considered as a controlling factor in the expansion of the academic secondary schools, since with very few exceptions all secondary school teachers, other than the teachers of the Amharic language, are foreigners. Dependence upon foreign teachers, of course, should be corrected as rapidly as equally qualified Ethiopian teachers become available to staff the academic secondary schools. In the meantime, increasing the number of foreign teachers presents no new problems except as it involves a heavier drain on the budget of the Ministry of Education as their number increases."[84]

In the mid-50s there were seventy-seven foreign teachers and school directors working in the academic secondary schools. Sixty-seven additional secondary school personnel were to be needed to staff the secondary schools through 1966 under the proposed expansion plan. With few exceptions these sixty-seven teachers would have to be recruited from abroad.[85] These exceptions were the Ethiopian teachers who would be trained at the University College of Addis Ababa and those who might return from abroad with secondary teaching diplomas. Aside from these rather limited efforts, little had been done. A concentrated effort in the direction of Ethiopian secondary school teacher production was to wait until the mid-1960s.

The Quality of Teachers

When we talk of teacher training we sometimes fall into the temptation of thinking in terms of numbers. Certainly putting enough teachers into the school system is desirable and there has not been an effective substitute for that. But equally, and perhaps more important, is the quality of teachers produced. The constant aim, of course, is to continuously imporve the quality of teachers through (1) maintaining a reasonably high academic standard of entry to a teacher training institute, (2) liberalizing the curriculum along more practical and functional lines, (3) concentrating upon developing a greater sense of responsibility and maturity of outlook among the trainees, and (4) introducing more professional training including involvement in community developmental projects.[86]

These long-term aims of teacher educators have been in the minds of those responsible for teacher training programs for our country. As a Ministry of Education publication already cited points out, "most African countries have departed from the old traditional colonial viewpoint that students with primary education are good enough to teach in the lowest of the primary grades...modern educational thought confirms that the youngest children should have the best teachers and not the worst, for it is in the lower classes that the academic foundation is laid, behaviour patterns are established, and disciplined study habits are taught."[87]

Amenities, working conditions and remuneration have an important bearing on the permanence of staffing. The general conditions should be such that people of good quality are attracted to the teaching service. Further, quality people can only be produced by quality staff who are up-to-date in their subjects and their pedagogy. To quote again a familiar source: "If the schools are to keep in touch with reality, teacher training must be in the forefront of progress, so that the youth of today can adapt themselves to the world of tomorrow. It is necessary too, to make a concerted effort to achieve one of the basic aims of teacher training, that is the development of high personal qualities."[88]

If we desire to bring up our children well, which we do, then we have to remember that

> ...personality and character grow in a healthy social climate. It is the responsibility of educators (and parents) to create this climate for students...If it is considered necessary to train children in independent thought, in habits of industry and intellectual integrity, then our

> teachers must possess these qualities in ample measure. And if we expect our schools to build character, then surely our teachers must be men and women of character. A Teacher Training Institute should be a place where men are trained and men are made. None but the best should be entrusted with the education and care of the children of Ethiopia. 'Remember you must be a man yourself before you train a man. You yourself must set the pattern he shall follow.'[89]

School Administrative Staff

The traditional criteria for selecting individuals to the position of school director (principal) included primarily that the individual be able to read and write, demonstrate some degree of leadership, have established seniority in the school, be loyal to the government and the state church, have some affiliation with or at least be in good standing with a government official, and possess some ability in manipulating individuals (teachers).

However, as the system of education expanded individuals chosen on these nebulous criteria were found wanting and a better system of indentifying and placing an individual in a leadership position had to be found. A partial solution was found when in 1945 the Ministry of Education established what was known as an "inspectorate system" using mainly expatriates. This system served the leadership for a while but later it was replaced by a better system.[90]

In a meeting of the provincial education officers held in 1950, it was resolved to begin to train Ethiopian school inspectors. Later a curriculum for the training program was drawn up. It included: (1) the inspection of the teaching of school subjects, (2) school record-keeping and report-writing, (3) school sanitation, (4) application of psychological principles in the classroom, and (5) how to organize field work. The training lasted for six months and by 1952 thirty-seven young educators had been graduated. From 1952-56 the training program was discontinued temporarily because a sufficient number of graduates had been produced.

After a four-year pause, the training program was resumed in 1956. However, at this juncture more actual or would-be school directors were brought into the program, which was primarily intended for school inspectors (supervisors). The new training scheme was conducted in Addis Ababa and lasted for one year. By 1960, 124 school directors and inspectors had been graduated.[91]

These educational leaders were, in the first instance, drawn from among the primary school teachers, whose academic background, as might be recalled, was very low. They therefore, lacked sufficient academic preparation and command of the English language (the medium of instruction) to be able to profit from the training programs. Meanwhile, classroom teachers were undergoing academic and professional training during the long rainy months and in a matter of a few years this group of teachers felt they had achieved a higher standard than the school directors and inspectors. This attitude created a problem whose solution was found in the 1960s when the administrative staff participated in a summer and one-year training program at university level.[92] In the meantime, this improvisation in the training of school directors and supervisors served well the immediate needs of the government school system for this kind of leadership.

Schools and Students

The number of schools and students had continued to increase during our decade. During this decade, more than at any previous time, nongovernment organizations accelerated their involvement in the development of Ethiopian education. By the close of the decade (1960-61), there were 1,100 schools of various levels in the empire, out of which 663 were government, 178 mission, 128 private, 55 church and 75 community schools. The total teaching force was 7,195, of whom 5,091 were in government, 942 in mission, 648 in private, 242 in church and 232 in community schools. Out of this total number, 1,118 or 15.5 percent were female teachers.[93]

The total number of students by 1960-61 was 251,150, of which 239,831 were in primary grades, 3,598 in special schools and 939 in higher institutions. About 75 percent of them were enrolled in government schools. Of the 251,150 students, 57,476, or 23 percent, were females. The higher grades had a much lower percentage of females than the lower. The mean size of a classroom unit in the primary schools was about 55 in the first grade, and lower (26 to 28) in the higher grades (grades 6 to 8).[94]

The total number of academic secondary schools had now reached 45 with 6,782 students, of whom 730 were females. The total number of special schools (vocational-technical and teacher training) was 32 with 3,598 students. The total enrollment in institutions of higher learning was 939.

Of the primary school pupils about thirteen percent were enrolled in the capital, twenty percent in schools in Eritrea and sixty-six percent in the thirteen provinces.[95] This is the statistical summary of the situation by the end of the consolidation and planned expansion era. Now let us look briefly at the details.

Enrollment

Table 58 sets out the government school enrollment pattern by grade level and sex for a period of ten years. For the year 1952-53 there were over 60,000 students enrolled in all government level schools at all levels. Out of this number 52,366 or 87 percent were in the lower primary grades (grades 1 to 4), 6,052 or 10 percent in the middle schools (grades 5 to 8), 1,612 or 3 percent in the academic and special secondary schools and only 100 or 0.2 percent were enrolled in institutions of higher education. This shows that the middle and secondary schools were not well attended, confirming the complaint made at the beginning of the decade that not enough candidates were being prepared to enter the higher education institutions. At all levels the number of female students was proportionately low, reaching an almost zero point at college level.

A glance at the same table for the next to last year of the decade 1960-61 shows that what had been the pattern in the early part of the decade still continued with some modifications. While the lower primary schools enrolled 87 percent of the total student body in 1952-53, in 1960-61 the percentage had been reduced to 75 percent. The enrollment of the middle grades had increased from 10 percent in 1952-53 to 18 percent in 1960-61, the academic secondary and special schools from 3 percent to 5 percent and that of higher education from 0.2 percent to 0.6 percent. These increases apparently reflect the recommendations of the Long-Term Planning Committee, and at any rate they indicate progress in the desired direction, although the magnitude of the change was small. The enrollment of female students during the decade showed a slight improvement, but was very insignificant at the higher grade levels.

Table 59 shows the progress (or lack of it) of student enrollment in government schools in relation to classroom and teacher availability for a period of ten years. In 1951-52 the number of schools is shown as 520, teachers as 1,375 and total enrollment as 50,000. (The source does not indicate whether the figures include all grade levels or not. Here it is taken to include the primary and secondary grades.) During the following year there occurred a decrease in the number of schools (13.5 percent), but the number of teachers increased by 12.3 percent and enrollment by 20 percent. The decrease in the

TABLE 58

ENROLLMENT IN THE FOUR DIVISIONS OF GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY SCHOOLS
1952/53 - 1961/62*

School Year	Primary Schools (Grades 1-4)					Middle Schools (Grades 5-8)					Academic Secondary & Special Schools					Institutes of Higher Education				
	Enrollment		% of Total Enrol.			Enrollment		% of Total Enrol.			Enrollment		% of Total Enrol.			Enrollment		% of Total Enrol.		
	M	F	M	F	Total	M	F	M	F	Total	M	F	M	F	Total	M	F	M	F	Total
1952-53	45307	6969	75.49	11.59	87.08	5416	637	9.00	1.06	10.06	1471	141	2.45	0.23	2.68	100	0	0.16	0	0.16
1953-54	52744	8505	74.33	11.99	86.32	6610	829	9.31	1.16	10.47	1923	202	2.71	0.28	2.99	142	0	2.20	0	2.20
1954-55	58846	10567	73.02	13.13	86.15	7556	842	9.37	1.04	10.41	2353	240	2.91	0.29	3.21	199	2	0.40	0	0.24
1955-56	66069	14397	69.43	15.12	84.55	9886	1269	10.38	1.33	11.71	2820	381	2.96	0.40	3.36	335	10	0.35	0.01	0.36
1956-57	80261	18446	68.03	15.63	83.66	12758	1760	10.81	1.49	12.30	3802	483	3.20	0.40	3.63	450	16	0.38	0.01	0.39
1957-58	88594	21524	65.65	15.95	81.60	16414	2452	12.16	1.81	13.98	4892	472	3.62	0.34	3.95	578	27	0.42	0.02	0.44
1958-59	88307	22953	61.76	16.05	77.81	20274	3453	14.18	2.41	16.59	6036	1201	4.22	0.84	5.06	716	44	0.50	0.03	0.56
1959-60	89896	26301	58.91	17.24	76.15	23307	4669	15.27	3.60	18.34	6771	871	4.40	0.57	4.98	778	49	0.51	0.03	0.54
1960-61	96271	28757	58.51	17.48	75.99	24855	5426	15.11	3.30	18.41	7136	1142	4.34	0.69	5.03	883	56	0.54	0.03	0.57
1961-62	95644	30092	56.57	17.80	74.37	26133	6809	15.46	4.03	19.49	8037	1385	4.75	0.82	5.57	919	49	0.54	0.03	0.57

*Eritrea not included; Her Imperial Majesty's Handicraft School and Princess Tenagne Worq School are included in the table (at least for 1960/61).

Source: School Census for Ethiopia, 1961-62, p. 20.

TABLE 59

NUMBER OF GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS, TEACHERS AND STUDENTS AND PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE IN 1951/52 - 1960/61 IN ETHIOPIA*

Year	Schools		Teachers		Students	
	Number	% Increase	Number	% Increase	Number	% Increase
1951-1952	520	-	1375	-	50000	-
1952-1953	450**	-13.46	1544	12.29	60131	20.26
1953-1954	455	1.11	1541	-0.19	70958	18.00
1954-1955	435	-4.39	2523	63.72	80625	13.62
1955-1956	453	4.13	2752	9.07	95026	17.86
1956-1957	469	3.53	3117	13.26	111832	17.68
1957-1958	501	6.82	3541	13.60	134715	20.46
1958-1959	484	-3.39	3927	10.90	140719	4.45
1959-1960	483	-0.20	4053	3.20	147876	5.08
1960-1961	492	1.86	4293	5.92	152884	3.38

*Eritrea is not included.

**Drop is due to the transfer of 98 schools from government to church administration.

Sources: Ethiopia Observer, vol. 5, no. 1, p. 66.
School Census for Ethiopia, 1960-61, pp. 10, 11 and 16.

number of schools could be due to the fact that the ministry continued to tranfer some of the schools to the church as occurred in the previous decade. Increases in the number of schools were inconsistent throughout the decade, sometimes even a decrease being rejected. This phenomenon cannot be explained.

On the other hand, the ministry went ahead in its recruitment of teachers, as these were available, in spite of the decrease in the number of schools. This increase in the number of teachers reached the sixty-four percent mark in 1954-55 after having recorded a decrease in 1953-54. The largest steady growth recorded, however, was in the number of students. This unevenness in the growth rate of schools, teachers and enrollment must have resulted in overcrowded conditions for students, at least in relation to the situaion in the previous decade.

Secondary Level Education

At the beginning of our decade the Long-Term Planning Committee had bemoaned the shortage of qualified secondary school students for entry into the various colleges. The First Five Year Development Plan had specifically pinpointed the need for middle level technicians to man the growing economy of the country. As might be recalled also, at the turn of the decade there were only about seven academic secondary schools, one commercial school and one technical school in the whole empire. Accordingly between 1953 and 1960 several academic and technical-vocational-professional schools were built.

Academic Secondary Schools

The Ministry of Educaton went ahead and built secondary schools. By 1960-61 there were some twenty-six schools that had some secondary education, eleven of them having the whole four year program through grade twelve. Out of this total, fourteen were located in the thirteen provinces and twelve in the capital. Furthermore two secondary schools were built in Eritrea through a subsidy by the federal government. In addition there were ten mission and seven private secondary schools in the country (see Table 60).

The growth rate, patterns of development and type and quality of nongovernment secondary schools varied and the ministry had no effective control over them. Therefore, their rate of emergence (and disappearance) probably had little to do with the national scheme for the development of second level education. But the twenty-eight secondary schools built and operated by the ministry itself spoke very well for the national effort in this direction and those who were associated with the effort deserve credit.

It was from the graduates of these schools that candidates had to be selected for entry to the colleges. Accordingly many more students went to these academic secondary schools because many more opportunities were offered in academic secondary schools than in vocational ones.

However, with the growth of secondary schools, academic standards were lowered instead of being raised, and this in turn resulted in an increased dropout rate. "It is...regretable, " notes Dr. Trudeau, "that the Ministry of Education went on building and opening new secondary schools but did not follow up with good staffing or good teaching facilities."[96] It would have been much better to have built fewer but larger secondary schools and staff and equip them adequately. As Trudeau continues, it would have been "much more economical and much more fruitful, academically speaking, if the Government had centered its efforts on the existing seven schools...Instead of that, the Government spread its forces very thin and very weak."[97]

One of the major problems confronting second level education was staffing. In 1953-54 over ninety percent of the secondary school teachers and administrators were

TABLE 60

NUMBER OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN ALL TYPES OF ACADEMIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS, CLASSROOM UNITS (Cu)

	Grade 9		Grade 10		Grade 11		Grade 12		Total	
	Stu.	Cu	Stu.	Cu	Stu.	Cu	Stu.	Cu	Stu.	Cu
GOVERNMENT SECONDARY SCHOOLS										
A. In the 13 Provinces										
1 Haile-Mariam Mamo (Debre-Berhan)	67	2	75	2	68	2	44	2	254	8
2 H.H. Haile Selassie I (Hagere Hiwot)	104	3	77	2	116	3	-	-	297	8
3 Atse Galawdios (Nazret)	136	4	97	3	-	-	-	-	233	7
4 Negus Tekle-Haimanot (Debre-Markos)	112	3	75	2	57	2	-	-	244	7
5 Haile Selassie I (Lekempt)	71	2	29	1	25	1	20	1	145	5
6 Ras Dergie (Assella)	87	3	85	3	61	2	-	-	233	8
7 Ras Desta (Yirga Alem)	56	2	16	1	13	1	-	-	85	4
8 Haile Selassie I (Gondar)	77	3	23	1	32	2	17	1	149	7
9 Yohannes IV (Makale)	70	2	35	1	82	3	-	-	187	6
10 Woizero Sehin (Dessie)	196	7	48	2	31	1	12	1	287	11
11 Dej. Wolde Mariam (Chencha)	24	1	12	1	12	1	-	-	48	3
12 Haile Selassie I (Gorie)	46	1	7	1	6	1	-	-	59	3
13 Miazia 27 (Jimma)	50	1	26	1	21	1	-	-	97	3
14 Medhane Alem (Harar)	215	6	92	3	101	4	42	2	450	15
Total for the 13 Provinces	1311	40	697	24	625	24	135	7	2768	95
B. In Addis Ababa										
15 Haile Selassie I Secondary	77	3	39	2	113	4	60	2	289	11
16 General Wingate	31	1	50	2	116	4	138	6	335	13
17 Empress Menen	91	3	60	3	73	3	15	1	239	10
18 Haile Selassie I Day School	23	1	38	2	36	2	13	1	110	6
19 Tafari Makonen	117	4	46	2	26	1	31	2	220	9
20 Medhane Alem Secondary	52	2	41	2	39	2	10	1	142	7
21 Medhane Alem Junior Secondary	93	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	93	3
22 Menelik II Secondary	88	3	59	3	47	3	36	2	230	11
23 Lycee Franco-Ethiopien	1)63	2	2)59	2	3)44	1	-	-	166	5
24 Asfaw Wosen	30	1	59	2	20	1	-	-	109	4
25 Shimelis Habte	56	2	42	1	67	2	-	-	165	5
26 Prince Makonen	69	2	49	2	-	-	-	-	118	4
Total for Addis Ababa	790	27	542	23	581	23	303	15	2216	88
C. Eritrea										
27 Haile Selassie I Secondary (Asmara)	207	7	77	3	46	2	36	2	366	14
28 Prince Makonen (Asmara)	101	3	113	3	51	2	11	1	276	9
Total for Eritrea	308	10	190	6	97	4	47	3	642	23
Total for all Govt. Secondary Schools	2409	77	1629	53	1303	51	485	25	5626	206
MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS										
1 Catholic Mission (Adigrat)	3	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	7	1
2 Bible Academy (Nazret)	27	1	16	1	-	-	-	-	43	2
3 Eth. Evangelical College (Debre Zeit)	40	1	25	1	19	1	23	1	107	4
4 Teacher Training Institute (Adwa)	22	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	1
5 Teacher Training Institute (Wollega)	9	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	1
6 Alliance Francais (Dire Dawa)	19	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	1
7 St. Joseph (Addis Ababa)	21	1	12	1	-	-	-	-	33	2
8 Nazareth School (Addis Ababa)	19	1	17	1	19	1	-	-	55	3
9 Bingham Academy (Addis Ababa)	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1
10 American Faith Mission (Decamare)	18	1	10	1	1	1	1	1	30	4
Total for Mission Secondary Schools	180	9	84	6	39	3	24	2	327	20
PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS										
1 German School (Addis Ababa)	12	1	6	1	6	1	-	-	24	3
2 Hellenic Community School	22	1	24	1	18	1	17	1	81	4
3 The English School	30	1	16	1	13	1	5	1	64	4
4 American Dependents School	22	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	1
5 Comboni College (Asmara)	91	3	50	2	25	1	22	1	188	7
6 F. Martini (Asmara)	24	1	22	1	20	1	26	2	92	5
7 Technical Institute (Asmara)	65	3	69	3	58	3	99	5	291	14
Total for Private Secondary Schools	266	11	187	9	140	8	169	10	762	38
CHURCH SCHOOLS										
1 Kidist Selassie (Addis Ababa)	14	1	20	1	18	1	15	1	67	4
Grand Total	2889	98	1720	69	1500	63	693	38	6782	268

1) = Grade 4 according to the grade-system used by the school
2) = Grade 3 according to the grade-system used by the school
3) = Grade 2 according to the grade-system used by the school

foreigners. The ten percent Ethiopians were primarily Amharic and Geez teachers. The Long-Term Committee had taken this situation into consideration when it made the Ethiopianization policy. But until the complete replacement of these foreigners, the ministry had to maintain its policy of hiring foreign teachers. As Trudeau bitterly laments:

> Instead, it (Ministry of Education) regretably neglected its foreign personnel policy. Salaries for foreigners remained low, housing facilities and other fringe benefits were poor, the relationship between the Ministry and its foreign personnel deteriorated, the selection of qualified and devoted foreign teachers was neglected. Year after year, a last minute trip by officials to foreign countries brought the urgently needed personnel, but it was a last minute selection. These teachers arrived in schools late in October or November, one or two months after the beginning of the academic year. They were handicapped from the start! Ethiopia saw good foreign teachers leave for other countries, often in Africa, where they were more respected and better rewarded.
>
> Beautiful plans for controlled expansion of secondary education became useless, because practice did not follow policies. Years that were supposed to be years of consolidation became years of weakening.[98]

The result of this neglect in the careful recruitment and maintenance of foreign teachers was a steady deterioration of the quality of secondary education as measured by the high rate of student dropout and failures in the Ethiopian School Leaving Examination. But the consequences of neglect went beyond this. Presently we will see that what was true for the academic secondary schools applied even more dramatically to the special secondary schools.

Special Secondary Education

This category of second level education consisted of the technical-vocational and teacher training institutes and has remained for a long time "the poor little brother of all the secondary school programmes".[99]

In 1953-54 there was one technical school for the whole empire with an enrollment of 225 students. Because of the serious shortage of skilled technicians, many private and quasi-governmental organizations were training their own employees. These schools, established to meet emergency needs, were more often than not poorly equipped and staffed.[100] The main responsibility for training the needed middle-level technicians for the growing economy of the country rested with the Ministry of Education.

Table 61 depicts the type and number of special second level schools, the enrollment, number of students, years and classrooms as they stood in 1960-61. Also in the table are included schools run by other governmental and nongovernmental agencies. The total number of students in these schools was 3,598, of which 752, or 20.9 percent, were females. The total number of classroom units given was 141.

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TABLE 61

NUMBER OF STUDENTS AND CLASSROOM UNITS IN THE SPECIAL* SCHOOLS BY GRADES
1960-61

Grade	I		II		III		IV		Total		Classroom Units				
Name and School Type	Total	of which female	Total	of which female	Total	of which female	Total	of which female	Total	of which female	I	II	III	IV	Total
Teacher Education															
Teacher Training (Harar)	-	-	73	-	45	-	130	-	248	-	-	3	2	5	10
4 Years Teacher Training (Addis Ababa)	116	2	81	1	37	-	27	5	261	8	3	2	1	1	7
Teacher Training School (Asmara)	-	-	-	-	19	1	30	-	49	1	-	-	1	2	3
4 Years Empress Menen Girls Teacher Training (Addis Ababa)	-	-	-	-	9	9	-	-	9	9	-	-	1	-	1
1 Year Teacher Training (Addis Ababa)	130	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	130	-	4	-	-	-	4
Community Development Workers Training Center (Majetie)	35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	-	1	-	-	-	1
Community Development Teacher Training Center (Debre-B.)	46	-	72	-	-	-	-	-	118	-	2	3	-	-	5
Theological Training Center (Addis Ababa)	-	-	43	-	-	-	-	-	43	-	-	1	-	-	1
H.S.I. Day School Directors and Inspectors Course (A.A.)	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	-	1	-	-	-	1
Arts and Crafts Teacher Training (Addis Ababa)	12	-	2	-	2	-	8	-	24	-	1	1	1	1	4
Total for Teacher Education	366	2	271	1	112	10	195	5	944	18	12	10	6	9	37
Commercial Education															
Commercial School (Addis Ababa)	143	42	84	28	78	16	67	14	372	100	3	2	2	2	9
Lycee Gebre Mariam, Commercial Section (Addis Ababa)	24	8	22	16	46	24	-	-	92	48	1	1	-	-	2
H.S.I. Day School, Commercial Section (Addis Ababa)	83	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	83	15	3	-	-	-	3
Total for Commercial Education	250	65	108	44	124	40	67	14	547	163	7	3	2	2	14
Technical and Vocational Education															
Technical School (Addis Ababa)	149	-	99	-	67	-	14	-	329	-	6	4	3	1	14
Technical Secondary (Debre-Zeit)	25	-	15	-	17	-	12	-	69	-	1	1	1	1	4
Civil Aviation Institute (Addis Ababa)	-	-	21	-	16	-	-	-	37	-	-	1	1	-	2
Tele-Institute Radio & Telephone Technicians (Addis Ababa)	-	-	34	-	-	-	-	-	34	-	-	2	-	-	2
Tele-Institute Radio & Telephone Operators (Addis Ababa)	67	47	-	-	-	-	-	-	67	47	4	-	-	-	4
Vocational Trade School (Asmara)	79	-	71	-	70	-	-	-	220	-	10	9	9	-	28
Total for Technical & Vocational Education	320	47	240	-	170	-	26	-	756	47	21	17	14	2	54
Public Health Education															
Red Cross School of Nursing (Addis Ababa)	-	-	14	14	13	13	-	-	27	27	-	1	1	-	2
Princess Tsehai Hospital Nurses Training (Addis Ababa)	9	9	6	6	14	14	-	-	29	29	1	1	1	-	3
Empress Zauditu Hospital Nurses Training (Addis Ababa)	9	6	9	5	-	-	5	2	23	13	1	1	-	1	3
Sanitarians Course (Gondar)	25	-	23	-	-	-	-	-	48	-	1	1	-	-	2
Community Nurse Training Center (Gondar)	24	24	15	15	18	18	-	-	57	57	1	1	1	-	3
Laboratory Technicians Course (Gondar)	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	1	-	-	-	1
Itegue Menen School of Nursing (Asmara)	33	22	2	2	-	-	-	-	35	24	1	1	-	-	2
Teferi Mekonnen Hospital Nurses Training Mission (Lekemt)	12	-	-	-	-	-	13	4	25	4	1	-	-	1	2
Total for Public Health Education	127	61	69	42	45	45	18	6	259	154	7	6	3	2	18
Agriculture Education															
Agriculture Technical School (Jimma)	52	-	50	-	49	-	46	-	197	-	2	2	2	2	8
Agriculture & Forestry (Hagere-Hiwot)	31	-	58	-	49	-	32	-	170	-	1	2	2	2	7
Total for Agriculture Education	83	-	108	-	93	-	78	-	367	-	3	4	4	4	15
Others															
Arts School (Addis Ababa)	12	-	7	1	15	-	-	-	34	1	1	1	1	-	3
P. Tenagne Worq School for Women - Adult Ed. (Addis Ababa)	101	101	26	26	-	-	-	-	127	127	-	-	-	-	-
Total	113	101	33	27	15	-	-	-	161	128	1	1	1	-	3
Total for all types of Special Schools listed above	1220	276	827	114	564	95	384	25	3034	510	51	41	30	19	141
Her Imperial Majesty's Handicraft School	No division by grades								564	752					
Grand Total									3598	752					

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* Special schools include technical, vocational and professional schools at the second level.

Further analysis of the date reveals that the number of schools and students was very low in comparison with the academic secondary schools and in relation to the demands of the national economy as shown in the First Five Year Development Plan. This fact can be explained primarily in terms of the cultural background of the society,[101] coupled with the government's inability or unwillingness, or both, to provide appropriate incentives. Thus Trudeau aptly summed it up: "In 1961-62, technical education was still a poor, undeveloped sector in the educational system, with less than a thousand students and about 10% of the overall secondary school enrollment. This situation was not encouraging, especially on the eve of an economic expansion drive."[102]

The number of graduates for most of the technical and vocational schools as shown in Table 62 over a four-year period was relatively small, considering the great need of the country as shown in the First Five Year Plan. This illustrates the problem that confronted the government authorities in their efforts to persuade young people to go to the nonacademic fields.

The Education of Women

The Ten-Year Plan of Education drawn up for the decade did not recommend specific measures regarding women's education, except a passing remark that commercial school girls were to be trained for secretarial jobs. Nevertheless female education was a serious weakness of the educational system and still is.[103] Mention was made earlier that at the beginning (1952-53) of the consolidation and planned expansion era women students constituted only 6,969 or 11.6 percent of the total school population in grades 1 to 4; 637 or 1.06 percent, of total school population in grades 5 to 8; 141 or 0.23 percent of the total school population in grades 9 to 12; 7,747 girls in all, or 12.8 percent of the total school population.[104]

Table 63 presents the percentage of girl students in government schools at all levels for a period of ten years. From the table it can be observed that at the first level there was a small but steady growth rate for female students throughout the decade until by 1961-62 it had reached 22 percent or almost double of what it had been in 1952-53. At the second and third level female students represented a very small percentage of the total school population throughout the ten-year period. Some progress was visible however.

Table 64 sets out the percentage of female students in the total nongovernment school population over a period of five years. (Almost all of the female students in this category were enrolled at the first level). On the whole there were more girls in the nongovernment than in the government schools. Within the nongovernment schools there were variations; the private school had the largest number of female students, followed by the mission, church, and community schools in that order. This is not surprising since the private and mission schools were operated by foreign, mostly Western, groups who had transferred the custom of coeducation to this country.

As far as the government system of education was concerned, it was still struggling to get free from the traditionally anti-female education. The problem was approached in two ways. First there was the trend that had been started in 1931 when the first girls' school (Itegue Menen School) was opened.

TABLE 62

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION GRADUATES

	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60
Commercial School	40	25	55	82
Technical School	33	66	69	189
Trade School	89	101	88	86
Agricultural School	65	72	79	85
Middle School Teachers	78	69	89	121
Nurses School	-	23	17	26
Public Health	-	-	29	33
Total	305	356	426	622

Source: Government Schools Enrolment, 1959-60, p. 23.

TABLE 63

ENROLLMENT OF GIRLS IN PERCENTAGES AT FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD LEVEL IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

Period	First Level	Second Level	Third Level
1952-53	12.65	0.23	0.00
1953-54	13.15	0.28	0.00
1954-55	14.17	0.29	0.00
1955-56	16.45	0.40	0.01
1956-57	17.12	0.40	0.01
1957-58	17.76	0.34	0.02
1958-59	18.46	0.84	0.03
1959-60	20.30	0.57	0.03
1960-61	20.78	0.69	0.03
1961-62	21.83	0.82	0.03

Sources: 1. School Census for Ethiopia, 1961-62, p. 20.
2. School Census for Ethiopia, 1960-61, p. 10.

TABLE 64

PERCENTAGE OF GIRLS ENROLLED IN NON-GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS AT THE FIRST LEVEL 1957/58 TO 1961/62

Year	Mission Schools	Private Schools	Church Schools	Community Schools
1957-58	25.8	33.4	10.2	8.9
1958-59	20.6	20.5	11.3	9.3
1959-60	37.1	33.0	10.4	15.0
1960-61	28.0	27.6	15.6	17.7
1961-62	30.2	32.9	17.6	14.7

Source: Christian Bjerkan, p. 249.

The 1947-49 Year Book stated: "Their Imperial Majesties have ... advised that henceforth, both boys and girls should be afforded equal educational opportunities, and plans are on foot to increase the enrollment of the latter."[105]

The second step in the education of girls was to provide learning opportunities in the same classrooms with boys. In 1950 a ministry report noted: "Coeducation is practically a new phase of Ethiopian education and is geared to the urgent needs of the hour."[106] Three years later in 1954 it was reported that out of a sample of thirty-six primary schools surveyed, thirty-one had gone coeducational. Of the rest, three were exclusively for boys and two for girls. The report added, "so far as the government primary schools are concerned, this situation constitutes a definite major shift."[107] The same report went on to add that three years earlier the emperor and empress had regarded this as a problem as far as general public education was concerned and that they had ordered the ministry to rectify the situation. Accordingly the ministry had sent out policy directives to all elementary schools to make equal educational opportunity available to girls on the same footing as boys.[108]

Taking all these factors into consideration, the progress made during our decade as shown in the two preceding tables was indeed encouraging. Additional progress in the same direction occurred during the 1960s, as we shall see.

Class Size

During the consolidation and planned expansion era, in spite of enrollment pressure, the mean class size as shown in Table 65 remained acceptable. For grade one, mean class size was between forty-nine and seventy while it was in the forties or less for all the other grades for the ten-year period. However, the figures mask the fact that in some parts of the country, especially in rural areas, extreme overcrowding occurred, while in the rest the size was moderate. Overcrowding was to be one of the main causes for student dropout, as we shall see.

Nongovernment Schools

Earlier in the present chapter it was indicated that in the 1950s the non-government organizations had resumed their educational activities after an interruption of nearly fifteen years. During this decade the church, the foreign missionary societies and other private organizations had already established at least some primary schools and had attracted quite a number of students to their schools.

Statistical data for the nongovernment schools for the period preceding 1957-58 are scanty and those available were lumped together under the general category of the nation's education system. Table 66 sets out the number of church, mission, private and community schools, teachers, students, mean school size (in terms of student population), student-teacher ratio and percentage of girl students. Of the four categories the missionary societies had the largest number of schools, teachers and students, followed by the private, the church and the community school systems in that order. As far as female students were concerned, there were 33.4 percent in the private, 25.8

TABLE 65

MEAN CLASS SIZE IN THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS
1952 - 1962*

Year	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6	Grade 7	Grade 8	All Grades 1-8
1952-53	49	27	21	18	15	15	13	12	29
1953-54	54	29	23	19	17	15	15	13	32
1954-55	57	30	23	21	17	15	15	14	33
1955-56	61	35	26	24	20	16	16	16	38
1956-57	70	44	32	28	25	23	13	21	42
1957-58	69	45	36	32	28	25	24	25	44
1958-59	68	44	37	32	29	27	26	28	43
1959-60	66	45	38	34	32	28	26	30	42
1960-61	65	46	39	35	32	30	27	29	43
1961-62	61	46	39	35	32	30	28	29	42

*Eritrea not included.

Source: School Census for Ethiopia, 1961-62, p.21.

TABLE 66

NUMBER OF NONGOVERNMENT SCHOOLS, STUDENTS, TEACHERS, MEAN SCHOOL SIZE STUDENT-TEACHER RATIO AND PERCENTAGES OF GIRLS ENROLLED AT THE FIRST LEVEL 1957/58 TO 1961/62

Type of School	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62
No. of Mission:					
Schools	92	72	150	180	185
Teachers	572	405	804	942	1074
Students	13189	9422	20949	24398	27096
Mean Sch. Size	149	131	146	135	146
Stud./Teacher Ratio	23	23	25	25	25
Percent of Girls	25.8	20.6	37.1	28.0	30.2
No. of Private:					
Schools	42	19	78	127	138
Teachers	209	52	557	648	745
Students	5820	1820	14790	20401	19570
Mean Sch. Size	136	95	198	160	141
Stud./Teacher Ratio	28	33	27	31	26
Percent of Girls	33.4	20.6	33.0	27.6	32.9
No. of Church:					
Schools	45	50	60	55	130
Teachers	170	185	180	282	369
Students	4260	4369	4389	7820	14680
Mean Sch. Size	95	87	73	142	113
Stud./Teacher Ratio	25	23	24	33	40
Percent of Girls	10.2	11.3	10.4	15.6	17.6
No. of Community*					
Schools	15	20	41	88	143
Teachers	65	72	136	232	408
Students	2165	2264	5095	11642	11869
Mean Sch. Size	144	112	124	132	125
Stud./Teacher Ratio	33.3	31.0	37.0	50.0	43.0
Percent of Girls	8.9	9.3	15.0	17.7	14.7

*'Community Schools" have been classified at times under government, at other times under nongovernment schools. Here they are listed under nongovernment.

Source: O. C. Bjerkan, Plans, Targets and Trends in Ethiopian Education, p. 314.

percent in the mission, 10 percent in the church and 9 percent in the community school systems. All in all these schools together constituted about ten percent of the total during the first half of the decade and about twenty-three percent towards the end of the decade. Although most of the nongovernment organizations' efforts were at the first level, the general contribution of these bodies towards the nation's educational efforts was considerable.

The government and nongovernment schools together achieved an impressive rate of growth from 1951-52 to 1961-62. Table 67 sets out the combined efforts in terms of enrollment over a period of ten years for grades 1 through 12. There it can be observed that, although the growth rates were not consistent in all years, there occurred real growth. However, as Table 68 shows, the growth rate of the nongovernment schools was the highest and this trend was to continue throughout the following decade. The task of educational development in the country is so tremendous that it was a wise policy to permit, and even encourage, these private organizations to participate as fully as possible in the endeavor.

Examinations and the Efficiency of the Educational System

In accordance with the existing policy of the ministry, each school administered periodical tests during the school year and a final one at the end of the year. Promotions from one grade to the next were based primarily on the results of these tests. In addition, upon completion of the eighth grade, students who desired to continue their education had to sit for a national examination, administered annually at a fixed time across the country by the Department of Tests and Measurements of the Ministry of Education. Table 69 shows that the number of candidates who sat for the eighth grade general examination each year for eleven years and the percentage of those who gained placement (passed) in the various secondary schools.

Three factors were considered by the ministry in setting "passing marks," namely, the number of places available in existing secondary schools, the budget available to run these schools, and the necessity to keep the standard of education at secondary level as high as possible.[108] Further, the passing mark fluctuated from year to year (as is apparent from the table) as the passing mark was shifted by officials.

The percentage of passes from 1954 through 1958 was between 64 and 80 percent. Thereafter it got smaller, perhaps reflecting the lack of proportionate expansion of educational facilities and personnel at the secondary level. The latter phenomenon was to create a bottleneck at the secondary level, as we shall see when we deal with the next decade.

The E.S.L.C. Examination

In the 1940s students who desired to further their education at the college level had to pass the London Matriculation Examination or its equivalent. In the 1950s the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination (E.S.L.C.E.) was instituted. For some time some matriculants continued to sit for both examinations but later on the E.S.L.C.E. became the main avenue that led to university admission. Table 70 sets out the total number enrolled in grade twelve , number registered, percentage of passes of those enrolled for the E.S.L.C.E.

TABLE 67

ALL GOVERNMENT AND NONGOVERNMENT PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS
1950-51 TO 1961-62

Grade Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
1950-51	26100	9500	6420	2880	1730	1180	860	680	550	280	90	80	50350
1951-52	29400	11000	6970	3510	2130	150	1020	800	650	330	160	110	57580
1952-53	32800	12800	7560	4450	2620	1910	1210	940	780	520	290	190	66076
1953-54	39400	14400	8760	4830	3190	2350	1540	1110	920	620	460	340	77920
1954-55	44600	16200	9830	5710	3590	2520	1770	1370	1410	630	500	310	88440
1955-56	49100	20100	11800	7490	4610	3130	2460	2090	1610	1030	540	340	104300
1956-57	63200	26000	15300	9340	6040	4360	2970	2600	2120	1270	820	520	134540
1957-58	70500	32200	21400	13400	8380	6050	4440	3780	2640	1610	980	670	166050
1958-59	69946	34047	25049	16968	10827	7768	6024	5222	3292	2099	1351	740	183333
1959-60	81958	40164	30637	21701	14314	10349	7489	7091	3707	2970	1944	1198	223522
1960-61	93052	46258	33234	24259	15694	11520	8366	7448	4027	2478	2063	1121	249520
1961-62	93772	50649	36495	25923	17695	12801	9505	8594	5024	3333	2063	1398	267253

Notes:
1. Grades 9-12 include general secondary, vacational-technical, and teacher training institutes.
2. In some years, small number of secondary school students were not identified by grade level on census forms. An estimate of their distribution has been included in these figures.
3. Figures for 1950-51 and 1951-52 are derived from trends apparent in subsequent years.
4. For the years 1952-53 to 1957-58 census figures for government and community schools only are available. These have been rounded off to provide approximate figures for enrollment in all schools.
5. Figures for 1958-59 to 1961-62 are actual enrollments as reported on census forms, subject to the minor adjustments implied by note (2).

Source: Planning and Programming Office, Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, I.E.G., April 1973.

TABLE 68

PERCENTAGE GROWTH OF ENROLLMENT AT THE FIRST LEVEL IN GOVERNMENT AND NONGOVERNMENT SCHOOLS 1957-62

Period	Government Schools	Percentage Growth 1957-58 Index Year	Nongovernment Schools	Percentage Growth 1957-58 Index Year
1957-58	128,979	-	15,438	-
1958-59	132,722	3.1	17,873	19.1
1959-60	138,978	8.2	45,223	201.4
1960-61	188,368	46.8	64,261	328.4
1961-62	195,618	52.3	79,225	428.1

Source: C. Bjerkan, "Plans, Targets and Trends in Ethiopian Education," p. 240.

TABLE 69

GRADE EIGHT GENERAL EXAMINATION RESULTS

Year	Total No. of Students Who Sat for Exam	No. Selected (passed)	Percentage Selected
1951	4,548	1,832	40.2
1952	6,678	2,749	41.0
1953	800	333	41.6
1954	1,000	800	80.0
1955	1,250	950	76.0
1956	1,900	1,433	75.4
1957	2,350	1,900	80.9
1958	3,891	2,520	64.8
1959	5,369	1,834	34.2
1960	6,884	2,749	39.9
1961	7,103	3,708	52.0

Note: Subjects examined are Amharic, English, mathematics, science and social studies.

Sources:
1. 1951 and 1952 were obtained from Government Schools Enrollment, 1959-60, p. 9.
2. Data for 1953-60 were taken from Education in Ethiopia, p. 21.
3. Data for 1961 were obtained from School Census, 1960-61, p. 23. All publications of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts.

TABLE 70

STUDENTS PASSING THE ESLCE
1951/52 TO 1961/62

Year	No. of Stu. Enrolled in Grade 12	Registered for ESLCE Exam	Percentage of Total Enrol. Reg. for ESLCE	No. of Stu. Passing ESLCE	Percentage Passes of Stu. Reg. for ESLCE	Percentage Passes of Total Enrol. in Grade 12
1951-52	138	83	60.1	63	75.9	45.6
1952-53	176	86	51.7	64	75.8	36.3
1953-54	313	105	33.5	73	70.0	23.3
1954-55	278	159	57.1	88	55.5	31.6
1955-56	310	163	52.5	103	63.2	33.2
1956-57	468	153	32.8	111	72.5	23.7
1957-58	606	317	52.6	197	62.2	32.5
1958-59	673	441	65.5	180	40.8	26.7
1959-60	917	412	44.9	168	40.7	18.3
1960-61	851	532	62.5	192	36.0	22.5
1961-62	1163	718	61.7	167	23.2	14.3

Sources: 1. O. C. Bjerkan, "Plans, Targets and Trends in Ethiopian Education," p. 222.

2. E. Trudeau, Higher Education in Ethiopia, pp. 16-19.

To begin with, slightly more than half registered for the examination. Of those examined from 1951 through 1958 from 62 to 75 percent passed. But thereafter there was a continued drop in the percentage of passes until by 1962 it was only 23 perent. The phenomenon can be understood better if one recalls that during these years the various colleges, and from 1961 on the Haile Selassie I University, were starving for qualified candidates. What was actually happening was that a little less than half of the twelfth grade students did not opt to sit for the exam and of those that did many failed. Some of the main reasons behind this unfortunate wastage of resources were those given earlier, namely that, while the ministry went ahead and built 28 or more secondary schools, it did not provide adequate qualified personnel, teaching materials and equipment.[110] This unfortunate occurrence was of course due primarily to poor management on the part of the ministry.

Thus far in this section we have dealt with the results of the two national examinations. These are only one way of measuring the efficiency of the education system. Unnecessary wastage of students occurred from grade one through university level.

The Holding Power of the Educational System

Indicators of the efficiency of an educational system include the number of learners that successfully pass general national examinations, the number who successfully complete and are promoted from one grade or level to the next, and their performance in life careers once they have graduated from the education system. While it is not always possible to evaluate the latter, it can be ascertained that in the case of success in examinations and in holding students within the system until coming to predetermined terminal points (graduation), our system of education had been doing very poorly. Although this problem was recognized by the Long-Term Planning Committee as early as 1952 or 1953, nothing much was done to lower student wastage to an acceptable level.

Table 71 sets out the holding power of the government primary and secondary schools (grades 1-12) for a span of nine years. Taking grade one as an index, the horizontal columns progressively indicate the magnitutde of student wastage for each of the nine years. Thus in 1952-53, of the total student body in grade one the previous year, only 44 percent were promoted to the second grade, two years later only 30 percent and so on until eight years later there were only 18 percent still in the system. The picture was even worse for the 1953-55 period for which we have complete information. Beginning in 1955-56 some improvements were noticeable but still the student wastage remained intolerably high.

At the second level of education, the picture was somewhat better, but still there continued to occur some wastage. As Table 72 indicates, about eighty-one percent of those in grade nine succeeded in getting promoted to grade ten and two years later fifty percent were promoted to grade eleven and eventually thirty-four percent made it to grade twelve, during the 1955-56 period. Throughout the seven-year period grade ten students averaged about eighty percent of grade nine students and grade eleven students were about fifty-three percent of the grade ten ones, only relatively small percentages reaching grade twelve.

TABLE 71

PUPILS IN GRADES 2-8 IN THE GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY SCHOOLS IN PERCENTAGE OF CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF PUPILS IN GRADE 1 CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF PREVIOUS YEARS*

Grades Year	1	2 1 Year Later	3 2 Years Later	4 3 Years Later	5 4 Years Later	6 5 Years Later	7 6 Years Later	8 7 Years Later
1952-53	100	43.8	29.9	22.8	18.4	16.9	16.0	18.0
1953-54	100	41.1	30.1	23.9	19.5	16.8	14.7	14.0
1954-55	100	44.9	34.2	27.4	21.3	17.9	14.5	14.9
1955-56	100	52.9	39.9	29.1	22.6	18.1	14.6	-
1956-57	100	50.9	37.0	27.7	20.7	16.4	-	-
1957-58	100	48.1	37.7	28.5	21.7	-	-	-
1958-59	100	52.0	40.7	32.8	-	-	-	-
1959-60	100	54.9	42.7	-	-	-	-	-
1960-61	100	54.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
1961-62	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

* Eritrea not included.

Source: School Census for Ethiopia 1961-62, p. 21.

TABLE 72

STUDENTS IN GRADES 10-12 OF THE GOVERNMENT ACADEMIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN PERCENTAGES OF CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN GRADE 9 CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF PREVIOUS YEARS[1]

Year in Grade 9	Grade 9	Grade 10 1 Year Later	Grade 11 2 Years Later	Grade 12 3 Years Later
1955-56	100	80.9	50.0	34.2
1956-57	100	72.7	55.9	35.9
1957-58	100	75.8	54.5	26.2
1958-59	100	88.9	61.9	35.5
1959-60	100	72.3	53.4	-
1960-61	100	84.2	-	-
1961-62	100	-	-	-

[1] Eritrea included.

Source: School Census for Ethiopia 1961-62, p. 21.

The amount of student wastage between grade 10 and 11 is too high but further investigation shows that it was not as bad as it looks on the surface. For during this period a number of secondary students were recruited to join thirteen or more different agencies to be trained as middle level technicians. This, of course does not negate the fact that student wastage was a major problem even at the secondary level.

Table 73 shows comparisons of student wastage of one grade, with the previous year for grades two to eight over a period of nine years. Table 74 shows the similar pattern at the secondary level. The wastage rate in all cases was much too much, even after making allowances for top offs.

Table 75 depicts the total pattern of student promotion and wastage rate for a ten-year period at all levels of the education system. In 1952-53 there were 29,821 in grade one, eight years later there were only 5,356 left, nine years later 3,147 and ten years later only 2,649, or 8.8 percent. At the secondary level, 705 students were in grade nine for the same year; four years later there were 310, or 44 percent, in grade 12. At the college level there were 57 students in the freshman year (grade 13); four years later there were only 18, or 32 percent.

These statistics taken together dramatize the fact that the government school system (for which we have some information) was working inefficiently and the fragile young system was suffering from an intolerably high mortality rate. The need to rectify the whole situation was overdue.

The high rate of student mortality was still more serious when one considers that early and frequent victims were female students and students in the rural areas.[111]

Reasons were adduced to account for student wastage. These included: distances small children had to travel to get to the nearest school, parents' conservatism regarding schooling for their children, language problems, inefficiency of the teaching staff, overage and underage learners, conflicting objectives of traditional and modern education, and family socioeconomic problems.[112]

Another major reason for high student wastage could have been the growing decrease of educational expenditure in comparison to the reconstruction era. During our decade we will shortly note that educational budgetary allocations did not match the fast expansion of the educational system.

Educational Finance and Legislation

Educational Finance

The Ethiopian government system of education is financed from three main sources, namely from the central treasury, education tax on rural lands, and economic and technical assistance from abroad.

TABLE 73

NUMBER OF STUDENTS WITH GOVERNMENT PRIMARY SCHOOLS GRADES 2-8 1951/52 - 1961/62 IN PERCENTAGES OF CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN THE PREVIOUS GRADE, PREVIOUS YEAR[1]

Grade Compared/ Years Compared	Gr. 2/ Gr. 1	Gr. 3/ Gr. 2	Gr. 4/ Gr. 3	Gr. 5/ Gr. 4	Gr. 6/ Gr. 5	Gr. 7/ Gr. 6	Gr. 8/ Gr. 7(2)
1952/53-1953/54	43.8	60.5	63.9	71.8	89.9	80.5	91.7
1953/54-1954/55	41.1	68.3	73.5	74.4	78.7	75.1	88.8
1954/55-1955/56	44.9	73.1	76.2	80.7	87.1	97.5	118.1
1955/56-1956/57	52.9	76.1	79.6	80.7	94.8	94.9	105.9
1956/57-1957/58	50.9	75.5	80.2	81.3	91.9	93.3	116.5
1957/58-1958/59	48.1	72.6	72.8	77.6	86.5	94.6	115.9
1958/59-1959/60	54.3	80.8	75.9	77.7	83.9	87.4	112.2
1959/60-1960/61	56.5	79.4	75.7	74.0	80.3	81.1	101.8
1960/61-1961/62	54.1	75.5	76.0	73.5	79.1	80.3	102.5

[1] Eritrea not included

(2) The high percentages in the comparison between grades 8 and 7 are due to the considerable number of repeaters in grade 8.

Source: School Census for Ethiopia, 1961-1962, p. 20.

TABLE 74

NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN THE GOVERNMENT ACADEMIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN PERCENTAGES OF CORRESPONDING N. IN THE PREVIOUS GRADE AND PREVIOUS YEARS[1]

Years Compared	Grade 10 Grade 9	Grade 11 Grade 10	Grade 12 Grade 11
1955/56-1956/57	80.9	73.0	66.8
1956/57-1957/58	72.3	61.8	63.6
1957/58-1958/59	75.8	77.3	68.3
1958/59-1959/60	88.9	71.9	64.1
1959/60-1960/61	72.3	69.6	48.1
1960/61-1961/62	84.2	79.9	63.4

[1] Eritrea not included.

Source: School Census for Ethiopia, 1961-1962, p. 21.

TABLE 75

A TEN YEAR PUPIL PROMOTION STUDY FOR THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

Grade	Primary Schools (Grades 1–4)				Primary Schools (Grades 5–8)				Academic Secondary & Special Schools				Institutions of Higher Learning				Total Enrollment
Year	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th	15th	16th	(2)
1952/53	29821	11645	6860	4040	2375	1734	1095	849	705	470	261	176	57	21	22	-	60131
1953/54	35844	13071	7950	4387	2901	2136	1397	1005	834	563	415	313	76	35	18	13	70958
1954/55	40671	14749	8930	5183	3266	2285	1606	1241	1283	576	456	278	96	55	39	11	80625
1955/56	44675	18229	10776	6806	4184	2845	2230	1896	1462	935	494	31[illegible]	187	91	49	18	95187
1956/57	52632	23619	13877	8579	5492	3965	2700	2361	1927	1150	740	468	179	167	79	41	117976
1957/58	54345	26795	17833	11135	6977	5045	3699	3145	2403	1466	889	606	254	616	136	51	135484
1958/59	50381	26165	19466	12983	8643	4775	4270	2997	1712	1185	673	318	172	143	143	127	140719
1959/60	52939	27348	21135	14766	10093	7256	5280	5356	2943	2342	1390	917	316	249	147	115	153262
1960/61	57403	29905	21718	16002	10923	8097	5886	5375	3147	1967	1681	792	356	263	183	137	164526
1961/62	55559	31039	22589	16513	11767	8640	6501	6034	4137	2649	1571	1065	377	301	202	170	167821

(1) Eritrea not included.

(2) Her Imperial Majesty Handicraft School and Princess Tenagne Worq School included only in the total in Table.

Source: School Census for Ethiopia, 1961-62, p. 20.

TABLE 76

NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL EXPENDITURES DURING SELECTED YEARS
(IN THOUSANDS ETH. $)

	Expenditures			Approved Budget	Percentage Increase of Expenditure of 1953-54 over 1948-49	
	1948-1949	1952-1953	1953-1954	1953-1954	5-Year Period	Avg. Annual Increase
Provincial Funds						
Provincial Elementary Education & Administration	3,078	4,343	4,111	5,453	33%	6.1%
National Funds						
Elementary Education						
(a) in the provinces	-	122	93	-	-	-
(b) in Addis Ababa	2,593	2,062	2,641	2,785	2%	0.4%
Post Elementary Schools*	1,645	1,936	2,559	4,677	56%	11.2%
Foreign Study	667	633	748	750	12%	2.4%
Ministry & Miscellaneous Expenditures	445	426	642	798	44%	8.8%
Total National Funds	5,350	5,179	6,683	9,010	25%	5.0%
Total National and Provincial Funds Expended	8,428	9,522	10,794	14,463	28%	5.6%

* This item does not include University College, the Handicraft School and Agricultural Schools.

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Controlled Expansion of Education, Appendix facing page 10.

TABLE 77

PROVINCIAL EDUCATION TAX REVENUES, EXPENDITURES AND BALANCES DURING SELECTED YEARS
(IN THOUSANDS OF ETH. $)

Provinces	1948-49		1952-53		1953-54		Balances Beginning 1952-53
	Revenues	Expend.	Revenues	Expend.	Revenues	Expend.	
Shoa	1.027	767	1,018	1,035	600	863	292
Arussi	360	314	457	323	334	272	860
Gojjam	201	94	295	420	300	260	305
Sidamo	319	196	368	421	349	549	146
Begemeder	326	251	853	369	74	3822	340
Wollo	670	269	832	378	200	391	340
Harar	455	404	573	377	265	428	465
Wollega	211	224	365	358[1]	252	220	132
Tigre	175	188	331	164	221	243	161
Kaffa	287	141	284	186	231	226	271
Illubabor	149	177	171	256[2]	151	275[3]	41
Gemu Gofa	145	52	78	178	294	113	286

[1] This inculudes an allocation of $14,000 from the National Treasury.

[2] This includes an allocation of $108,000 from the National Treasury.

[3] This includes an allocation of $92,700 from the National Treasury.

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Controlled Expansion of Education, Appendix facing page 10.

During our decade the operation and administration of elementary schools in the provinces were financed by the education tax on rural land, the rate of which was approximately thirty percent of the general land tax. This tax was established in 1947. All other education facilities and programs, including elementary education in Addis Ababa, were financed by allocations from the National Treasury, derived from general tax revenue. Table 76 shows the national and provincial education expenditures for major education programs during 1948-49 (the first year of representative education tax collections), 1952-53 and 1953-54. During the five-year period, total national and provincial education expenditures increased by twenty-eight percent. The increase in provincial fund expenditures of twenty-five percent. The sharpest increase occurred in national fund expenditures for schools above the elementary level; fifty-six percent. During these last five years the provincial and national divisions of financial support remained close to a forty to sixty ratio. During this same period the proportion of funds devoted to elementary education, both in Addis Ababa and in the provinces, declined, with a corresponding increase in the proportion of funds devoted to education above the elementary level. During the last few years since the establishment of the education tax, the national share of education finance decreased.[113]

The education tax collected could be spent only for provincial elementary education purposes in the provinces of collection. This dedication of revenue and the widely varying capacity of provinces to produce tax revenue had already resulted in great differences in the financial position of the several provinces. Table 77 indicates provincial education revenue and expenditures for selected years. As can be seen at a glance, the size of provincial balances varied from as much as the sum of several years' total expenditure, as in the case of Arussi and Gemu Gofa, to a small fraction of annual expenditures as in the case of Shoa, Sidamo and Illubabor. In fact in the case of Illubabor, substantial allocations of general revenue funds from the National Treasury were necessary during the last two fiscal periods.[114]

Although promising at first, the dedicated education tax became increasingly inadequate. This tax was based on rural lands and it remained static for the rest of the decade. As indicated in Table 78, for a period of six years between 1956 and 1961, it increased by only a small amount.

Table 78

Rural Land Tax Dedicated to Provincial Education (millions of Eth. $s)

Years	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62
Amount of Tax	4.6	4.5	4.6	4.0	4.9	5.0

Source: Statistical Abstract, 1964, p. 127.

TABLE 79

EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURES BY THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
1951-1962

Year	Head Office & Addis Ab Schools	Provinces	Total	Percent of Increase
1951-52	5,201,735	4,070,222	9,271,951	-
1952-53	6,098,859	4,206,725	10,305,583	11.14
1953-54	5,549,368	4,910,760	10,460,129	14.99
1954-55	7,724,415	4,803,167	12,527,582	19.76
1955-56	9,295,109	5,595,449	14,890,558	18.86
1956-57	10,205,757	6,191,596	16,397,353	10.11
1957-58	8,393,444	7,199,433	15,592,877	-49.06
1958-59	11,573,785	6,451,752	18,025,537	15.60
1959-60	12,546,002	9,564,933	22,110,936	22.66
1960-61	8,395,779	6,448,006	14,843,786	-34.67
1961-62	10,204,727	9,153,090	19,357,818	30.41

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Physical Planning Section, April 1972.

Note: 1. The amount of budgetary expenditures for the years covered vary from one source to the next. Those published by the Ministry in 1961 in Ethiopian Education, p. 17 are slightly different from those given in this table. Other sources in Ethiopia Observer, vol. V, no. 1, p. 71 and Germa Amare, "Education and the Conflict of Values," p. 101, give still different amounts. For our purpose here we have retained the figures given in the present table because the source was found internally consistent with other criteria such as records included of usage of the Maria Theresa Dollars, East African Shillings and the Italian Lire in the early years after the Liberation.

2. The figures given were actual expenditures and reflect only expenditures for primary and secondary levels, operated by the Ministry of Education. They do not show expenditures on higher education, grants to community schools or to Eritrea, nor do they include expenditures on technical and vocational schools operated by other ministries of the Ethiopian government. Thus the figures given here are intended to illustrate the patterns of budgetary allocation among the urban and rural areas.

After reviewing the financial disparity of the various provinces and the need to extend equal opportunity to all children of the nation, an expert appointed by the Long-Term Committee recommended:

"At the present levels of provincial collections and expenditures for education, it is increasingly imperative that the National Government develop some measures designed to equalize provincial education development or to provide sufficient financial support to assure at least a minimum expansion programme in provinces of low financial potential."[115] Indeed the Committee itself recommended that some form of equalization plan should be instituted.[116]

The problem of financial and educational disparity was fully recognized in the First Five Year Plan. The document noted: "An examination of the financial position of all provinces shows that some provinces are less favourably placed than others. Hence the system of financing has created an inequality of educational opportunity among the provinces which will be more and more marked in future years.

"Urban property owners do not contribute to the cost of elementary education in spite of the fact that their children are the main beneficiaries since schools tend to be established in urban areas."[117] Unfortunately, recognition of the problem was not followed by action. For a long time to come, indeed up to the present, disparity in educational opportunity remained a formidable problem.

Table 79 indicates the pattern of provincial and national budgetary expenditures for a period of eleven years. As stated, the table does not provide a complete picture of the educational outlays as far as finance was concerned, but it does show the trends. Throughout the period the ministry headquaters and the Addis Ababa schools had claimed the major share of the education dollars. The budgetary increase for the twelve provinces, where over ninety percent of the people lived, were less than the others, but small increases were noticeable throughout the period.

The percentage increases in budgetary expenditures for all education programs also fluctuated. Small increases occurred during the first five years, but there was a drop from 19 percent in 1955-56 to 10 percent in 1956-57. The largest decrease (49%) occurred in 1957-58. In 1959-60 a substantial increase (23%) was made only to be lost during the following year. There is no apparent explanation for these phenomena.

Table 80 indicates that as the years progressed expenditure per student at grade school level continued to decline. With this, it was most likely, that the quality of education in the education system deteriorated accordingly.

Table 80
Expenditures per Pupil
(not including technical assistance)

1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62
170	150	150	157	140	115	130	144	90	110	97

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, "Education Growth: the Hope We Have in Education, the Support We Give to Education" (unpublished confidential paper in Amharic drawn up by the Ministry, Addis Ababa, Nehase 20, 1956), p. 17.

The nation's general commitment to education as indicated by the amount of money devoted to it is shown in Table 81. (The figures given in this table do not correspond with those of the previous table for reasons explained at the bottom of the respective tables.) There a comparison is made between total government expenditures and expenditures on education. For the ten year period the mean percentage was about ten percent. This was indeed a small amount considering the fact that education was the major development target of the nation. But perhaps there were some other budgetary expenditures not accounted for in the official statistics.

Taking all factors together, it seems that the public system of Ethiopian education, which was and is the largest system in Ethiopia, was beset by shortages of resources, the major one being financial resources, urban and rural communities, the latter being always short-changed. Although responsible officials took cognizance of these inequities, nothing much was done to rectify the imbalances.

Legislation

There was less new legislation affecting education during the consolidation and expansion era than in the previous decade. But one of the two laws that was brought forth during this decade was an unprecedented one in the annals of our history. This was the Revised Constitution of 1955.

The Revised Constitution of Ethiopia

The emperor had declared on 16 July 1931 that "in the past the Ethiopian people, completely isolated from the rest of the world and unable to benefit by the great currents of modern civilization, were in a backward state which justified their sovereigns in ruling over them as a good father guides his children."[118] But, continued the Emperor, "sufficient progress had been made which warranted the granting of the first Constitution in 1931. As might be recalled that was just four years before war was declared on Ethiopia and the

TABLE 81

EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION AS PERCENTAGE OF NATIONAL EXPENDITURES 1951/52 TO 1960/61 (ETH. $)

Year	Actual National Budgetary Expend.	Expenditure on Education	Percent
1951-52	84,413,000	9,592,000	11.42
1952-53	103,119,000	10,055,000	9.75
1953-54	112,300,000	10,600,000	9.44
1954-55	122,700,000	10,700,000	8.72
1955-56	124,800,000	13,900,000	11.14
1956-57	144,900,000	15,500,000	10.70
1957-58	175,500,000	17,100,000	9.74
1958-59	197,800,000	19,400,000	9.81
1959-60	216,340,000	20,917,000	9.67
1960-61	224,593,000	23,794,000	10.59

Sources: 1. "Education Report," Ethiopia Observer, vol. V, no. 1, p. 71.

2. Germa Amare, "Education and the Conflict of Values in Ethiopia," April 1964, p. 101.

Notes: Although the sources do not indicate so, the expenditures given in the table on education most likely include all levels of education (first, second and third) as well as some grants to Eritrean and community schools.

new instrument of modernization had not been given enough time to make any appreciable impact on the national scene.

The restored government in 1941 upheld the 1931 constitution and it provided the needed legal framework during the reconstruction and improvisation era. But it was already apparent by the 1950s, and especially so since Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia in 1952, that a new and modern constitution was needed that could accommodate the needs of changed times.

The emperor declared: As our Empire grew and flourished, it became apparent that the Constitution of 1930 no longer responded adequately to the needs of our people. Accordingly ... We promulgated the Revised Constitution ..."[119] It took about six years, but eventually, on 4 November 1955, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the emperor's coronation, the Revised Constitution was promulgated.

Here we have time only to touch upon those articles or clauses that have specific implications for education. Article 38 specifies that there shall be no discrimination amongst Ethiopian subjects with respect to the enjoyment of all civil rights. Article 40 stipulates that there shall be no interference with the exercise of the rites of any religion or creed by residents of the empire. Freedom of speech and of the press is guaranteed in Article 41. Articles 45 and 47 guarantee the right to assemble peaceably and the right to travel within the empire and to change domicile therein. Article 47 states that the Ethiopian subject has the right to engage in any occupation and to that end to form or join associations. Article 48, "the Ethiopian family, as the source of the maintenance and development of the Empire and the primary basis of education and social harmony, is under the special protection of the law." In Articles 61 and 64 Ethiopians are guaranteed exemption from unlawful searches and seizures and have the right to suffrage. Theses rights are qualified by Article 65 which states: "Respect for the rights and freedoms of others, and the requirements of public order and the general welfare, shall alone justify any limitations upon the rights guaranteed in the foregoing articles..."

Another gain for education under the constitution was that the minister of education by implication be made a member of the cabinet on equal terms with other cabinet members.

Universal Education

The desire for universal education in Ethiopia has been frequently expressed in this century. As might be recalled, Empress Zewditu promulgated a law requiring all citizens under a certain age limit to acquire the ability to read and write. In 1947 the emperor ordered the formulation of a policy that would lead progressively toward universal education. The Long-Term Planning Committee recommended a policy of universal education within a short period of time. The community schools established in the 1940s and 1950s were intended to lead towards this cherished goals.

In 1955 there appeared, in the Amharic newspapers only, the text of an official notice (unnumbered) regarding the necessity for all persons to acquire fundamental education. The notice stated that all boys and girls between the ages of seven and eighteen should receive at least elementary education, which would be available free at government schools, parents and guardians having obligations in respect of all children under their care. Illiterate persons between the ages of eighteen and fifty were instructed to acquire, in their spare time, a knowledge of Amharic reading and writing. The clergy were especially to assist in this matter. All employers, whether heads of government departments of private individuals, were to provide the necessary learning facilities for their employees. And finally the minister of education was assigned the responsibility for formulating the necessary program and ensuring the proper working of the scheme.[120] This scheme, since it was not published in the Negarit Gazetta, fell short of becoming a national law. Still, it generated healthy discussion among various groups of Ethiopians and it still does.

This same wish was to be expressed in the 1961 Conference of African States where Ethiopia, along with other African countries, pledged to make primary education available to one-hundred percent of Ethiopian children. It was later dropped. The 1972 Education Sector Review, organized by the Ministry of Education, declared that primary education should be available to all within 27 to 30 years (by 1999) or sooner.

Thus the Revised Constitution of 1955 and the universal education declaration of the same year might be considered as the two main laws (The Notice on Universal Education was never legally binding, since it was not published in the official gazetta, the Negarit Gazetta.) that gave a modern framework to the development of education during our decade.

These last two chapters covered the past:

What of the Future?

After the end of World War II the period of reconstruction and urgent improvisation gave way to one of consolidation and planned expansion (1951-52 to 1961-62). At the beginning of this era inventories were taken of past achievements and shortcomings in the development of education. The Long-Term Planning Committee of the ministry made extensive assessments of past performances and made, in many respects, dynamic and innovative approaches to the evaluation of the education system. It recommended balanced development among the primary and post primary schools, the equalization of education opportunities among the various provinces and between the urban and rural areas, and went on record as supporting the concept of fundamental education for all Ethiopian children. Renovation and Ethiopianization of staff and teaching materials were proposed and continued research in the preparation and production of teaching materials and methods was envisaged.

The Long-Term Committee's work was followed by the First Five Year Development Plan, which covered a wider spectrum of national development schemes. This was indeed a period of bold innovation as far as planning went. But most of the plans, unfortunately, remained on paper, even the parts that were endorsed by the National Board of Education. The few that were tried, such as the community schools, fizzled out before long primarily for lack of commitment and perserverance on the part of those who were put in charge of such programs.

But the era was not without dramatic progress in the area of educational out-lays and enrollments. The government system joined hands with the nongovernment organizations in the endeavor of educational development. Writing towards the end of our era the director of the ministry's research and Curriculum Development noted:

"In spite of some planning defects, the advance hitherto made in the sphere of educational development must be regarded as one of the solid achievements of the post-liberation period. This remarkable pace of educational expenditure, one presumes, must have been the result of a recognition, not that a poor country cannot afford education, but that a poor country cannot afford to do without it."[121] Now, What of the future? The author just cited continued to list seven of what he considered to be the most urgent needs of education of the day and the immediate future. These were: (1) the need for the formulation of broad, sound and realistic Long-Term Planning that could be implemented and continously evaluated; (2) the need for a sufficiently coordinated and efficiently managed administration which could make decisions rightly and with dispatch; an administration that thinks in terms of human education, utilizes the talents for which it pays, and facilitates learning; (3) the need to educate more and better teachers and then hold them on the job; (4) the need for the preparation of more modern, relevant and up-to-date learning materials in sufficient quantity for all schools at all levels; (5) the need for more funds and an efficient and fair method of allocating funds for education in all areas of the nation; (6) the need to expand the education of girls; and (7) the need to adapt the curricula to the peculiarities of the cultural, social and environmental characteristics of Ethiopia."[122]

The same author added that, even though the nation needed more highly skilled people to man the economy, the devotion of more resources to post primary education had meant less or the same left for primary education. He noted:

> This is not to say that higher institutions are sufficiently taking care of the present needs of the country, but rather that the attempt has been disproportionate and the educational pyramid had been turned upsidedown, not only in terms of efforts, but in terms of finance. Elementary education needs to be advanced on a country-wide basis to cater for masses of people.

With only 3 percent of the school-going age population in the classrooms, we have to adopt a drastic and determined new look into the future.[123]

Maaza Bekele, then assistant in charge of the ministry's Curriculum Development, saw the problems of the future from the qualitative point of view. Noting that the curriculum structure consisted of eight years of primary education, four years of secondry and three to four years of higher education each period followed by one of the three formidable national examinations she stated that this had caused teachers and students alike to think that education consisted of securing certificates of successful passing. Then she questoned the validity of the educational sequences, the bits and pieces of imported learning materials and ideas which were superimposed on an "ancient and revered culture", and whether our schools were producing young people who appreciated the valuable aspects of our society and whether our schools were part and parcel of the community in which they were located. She added the following pertinent points:

> It seems that we need to try to shift the emphasis in our education system from examinations and put it upon some specific aims such as, helping children to meet the challenges presented by a developing nation in a changing world; to help children think about problems which confront them from day to day, and find solutions to these problems which are practical, intellectual and emotional; to help them become aware of the relationship between them and their environment, the environment which created them and to which they will contribute their energies and skills; to help them develop specific skills and to stimulate in them the desire, within the range of individual ability, always to continue the process of education, and to share acquired knowledge and skill with others.[124]

The unsolved problems noted above must be tackled during the coming years. While educators were probing and charting for unknown solutions to existing problems there was also the problem of the cultural milieu which was the product of and in turn gave rise to the Ethiopian situation which was now threatened. Indeed, already alarmed voices were being raised regarding the traditional culture. One Ministry of Education publication warned:

> For the moment the modern developments may seem to be of primary importance; but they must not be allowed to get out of hand, to the extent that they swamp the traditional culture. Ethiopia's contribution to the world's cultural prosperity will be superficial and banal unless it is perimeated with her own special sense of the past and its continuance as present reality. Ethiopia perfers to think of her past as a vital element of her present, and, while securing the maximum benefit from modern developments, recognizes that the virtue of her fathers remains the spring whence she must draw her strength.[125]

These were some of the challenges that had to be met as we ventured into the 1960s and beyond.

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Chapter XII

EDUCATION IN THE CONTINENTAL FRAMEWORK, 1962-1973

Introduction

On 3 November 1960, the Ethiopian emperor, in a coronation speech to the Ethiopian Parliament, reiterated his views on the efficacy of education. He said "We have stated in the past that in the education of her youth and in the training in modern knowledge of the younger generation reposes the hope of Ethiopia and the key to her future. We persist in this conviction."[1]

And so it was; the momentum of educational development that had started gathering force soon after Liberation was to continue through the 1960s and beyond. There was to be more faith and enthusiasm in the power of education in nation building, as a considerable amount of national resources were going to be invested in it. But the emphasis shifted from education at all cost to education to meet the needed skills for national development.

The present chapter may be considered as an extension of the last two, in the sense that deliberate national planning was continued through the decade and much of the discussion of education revolved around those plans and targets. Aside from these factors, the decade we now begin is mainly different for the simple reason that for the first time in our history we began to interact directly with other sovereign African states and compare education notes with them. The comparison was to bring traumatic shocks and salutary motivation to our efforts to accelerate the development of a national system of education.

The beginning of our decade (1961-62) was also the end of the First Five Year Development Plan (1957-61) later extended to include the fiscal year of 1962. This decade also saw two more national plans, the Second and Third Five Year Development Plans (abbreviated to SFYP and TFYP respectively). The SFYP covered the period 1961-66 and the TFYP 1966-73.

The more dramatic plan, however, was the one that emerged from the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa at Addis Ababa in May 1961, which brought together thirty-five independent African states to take stock of their education achievements of the past and to lay plans for future development. Ethiopia was the host and a participating country.

So in the present chapter the argument will revolve around these national and intercontinental plans. Later in the chapter a panoramic picture will be presented regarding the quantitative as well as the qualitative achievements of Ethiopia in the field of education.

The Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa

The year 1960 has been called the "Year of Africa"[2] and rightly so. The independence movements that had been stirring since World War I, attained maturity following World War II, were now reaching their final consummation. In 1960, African states began to achieve political independence one after the other. For instance, within a period of one year, between 1960 and 1961, 17 states gained their independence. By 1963 there were no less than 40 independent African states. So if 1960 has been called the year of Africa, it would be just as fitting to call the 1960-1973 period the Decade of Africa. (See Table 82).

TABLE 82

Number of African States Listed with Date of Independence

Country		Date of Independence	
Algeria	1	July	1962
Botswana	30	September	1966
Burundi	1	July	1962
Cameroon	1	January	1960
Central African Republic	17	August	1960
Chad	11	August	1960
Congo	15	August	1960
Dahomey	1	August	1960
Egypt*	23	July	1952
Ethiopia**	-	-	-
Gabon	17	August	1960
Gambia	18	February	1965
Ghana	6	March	1957
Guinea	2	October	1958
Equatorial Guinea	12	October	1968
Kenya	12	December	1963
Lesotho	4	October	1966
Liberia	26	July	1847
Libya	24	December	1951
Malagasy	25	June	1960
Malawi	6	July	1964
Mali	20	June	1960
Mauritania	28	November	1960
Mauritius	12	March	1968
Morocco	2	March	1956
Niger	3	August	1960
Nigeria	1	October	1960
Rhodesia***	11	November	1965
Rwanda	1	July	1962
Senegal	20	June	1960
Sierra Leone	27	April	1961
Somalia	1	July	1960
South Africa****	31	May	1910
Sudan	1	January	1956
Swaziland	6	September	1968
Tanzania	9	December	1961
Togo	27	April	1960
Tunisia	25	March	1956
Uganda	9	October	1962
Upper Volta	5	August	1960
Zaire	30	June	1960
Zambia	24	October	1964
Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau*****	24	September	1973

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* The date indicated is National Day for Egypt

** The oldest independent State in the Continent (at least for the last 30 centuries). There was usurpation by Italy during 1936-1941, but it was not occupation in the true sense of the term.

*** UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence)

**** The power still being in the hands of the minority whites

***** Declared independence and in the first week after the indicated date some thirty countries recognized its independence.

Sources: 1. Respective Embassies (Addis Ababa, October 1973)

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Realizing the unprecedented speed with which Africans were throwing off the chains of colonialism which had held them for so many years, the international community wanted to play an active role in the social and economic development of Africa. So in February 1960 a preliminary meeting was held in Addis Ababa where it was decided that another, yet larger conference, should be convened in the near future.

The 1961 Conference of African States for the Development of Education was held in Addis Ababa from 15 to 25 May. The Conference brought together thirty-nine governments as participants, twenty-four governments as observers, ten United Nations Agencies, and twenty-four international nongovernmental organizations. The purpose of the conference was "to provide a forum for African States to decide on their priority educational needs to promote economic and social development in Africa and, in the light of these, to establish first tentative short-term and long-term plans for educational development in the continent, embodying the priorities they had decided upon for the economic growth of the region."[3]

As the report of the conference later noted: "the voice of Africa was clear and impressive--the needs for education in Africa were made known and not obscured."[4]

The theme of the conference throughout the deliberations was education as a tool for accelerated social and economic development. To this end, problems related to education were viewed on a continental basis. At the conference the thirty-five states representing Middle Africa submitted their education plans and targets and also the means of achieving these targets. Various schemes and plans presented by the respective state representatives were debated and studied by the four commissions and in the several plenary sessions. Eventually the conference set long- and short-term plans for the development of education in Africa as follows:

1. The targets for the short-term plan (1961-1966) were to be:
   a) An annual increase of enrollment at the primary level of an additional five percent of the beginning school age group which would increase enrollment from the then existing mean of forty percent to fifty-one percent by the end of the plan.
   b) Enrollment in second level education to increase from three percent of the age group to nine percent.[5]

2. The targets for the long-term plan (1961-1981) were to be:
   a) Primary education to be universal, free and compulsory.
   b) Education at the second level to be provided for thirty percent of the children who complete primary school.
   c) Higher education to be provided, mostly in Africa itself, for twenty percent of those who complete secondary school.
   d) The improvement of the quality of African schools and universities to be a constant aim.

Both plans called for the training of school teachers in sufficient quantity and quality at all levels and the expansion of the adult education program.

The enrollment targets expressed as a percentage of the appropriate age group were as follows:

	1960-61	1965-66	1970-71	1980-81
Primary level	40	51	71	100
Secondary level	3	9	15	23
Tertiary level	0.2	0.2	0.4	2

3. Overall development of education:
   a) Primary Education
      i. Reduction of student dropout during the six years of primary education from sixty percent to at most twenty percent.
      ii. Class size in the primary schools to be reduced from forty-five to thirty-five.
      iii. Regarding primary school teachers, ten percent to have secondary school plus three years of teacher training, forty-five percent to have elementary schooling followed by four years of professional training and the remaining forty-five percent to have completed elementary education followed by two years of teacher training.

   b) Second Level Education

During the short-term period second level education was to receive the highest attention in terms of quality as well as quantity. As far as the selection of students and the duration of programs were concerned thirty percent of the pupils completing elementary studies were to be admitted to the second level of schooling. Out of these, one-third were to go to schools providing six years of academic secondary education, the remaining two-thirds were to enter vocational, technical or teacher training institutions; five-sixths of the latter for a three year course and one-sixth for a six year course. Student wastage during the six years (7-12) of secondary education not to exceed fifteen percent of the initial enrollment.

A further twenty percent of the students completing secondary education were to go on for higher education. Sixty percent of these would be enrolled in scientific, vocational and technical courses, while the rest (forty percent) would pursue literary, social or behavioral science studies. According to the decision of the conference the educational pyramid aimed at in 1980 was 100: 23: 2. Further, it was decided to allot five percent of the total education expenditure to adult and other types of education not covered by the other provisions.

Areas of Priorities

At the second level of education the conference recommended that more places should be provided for an increased number of qualified students so that the critical shortage of second level manpower could be reasonably met. That the curricula of the secondary schools should respond to the development needs of each country; to this end urgent attention was to be given to curriculum reform. The latter would include emphasis on technical and agricultural education, and teachers would be trained to lead out in these technical and agricultural fields at both levels.

As far as financing the education programs was concerned, all African state members as well as associated members were to raise the percentage of their initial income earmarked for education from three percent to four percent by 1965 and from four percent to six percent by 1980. At the same time appropriate measures were to be taken to reduce the cost of education by improving its organization and administration, avoiding wastage and duplication as much as possible and by speeding up the Africanization of education personnel. Further, African member states and associates would develop their own short- and long-term national education plans and future projections on the basis of conference approved models. And finally, all educational plans were to be incorporated in the overall national social and economic development plans.[6]

Other Continental Conferences

Other important conferences took place after 1961. The 1962 Tananarive Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa defined the role of higher education in the overall development of Africa and put strong emphasis on African colleges and universities, in addition to the traditional functions of teaching and research, to work for the unification and building of African nations. It was incumbent upon these institutions of higher learning to rediscover the history, culture and social structures of Africa and to teach them to the new generation. The conference made recommendations regarding the planning, financing and staffing of colleges and universities over a twenty year period. It also called for cooperation between African and other nations' institutions for their mutual benefit.

A conference of African ministers of education took place in Paris in 1962. That conference took cognizance of the previous two conferences and took the findings and recommendations a step further by making allowances to those countries who had initially registered very low school enrollment. In a similar manner the March 1964 Abidjan Conference recognized the fact that the regional plans and targets of education were to be interpreted in the light of the overall national development plans of each country.

In July-August 1964 yet another conference took place in Lagos. Up to then emphasis had been put on the development and utilization of human resources in Africa. The Lagos Conference concentrated on the study and utilization of natural resources as well as human resources. It made recommendations regarding the organization and financing of scientific research and the training of scientists.

All of these conferences have played significant roles in the development of education in Africa. But perhaps the single most important conference since the 1961 Addis Ababa Conference was the one held in Nairobi, Kenya in July 1968.

The Short-Term Plan Evaluated

The Nairobi Conference, known as the Conference on Education, Scientific and Technical Training in Relation to the Development of Africa, was held from 16-27 July 1968. Among several other things the conference undertook a review of the processes that have been taking place in the development of education over the five year period (1961-66), which as may be recalled, was the duration of the five year short-term plan adopted at the Addis Ababa Conference in 1961. The Nairobi Conference assessed the educational developments of the past five years. The findings were as follows:

Overall enrollment in Middle Africa (eg. the thirty-five states which signed the Addis Ababa accord) increased substantially during the 1960-65 period. However, except in higher education, they all fell short of the Addis Ababa target. The ratio of the proposed education pyramids to the relevant age group for the first, second and third level of education in 1960 and 1965 as projected in the target and as observed in 1965 were:

Base Year	1960	36 : 3 : 0.2
Target	1965	47 : 6 : 0.4
Observed	1965	44 : 5 : 0.5

The Addis Ababa Conference underscored education at the second level as a priority area and the target annual rates of growth in enrollment by level was to reflect this. The targets annual rates of growth and the observed rates are set out below:

	Target	Observed
First-level	7.7%	6.2%
Second-level	19.8	15.3
Third-level	13.8	20.1

Enrollment in the elementary level was short by 1.1 million of the total anticipated. This shortfall of enrollment growth was also critical in the light of the reported high dropouts and repetitions reported at that level. The mean percentage rate of yearly increases in enrollment, instead of being 5 percent of the school entering group, was only 1.77 percent.

In the target it was anticipated that the average grade by grade loss at the first level would be ten percent: instead the observed rate was twenty-one percent. According to the target formula the cumulative dropout from grade one to grade six was foreseen as forty-one percent. In 1965 it proved to be sixty-eight percent. Repeating grades was another form of wastage which was observed. The qualifications of primary school teachers improved considerably during the period, but fell short of the target.

The target called for an increase in the proportion of secondary to primary enrollment from 5.7 percent in 1960 to 10.4 percent by 1965. By 1965 the increase was 8.6 percent. The Addis Ababa Conference set a target, within the second level enrollment, for vocational-technical and teacher training schools to rise from 70 : 9 : 12 in 1960 to 76 : 12 : 12 in 1965. The outcome observed was in the opposite direction, being 83 : 8 : 9.

It was only in higher education that overfulfillment of the planned target was realized. The achievement was reflected both in total growth of enrollment as well as in more people studying in home universities rather than in overseas institutions of higher education. However, the recommended emphasis on higher enrollment in scientific and technological fields was not achieved.

On the other hand, the population growth of African states as projected at the Addis Ababa Conference was far lower than proved to be the case. All-in-all, although some progress was made in the improvement of the quality and quantity of African education, the targets set in 1961 were underfulfilled. Of course, the improvements varied from one country to another. A few countries came closer to achieving the set targets while others were hopelessly behind. The Nairobi Conference maintained the original Addis Ababa Conference targets as the objectives to aim at through 1980.[7]

The Case for Ethiopian Education

Ethiopia was the host country and one of the thirty-five independent Middle African States that signed the Addis Ababa accord. For Ethiopia, an African state that had maintained her political freedom for many centruies with little interruption from outside, this was her first opportunity to compare her social conditions with those of other African countries which had been under colonial rule but were emerging as full fledged sovereign nations. If the values of freedom and independence were measured in terms of material as well as formal secular educational achievements, Ethiopia did not like what she learned.[8] In terms of secular educational development, Ethiopia was to find itself at the bottom of the hierarchy, as Table 83 clearly shows.

Commenting on this topic, a long time resident, Dr. Trudeau stated:

> UNESCO Official Statistics and reports were now revealing to all African countries and to Ethiopia itself that all this educational progress in Ethiopia was comparatively small. Educational achievements in other African countries had been...much more impressive and had left Ethiopia lagging behind, specially at elementary and secondary levels. Ethiopia, a symbol of African freedom on the political scene, a country of great prestige led by a much respected leader in Africa was shocked by the facts brought to light at the Conference. If education is the nation builder, and the main factor of social and economic changes, Ethiopia had to do something about the present situation to back its political leadership in Africa with educational and economical leadership.[9]

Still fresh from the trauma of discovering that Ethiopia had fallen behind other African states in the development of education, the Minister of State for Education and Fine Arts, Ato Haddis Alemayehu, set up a committee of top officials of the ministry to study and evaluate the overall education programs of the country and make recommendations to him after considering the recommendations of the recently held conference in Addis Ababa. The chairman of the new committee was Ato Million Neqniq, a professional educator. The committee took its time to study the prevailing conditions in Ethiopian education vis-a-vis the conference's recommendations. In August 1961, barely a year after the Addis Ababa Conference took place, the committee submitted their report to the new Minister of State for Education and Fine Arts, Ato Gabre Maskal Kifle-Egzi. The report reiterated the great significance for Ethiopia of the plan for educational development in Africa. It also stated how the set targets could be met within the time limits laid down by the conference, and concluded with the following pertinent comments:

> The basic documents prepared for that Conference (the Addis Ababa Conference) and the reports submitted by the different countries participating in it showed that in terms of the numbers of students currently enrolled in her schools and of the national investment in education, Ethiopia has fallen seriously behind most other African countries. This means that a correspondingly greater effort must now be made if Ethiopia is to hold her own in continental development and if she is to achieve within the prescribed period the enrollments and the standards laid down for her schools and colleges.[10]

Commenting upon the work of this committee Dr. Trudeau said: "the study of the committee had not set educational targets as high as UNESCO had proposed but these seemed to be more realistic. Yet, they were rejected by the Government as too expensive."[11]

Table 83

The Educational Situation in Africa During the Planning Stage of the Addis Ababa Conference

Country	Year (1900's)	Enrollment First level	Enrollment Second level	Percentage of age-group Est. pop. 5-14 yrs. (000)	Percentage of age-group Est. pop. 5-14 yrs. %	Percentage of age-group Est. pop. 15-19 yrs. (000)	Percentage of age-group Est. pop. 15-19 yrs. %
Basutoland	58	119,478	3,042	165	90.5	67	4.5
Bechuanaland	58	31,193	485	84	46.4	34	1.4
Cameroons (UK)	58	54,844	1,485	391	20.0	164	0.8
Cameroun (FR)	59	371,421	13,808	795	77.8	332	3.0
CENTRAL AFRICA Republic	58	45,774	1,480	280	27.2	117	0.9
Chad	59	53,973	1,473	647	13.8	271	0.4
Congo (Brzv)	58	78,962	3,259	187	70.3	78	3.0
Congo (Leop)	60	1,460,753	51,671	3,405	71.5	1,476	3.0
Dahomey	60	81,107	3,618	431	31.3	180	1.4
Ethiopia	59	158,005	8,144	5,338	3.8	2,235	0.5
Gabon	58	39,763	1,156	101	65.7	41	1.0
Gambia	58	4,595	794	72	10.7	30	2.2
Ghana	59	483,425	178,581	1,208	66.7	506	29.4
Guinea	60	79,373	4,563	671	19.7	281	1.1
Ivory Coast	58	125,727	5,104	641	32.7	269	1.4
Kenya	58	651,758	20,291	1,562	52.1	654	3.9
Liberia	60	55,026	3,397	308	22.4	129	3.3
Malagsay	60	364,217	25,290	1,299	46.7	544	1.4
Mali	58	42,053	2,749	918	7.7	384	0.5
Mauritania	58	6,493	291	155	7.0	65	0.3
Niger	58	11,811	395	603	3.3	252	0.1
Nigeria	58	2,545,336	117,414	8,129	42.9	3,403	2.9
N. Rhodesia	59	243,926	24,948	566	53.9	237	2.6
Nyasaland	58	269,693	3,042	667	50.5	279	1.4
S. Rhodesia	58	433,459	6,485	649	83.5	272	3.0
Ruanda-Urun.	58	246,149	5,480	1,156	35.5	461	0.9
Senegal	58	80,473	6,102	561	23.8	235	1.9
Sierra Leone	59	74,481	8,277	590	21.0	247	2.8
Somalia	59	16,485	1,828	325	10.2	136	0.8
Sudan	60	288,395	60,941	2,819	12.8	1,180	6.5
Swaziland	58	29,934	1,066	67	55.9	27	4.5
Tanganyika	58	422,832	15,315	2,193	24.1	918	2.1
Togo	59	78,689	2,373	411	31.8	172	1.0
Uganda	59	501,699	41,633	1,603	52.2	671	4.4
Upper Volta	60	40,543	2,447	991	6.8	415	0.4
Zanzibar	58	14,982	1,232	75	15.0	31	5.0

Sources: Statistics of population and pupils taken by UNESCO Statistics Div. from official publications and country replies to questionnaires: reported in Conference on African States on Development of Education in Africa, Final Report (Paris: UNESCO, 1961), Chpt. IV.

Further, neither in terms of percentage of government expenditure, gross national product, nor per capita income, was Ethiopia exerting as much effort as most of the other African states. These facts were well known to government authorities including the Minister of State and the Board of Education.[12] As if admitting defeat in the race to catch up with other countries in terms of educational development, Ethiopia began to look inward and concentrate on her own plans. In the following pages we will look into these five-year national development plans and assess the progress made in education.

Shift in Emphasis of Educational Objectives

By the close of 1961, Ethiopia's First Five Year Development Plan had ended and the education achievements of the past five years could be evaluated. (See Table 84.) This terminal point coincided with the intercontinental comparison just made at the Addis Ababa Conference. Armed with the knowledge obtained from these experiences the nature and emphasis of educational policy during the ensuing decade were to take different forms. In the following paragraphs, an assessment of the five-year plan will be presented, to be followed by the objectives and structure of the system for the 1961-62 to 1972-73 decade.

Table 84

Students Enrolled in Primary, Secondary and Post Secondary Government Schools 1956-1961

School Year	Primary*	Special	Academic Secondary	Post Secondary	Total	Index**
1955-56	109,368	1,495	2,097	334	113,294	100
1956-57	135,749	2,217	2,628	466	141,060	124
1957-58	150,892	3,245	3,492	605	158,234	140
1958-59	158,005	3,648	4,496	760	166,909	147
1959-60	170,460	3,646	5,273	827	180,206	159
1960-61	176,726	3,598	5,626	939	186,889	164

* Grades 1-8

** 1955-56 = 100

Source: Imperial Ethiopian Government, Second Five Year Development Plan, 1963-1967, p. 259.

Achievements of the First Five Year Plan Assessed

During the five-year plan period (1957-61) a significant rise in the number of students enrolled was recorded. The increase over the five year period was sixty-five percent or about eleven percent per annum. This increase was at all levels including the special schools. However, the proportion of growth rate sought at the beginning of the plan period was not achieved.

For instance as Table 85 shows the total number of graduates from special secondary schools increased by 72 percent over the past five years, e.g. from 667 in 1956-

57 to 1,015 by the end of 1960-61. During the same period the number of special secondary schools increased 4.4 times while the number of academic secondary schools trebled. Thus to begin with the number of special schools was too small and now, contrary to plan targets, it did not increase appreciably.

Table 85

Graduates of Special Schools, 1957-61

Specialty	School Year				
	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61
Elementary School Teachers	372	510	448	455	366
Secondary School Teachers	-	-	20	16	18
Commercial Education	40	126	143	196	196
Tech. and Voc. Education	115	146	171	343	213
Agricultural Education	65	72	79	95	78
Public Health Education	45	80	102	90	103
Others	30	34	112	73	41
TOTAL	**667**	**968**	**1,075**	**1,268**	**1,015**
Index 1956-57 = 100	100	145	161	190	152

Source: I.E.G. Second Five Year Development Plan, 1963-67, p. 260

As far as higher education was concerned, 403 young people graduated from the various programs offered by the six colleges and 883 of them were still enrolled at the end of 1960-61. During the same period 1,101 graduates had returned from studies abroad while 979 were still pursuing their studies in overseas institutions. All in all significant strides were made during the plan period.

The nongovernment schools had enrolled about a third of the student body which was appreciated by the government.[13] But, noted the plan document, "Inspite of all improvements secondary and higher education at the end of the First Five Year Plan were scarcely developed either in the absolute or the relative sense, and these schools were attended by only 4.3 percent of the total number of students. Even the primary schools comprised a relatively small number of school-age children, hardly 10 percent of the total number."[14]

Other problems noted were high student attrition, low percentage in female student enrollment, and the lag in the production of school teachers.[15]

In launching the Second Five Year Plan, these hard facts concerning the development of education, were taken into consideration by the planners.

Shifts in Emphasis

The general education policy that was evident during the planned Expansion Era persisted during the present decade. But the emphasis was different. The National Planning Board wanted more controlled education in accordance with the social and economic development of the country. Financial and other resources available and alloted to education would depend on the manpower needs for development. As Dr. Trudeau points out: "A new approach to education, a new philosophy of education had replaced the drive of the post-war years. The philosophy of 'education at all cost' had been replaced by the calculated approach of the economist; invest for what you can get in return. Educate only as many as can be absorbed by the developing economy and administration, educate only the type you need."[16]

This type of philosophy, together with the desire to extend primary education to as many of the school-age children as possible, prevailed throughout the second and third Five Year Development Plans, which in essence constitutes our decade. Accordingly, priority would be assigned to the following policies: (1) the educational system had to emphasize technical education at all levels, and supply the growing national need for qualified technicians, (2) general academic education had to be properly balanced so that it may not develop excessively at the expense of technical education, (3) the length of studies, hours of work and the educational programs must be adjusted to ensure the fastest production of qualified personnel with the required educational levels and standards, (4) the various forms of technical training which are most suitable for fast and efficient training of skilled and semiskilled personnel to meet the demand of the growing economy, must be given the fullest attention and support, (5) in financing these comprehensive educational programs the principle of most efficient use of available human and material resources must be strictly adhered to, encouraging the communities and local population to contribute money, materials and voluntary labor.[17]

Primary education (grades one to six) was to be expanded since it provided not only the necessary background for further education, but also for the skilled and semiskilled manpower needed for development. "Nevertheless, a certain limit must be set to the possible extension of primary education having regard to the scarce resources and the need of developing technical education in particular."[18] Emphasis was also placed on the equal distribution of educational opportunities between the urban center and rural areas.

In brief these were the main features of the educational objectives laid down in the Second Five Year Plan (which began in 1963) and were to serve as general guidelines for the rest of the decade. Commenting on this, Trudeau wrote, "the task ahead is gigantic, at times frightening for Ethiopia, specially if Ethiopia has to do it alone!"[19]

Structure of the System

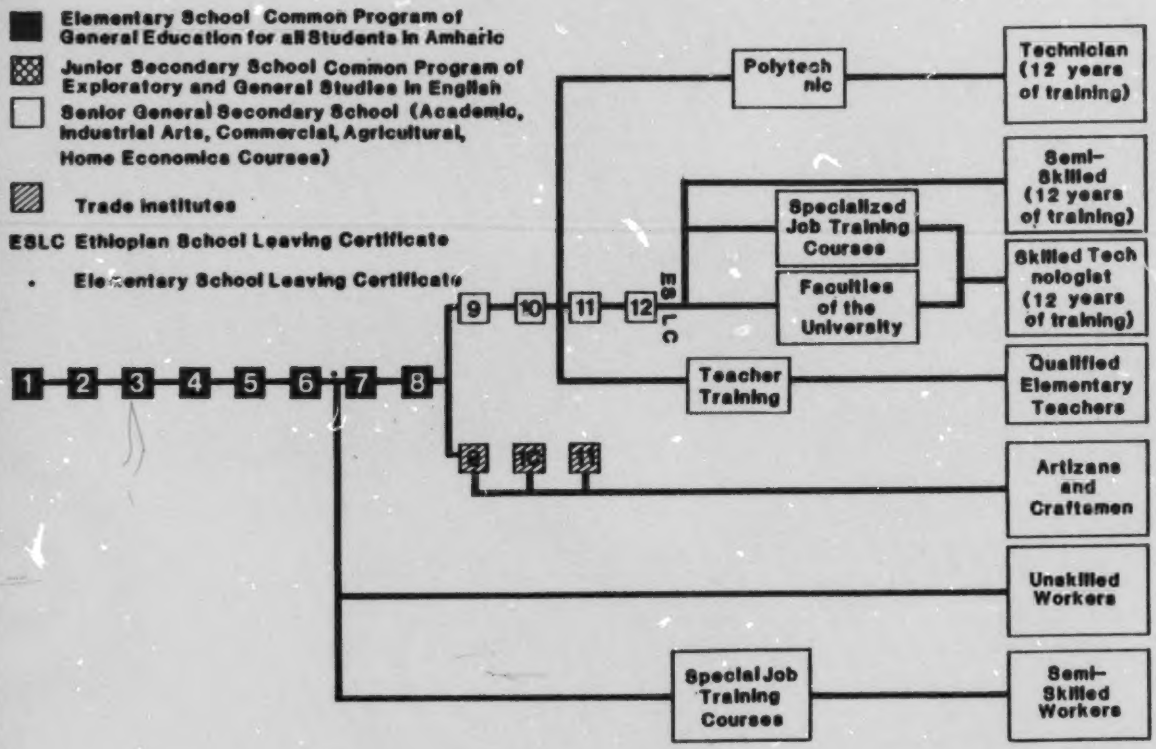
We have already pointed out that up to the end of the 1950s the grade structure was 1-8, 9-12 type, which meant an elementary grade consisting of grades 1 through 8 and secondary grades 9 through 12. After appropriate experimentation with five schools during 1963-64 the system was changed to six years of elementary to be followed by two years of junior secondary and four years of senior secondary education, or a 6-2-4 system.[20] Thus the grade school system of education became a three-tier one in accordance with educational expediency as well as the views expressed at the 1961 African Conference on Education in African States.[21] (See Chart 5.)

Recruitment for Further Education

Under the new structure, recruitment for the specialized schools was from grade eight. These specialized schools were: (1) the Addis Ababa and Asmara Trade Schools, (2) Ambo and Jimma Agricultural Schools, (3) the Addis Ababa Commercial School, (4) the

Chart 5

The Structure of Elementary and Secondary Education


■ Elementary School Common Program of General Education for all Students in Amharic
▩ Junior Secondary School Common Program of Exploratory and General Studies in English
☐ Senior General Secondary School (Academic, Industrial Arts, Commercial, Agricultural, Home Economics Courses)
▨ Trade institutes
ESLC Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate
• Elementary School Leaving Certificate
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
ESLC
9
10
11
Polytechnic
Specialized Job Training Courses
Faculties of the University
Teacher Training
Special Job Training Courses
Technician (12 years of training)
Semi-Skilled (12 years of training)
Skilled Technologist (12 years of training)
Qualified Elementary Teachers
Artizans and Craftsmen
Unskilled Workers
Semi-Skilled Workers

Teacher Training Institutes for elementary school teachers, located at Addis Ababa, Debre Berhan, Harar, Asmara and Jimma*, and (5) two schools of Handicrafts and Fine Arts at Addis Ababa. Recruitment for entry to the Bahr Dar Polytechnic was after completion of tenth grade. There was also a certain amount of recruitment from grades nine and eleven by governmental and nongovernmental agencies for further training and eventual employment in their organizations.[22]

As far as higher education was concerned both degree and diploma candidates were recruited after the completion of the twelfth grade and successful passes in the ESLCE.[23]

The School Curriculum

The new curriculum of the Ministry of Education which became fully operational in 1963-64 incorporated several new features.

Elementary Level

The general aims of the new curriculum for elementary schools remained the same as the ones given in Chapter XI. The elementary curriculum now took the form of six years of study to be taught completely in Amharic, with English taught as a subject beginning at grade three.

The content of the curriculum was to consist of syllabi in the academic and nonacademic areas. The academic areas consisted of: Amharic, arithmetic, social studies, science, health and safety, and English. The nonacademic ones were: morals, agriculture, arts and crafts, home making, physical training and games, and music. The curriculum guide added: "All subjects should be taught in accordance with the outlines made for each grade and with the syllabi worked out for each subject."[24]

Further special attention was to be paid to the teaching of the Amharic and English languages. Although Amharic was now the language of instruction for grades one through six, "In cases where Amharic is the second language, special adaptations should be made to the program of the first two years in order to meet the specific needs of the pupils."[25]

Work Load, Length of Periods and Tests

All elementary school teachers were expected to teach a maximum of thirty hours per week plus participation in extra-curricular activities.

The length of period was to be from fifteen to forty minutes in grades one and two and forty to fifty minutes in the upper grades. Double periods were to be provided for some nonacademic subjects such as gardening, home making, and arts and crafts.

Screening tests were to be given at the beginning of the year by the school director to determine learning ability and for grouping purposes. The final examination was to be given at the end of the sixth grade by the Ministry of Education. On the basis of the test pupils might either be promoted to junior secondary schools or to a one-year vocational school. Successful candidates would be given the Elementary School Leaving Certificate.

The average class size in the first four grades would not exceed fifty pupils, and in grades five and six the number would be thirty-five to forty. Efficient use of space and teaching personnel was to be encouraged.[26] Further school programs were to be adapted to the local community and community resources would be used to enhance learning.[27]

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*Entry to the TTI's was from grade ten.

New textbooks in Amharic would be prepared and distributed. These textbooks would embody "the traditional values of the nation and give due emphasis to the pupil's own community, country and continent."[28]

In 1965 the Ethiopian Government Council of Ministers appointed a committee of high-level education officials to study problems connected with the twelfth grade examination. In the process the committee reviewed the programs of the elementary schools as well. While agreeing in principle on the changes in the curriculum as outlined above, the committee expressed dissatisfaction over the lack of implementation of announced policies. It pointed out that special attention was not paid to Amharic as intended.

"To develop the language as an effective teaching medium, great attention must be paid to the development of new vocabulary and the expression of scientific concepts in Amharic. There has been little control over these processes and even the books published by the Ministry of Education are uncontrolled in terms of vocabulary, graded difficulty in language construction..."[29]

The committee added that much the same could be said of English language studies, since English becomes the medium of instruction in the secondary schools.

Other criticisms levelled at the new curriculum included that it followed largely traditional patterns, that practicing teachers were not involved in drawing up the curriculum guide and that nonacademic subjects, such as physical education and the five arts were not being incorporated into school activities. The committee made the following final note:

> In general, there has been little research into the psychological and pedagogical background of teaching in Ethiopia. Principles of psychological and physiological development applicable perhaps to certain age-groups in Western Europe and America have been applied to the Ethiopian education system without question, in the absence of suitable local data, are being taught in teacher training institutes. The Committee feels that this points to an urgent need for a great deal of basic educational research if the teaching programme in elementary schools is to be fully effective.[30]

Regarding the content of education the committee recommended the following:

In view of the fact that there are very few qualified Amharic teachers in the school system at any level, and that Amharic teachers in general have very low social status and are generally "appointed on the principle that anybody can teach Amharic;" and in view of the fact that there are very few good materials available and that none of the textbooks in common use have been graded linguistically; and that there has not been any control over the use of the Amharic language in or out of the school system "so that there is a growing state of confusion in which terminology and concepts are not consistently or adequately expressed in Amharic," and in view of the importance of Amharic as a language of instruction at the elementary level as well as being the national language, it was recommended that: (1) the Ministry of Education in cooperation with the university prepare suitable Amharic learning material, and (2) the Ministry of Education encourage the recruitment of teachers for training in the Amharic language as a special subject by establishing where necessary special scholarships for this purpose.[31]

English being the medium of instruction beyond the elementary level, preparation of suitable and relevant materials as well as teachers was recommended. The curricula for nonacademic subjects was also found wanting and immediate rectification was recommended.

Secondary Level

The revised secondary school curriculum which came out in 1963 was an attempt "to bring Ethiopian secondary education into line with the needs of the Ethiopian student, his country and his continent."[32]

The objectives of Ethiopian secondary education were redefined as follows:

1. a) To produce people who can think objectively and dispassionately.

   b) To train the emotions properly and open the heart to the interest and concerns of others and the world at large.

   c) To develop inner resources of spirit so that one need not depend all the time on the titillation of the senses from outside. There should be a segment of cultural interests in which one can find self-expression and achieve satisfactory growth.

   d) To prepare one to participate efficiently in the productive work of the world so that one may contribute something of value to society. This includes both love of work, and appreciation of the dignity of all labour and insistence on high standards of efficiency and workmanship. These aims are practical as well as moral assets.

2. General secondary school thus defined should be such as to arouse in the young Ethiopian a spirit of inquiry in all fields of knowledge, to allow him to appreciate fully his duties as a citizen, to give him a genuine understanding of his national and regional environment, to strengthen his appreciation of his traditional and cultural values; and by making him conscious of the wealth of the world's culture and the continuing progress of science, to give the feeling of being one with the whole of mankind. General secondary education as seen in its true perspective ought to provide for the full development of all the natural abilities of the individual to enable him to live a full life and to fit him to contribute as fully as possible to the spiritual, cultural, social and economic progress of his country.[33]

Under the new structure second level education was divided into two cycles, one called junior secondary school constituted grades seven and eight, the other, the senior secondary school constituted grades nine through twelve. On the whole, general secondary education may be either an end in itself or a preparation for the higher education given at the universities, or in more specialized institutions of higher learning.

The Junior Secondary School

Students who succeeded in obtaining a grade six school leaving certificate were admitted to the junior secondary school. The function of school was to provide Ethiopian adolescents with a "common core of knowledge, skills, understanding attitudes and habits essential for effective citizenship in his or her country."[34] The program at this level was said to have been designed: (1) to develop, through a general course of studies, the "ability to communicate thought, to think effectively, to discriminate among values, and to use sound judgment in problematic situations,"[35] (2) to develop mastery of the English language; (3) and to "develop the abilities and interests of the students and guide them in the selection of a course in line with the needs of Ethiopia and their interests and aptitudes."[36] In this way it prepared students for: (1) entrance into one of the senior secondary schools, (2) entrance into one of the specialized schools, (3) or immediate employment as a semiskilled worker.[37]

The curriculum was broadly divided into four general areas: (1) general education, (2) English language concentration, (3) fine and practical arts, and (4) supervised study and guidance. Each subject of the curriculum fell into one of these four areas.[38]

The Senior Secondary School

The second cycle of second level education known as senior secondary school was designed to enable young people to prepare themselves for: (1) entrance to one of the universities, (2) entrance to an institution of higher technical, agricultural, or industrial education, (3) immediate employment in the intermediate levels of public administration or private enterprise, "personnel at this level being those most urgently needed in Ethiopia at present."[39] The subjects to be taught at this level were the usual subjects, although more relevancy was sought through the production of suitable learning material and the recruitment of qualified national teachers.

School Day, Scheduling and Teaching Load

At the secondary level the school was to consist of eight regular periods. Each class period would be a minimum of forty minutes. A break of fifteen minutes was recommended in the middle of the morning. The lunch break should not be as long as two hours, and could be shortened at the discretion of the director.

The recommended average class size was thirty students and the school director was to strive to maintain this figure. Each teacher was to be assigned a minimum of thirty periods per week, with a maximum of thirty-five periods per week, i.e., one nonassigned period per day. However, some flexibility was provided to accommodate the teachers extra responsibilities, such as marking, lesson and classroom preparation, extracurricular activities, and administrative responsibilities.[40]

The necessity of keeping complete and accurate records for each school was stressed. These records would include a complete profile of each student beginning with the elementary school leaving record and continuing to the end of the secondary section, and copies of these should be forwarded to any new school a student might attend.[41] The revised curriculum guide that came out in 1960 E.C. (1967/68) is similar to the previous one, only it accentuated the division between the first and second cycles. It was also intended to provide guidance for the newly emerging comprehensive secondary schools with emphasis on technical and vocational skills. As stated in the curriculum guide:

> ...the new curriculum marks a radical departure from the academically weighted courses that previously dominated the secondary school system. The intention of the programme is to provide opportunities for the training of students in fields which are relevant to their abilities and to the economic needs of the country...The effective development of Ethiopia is geared to the successful achievement of the country's economic plans and the educational programme is an essential ingredient of economic planning.[42]

This, of course, is in line with the new objectives of education for our decade as described earlier in the present chapter. The subjects to be taught included Amharic, English, French, science, mathematics, geography and history. In the non-academic field, physical education, music, art, crafts, Ge'ez, bookkeeping, economics and morals.[43] A list of textbooks to be used in the secondary schools was also provided in the curriculum guides.

At the end of elementary school, some sixty percent of the sixth grade would proceed to their education in the junior secondary school. At this level, the objectives received new emphasis. The academic programs would continue but the syllabus included provision for wider experience and broader training, covering agriculture, elementary industrial arts and that part of a commercial program which would be needed by present day citizens. Intensive concentration on English language skills would also be emphasized. From grade eight, some sixty or more percent would be selected to proceed to either the general secondary schools or to specialized schools. The specialized schools were terminal in nature, and prepared students for specific crafts, trades or professions, depending on the level to which the training is carried. The senior general secondary schools were not terminal in the sense that they prepared students for a specific job. The central objective of the senior secondary schools was to develop "a foundation of trainability."[44] Students leaving from grade ten, which was a recognized tap-off point, or from grade twelve would usually undertake some form of specialized course or receive on-the-job training in the public or private sectors. Some of the students might sit for the E.S.L.C. examination, and if successful would be admitted to one of the faculties or colleges of the national university.[45]

Nongovernment secondary schools were required to follow the curriculum as set out by the Ministry of Education if they wanted recognition and to participate in the national examinations.

Non-Academic Subjects

A committee appointed by the Council of Ministers to review the education system commented upon the practical subject areas of industrial arts, home economics, commercial training and agriculture, which were detailed in Book 2 of the secondary school curriculum. The committee made the following points: (1) In some of the subjects, the curriculum had not been fully developed, in others, it was nonexistent. The agricultural syllabus was simply a list of headings and the industrial arts program had not been completed beyond grade eight; (2) No books or materials had been produced to cover these courses although in some schools a variety of imported foreign materials were available; (3) The whole purpose of these courses was not clear. There seemed to be confusion of thought as to whether they were enrichment courses to widen the cultural horizons of students or whether they were terminal and job training.[46] The committee then made the following recommendations:

> ...the present confusion of structure and content in the various 'comprehensive' and 'general' secondary schools be eliminated so that they begin to take the form of multilateral institutions which will provide:
>
> (a) education in an academic stream which will enable successful students to follow courses in the various faculties of the University;
>
> (b) general education and specific training of a terminal nature in non-academic areas such as industrial arts, commerce, agriculture and home economics. These non-academic courses will begin to prepare middle and lower-middle level manpower for the various broad categories of employment which are being developed in Ethiopia.[47]

Textbooks, Equipment and Supplies

"There is considerable evidence to show that most students at both elementary and secondary levels receive their education in the absence of a proper supply of educational materials. This inadequacy concerns not only more sophisticated teaching aids but also the basic necessities for teaching, such as textbooks."[48] These were statements contained in the report of the committee appointed by the Council of Ministers. The same committee identified six major factors that hampered the proper provision of equipment, textbooks and supplies to schools: (1) lack of a proper scale of equipment and supplies which can be used; (2) problems with the Auditor General's Office; (3) a lack of efficiency in the Ministry of Education's distribution system; (4) out-of-date regulations governing the issue and use of school materials; (5) a lack of any proper organization in recent years in the Curriculum and Materials Production Division of the ministry and (6) absence of proper financial resources.[49]

The committee noted that there were a variety of methods in operation throughout the school system regarding the distribution of textbooks. These systems were: (1) students purchased their own textbooks, (2) students have textbooks rented to them, (3) students have textbooks issued on signature, and (4) students were denied the use of textbooks altogether. The committee concluded:

"In the opinion of the committee, there will be little possibility of any large change for the better in the effectiveness of Ethiopian education until this situation has been reviewed with the objective of creating realistic regulations."[50]

The committee noted that the picture that emerged from reviewing the procedures governing the acquisition and distribution of teaching aids and materials, was one of "confusion and delay rather than a smooth operation resulting in the effective distribution of good educational materials to students, and it is a tragedy that even those materials which have successfully negotiated the difficult stages of budgeting and purchase should be found in large quantities gathering dust in Ministry, provincial office, or school storerooms."[51] The committee then recommended that immediate steps be taken to remedy the situation, a situation which was responsible for much of the chaos in the classrooms.[52]

A conference of secondary school directors held in Addis Ababa in July 1971, also raised the problems connected with obtaining and distributing textbooks to teachers and students. Sometimes even locally produced books were not available to nongovernment schools. The conference participants noted:

> In addition to the difficulty in obtaining books, no textbook at all, not even one reference book for the teacher is available for certain subjects. There is a dearth of basic reference books, e.g. a small low-cost dictionary...But even when the books are available, they rarely arrive at the schools in time for the school's opening, because the complex channelling and intricate bureaucracy involved in getting the books from the Head Office through the Provincial Education Offices and District Education Offices to the schools...
>
> After the schools have obtained the books, distributing them to the students is another problem.[53]

The difficulties of obtaining and distributing textbooks, supplies and equipment continued to be a problem. Since 1970 the policy was that all students be required to purchase their own books at cost price. But field surveys indicated that only a small fraction were able or willing to buy their own textbooks. The rest have to do without one.

Methods of Instruction

The lack of suitable teaching materials, insufficient qualified teachers and language problems, all contribute to handicap the students. This could have been minimized if not entirely overcome had it been possible to utilize better teaching and learning methods. But that was not what the powerful committee already mentioned discovered. To the dismay of all, the committee found that the Ethiopian student was still handicapped by a traditional approach to teaching. The committee noted:

> The basic purpose of the secondary school curriculum is not the acquisition of factual knowledge but the development of the mind and the stimulation of an imaginative ability to apply knowledge to specific circumstances. In all subjects, factual data and examples are used to illustrate principles and concepts. The introduction and development of these basic principles and concepts are the fundamental purpose of the school programme. Yet it is clear that most teaching is not carried out in this way. Most teaching is routine lecturing; most learning is rote learning; and these approaches are reflected in the examination answers. Most teachers teach for the examination and not for the purposes of the subject.[54]

The committee recommended to the ministry that they develop teacher's guides, sample lesson materials, teaching aids, as well as an elaborated curriculum and a variety of inservice programs for school teachers. Otherwise, noted the committee, the stated objectives of the curriculum would not be fulfilled.[55]

What was said of the teaching methods in the secondary schools could well apply at the primary level as well.

Administration and Supervision

The Administrative Structure

The overall operation of the national education system continued to reside in the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts. Since the mid 1940s the emperor had retained the portfolio of Minister of Education. Under him were the National Board of Education and the Director or Minister of State. The board's responsibility was to formulate education policies and consider proposals for any facet of education submitted to it. In the absence of the Minister of State or Director of Education, the board was empowered to carry out administrative decisions as well.

The Minister of State was in charge of the day to day activities of the ministry and was directly responsible to the emperor and the board.

Since April 1966, however, when the prime minister was empowered to select the cabinet ministers and present them to the emperor for appointment, the portfolio of Minister of Education and Fine Arts was transferred to a cabinet minister (Ato Akale Work Habte Wold, at that time) with full power and responsibilities as any other cabinet minister of the government. From then on the National Board of Education became nonfunctional although it was never dissolved.

In previous chapters we have already indicated the central position of the ministry. Suffice it to add here that by and large the administrative functions of education continued to remain highly centralized with all the problems and virtues this kind of system may entail.

Organization and Staffing

A United Nations report that came out on 12 December 1969, had the following to say regarding the organization and staffing of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts: "The Ministry of Education has the largest staff of all development ministries: about 15,000. Six hundred and fifty people were in provincial offices working in administrative, supervisory and auxilliary roles; 2,800 people were in the various schools as non-teaching staff; 11,000 were employed as teachers. Thus, the non-teaching personnel (about 4,000) represented more than 25 percent of the total."

The staff then included a large number of expatriates: 1,531 or more than ten percent of the total. Among the expatriates 1,450 were secondary teachers and 81 were non-teaching personnel.

Table 86 shows that there was a great excess of personnel in headquarters, (about 50 percent more than required), especially in the administrative services (about 100 percent). For instance, the report showed that there were 102 guards, janitors and messengers against 35 required.

Further, the excess staff, linked with the underemployment of manpower in Addis Ababa, was aggravated by a "low level of efficiency", which was the consequence of: (1) the poor quality of recruitment, so that the best people are attracted by other government agencies or the private sector; and (2) a deficient organization of staff management, with insufficient responsibility given to junior, often well-qualified personnel. At the same time, although the head office had a global excess of manpower, there was a shortage of qualified, professional staff in some of the departments. The departments of Programs, Planning and Research; Research and Documentation; Tests and Measurements; Educational Operations and Fine Arts and Culture, were short by a total of seventeen professional people.

Following these findings some recommendations to the ministry to (1) pension off employees who had reached the retirement age or under an early retirement scheme; (2) transfer some employees from the head office to the provinces where staff deficiencies existed; and (3) retraining and upgrading of suitable personnel.[56]

At the field level there were provincial education offices for each of the 15 administrative units of the country; followed by the district education offices, some 102 of them, and at the head of each school was a director.

Table 86

The Distribution of Staff at the Ministry of Education Headquarters, 1969

Department	Directors & Professional Staff		Clerical & Auxiliary Staff	
	Existing	Required	Existing	Total Required
Minister's Secretariat & Public Relations	8	10	11	10
Program, Planning and Research	59	54	22	25
Educational Operations	42	33	24	14
Fine Arts & Culture	4	6	3	8
Administrative Service	65	35	267	145
TOTAL	178	138	327	202

Source: Derived from an unpublished, untitled study made by the United Nations for the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, 20 December 1969, p. 4.

The Provincial Education Office

For each of the fifteen major administrative divisions (including Addis Ababa) a provincial education office was established. Each such office was headed by a provincial education officer (P.E.O.). Under each P.E.O. were the teaching and nonteaching staff. The P.E.O.'s and their staff were regarded as local representatives of the ministry, having local responsibility for the whole range of educational activities within their province.

Professional experience and training had varied in the early decades, but continued improvement was evident. For instance in 1962 the qualifications of these people were as shown in Table 87. By 1965, although the goal of recruiting a group of provincial education officers whose academic standing and experience was superior to those who worked under them had not been fully realized, a good start had been made in the right direction.[57]

Provincial Education Boards

Soon after the establishment of the land tax earmarked for provincial elementary education in 1947, provincial education boards were instituted to exercise supervision over the expenditure of that money. As the years went by these boards ceased to function as desired. In mid-1960 it was said of them, "At most, they meet once a year, and their powers and duties have never been adequately defined."[58]

It was intended that these boards would assist the P.E.O.'s in the administration of expenditures from the provincial tax. The provincial treasurers needed much assistance in getting the necessary clearance from headquarters for any expenditure. The boards could have been a great help in formulating policies as well as using their collective power to facilitate appropriate expenditure for the schools. Apparently they had failed to carry out their functions, until complete inactivity occurred.

Table 87

Qualifications of Provincial Education Officers, 1962

Qualification	Number
M.A. or B.A.	6
Completed TTI*	8
No qualification	1
TOTAL	15

Source: Current Operation of the Education System in Ethiopia, p. 141.

TTI: Elementary Teacher Training Program

Still there were more problems that remained unsolved for the provincial education officers. This group of people "had been given undefined responsibility but very little actual authority. In addition, their relations with the Head Office officials have not been adequately defined and it is difficult to know to whom they are responsible."[59]

As the ministerial committee recommended: "The precise functions of the Provincial Administration must be defined and the precise needs, in terms of professional personnel of various types must be enumerated."[60]

The District Education Officers

Each province was divided into awrajas (districts). In 1970 there were 102 of them. At the head of each awraja was an officer who was responsible for the education activities within his district. However, primarily for lack of experience and training on the part of these officers, as well as absence of any precise delegation of authority by their superiors, these officers were termed a "stumbling block in the development of Ethiopian education."[61] By 1965 only one province was said to have a satisfactory group of district officers. In the rest of the awrajas many of the officers had no qualifications at all and they could not be expected to render useful service to the cause of education in the district. As we shall soon see, this state of affairs was later rectified by inservice training, but it was not altogether eliminated for a long time to come.

Elementary and Secondary School Supervisors

Elementary school supervisors were now undergoing training and by 1966 it was reported that "all supervisors of elementary schools have now undergone a one-year in-service course of training"[62] at the University. But this advantage was often offset to a large extent by the fact that supervisors were not able to visit schools as often as needed for lack of money from the provincial education offices. Despite this handicap the further training of school supervisors continued at the University.[63]

By 1966 the Ministry of Education had two secondary school supervisors and one part-time consultant for home economics. None of these people were subject specialists and all of them lacked the necessary experience required for such a high responsibility. The dependable source quoted already added: "It cannot be said that a Head Office supervisory staff for secondary schools exists at the moment."[64] This was true in 1966, and it is still true in 1973.

Elementary School Directors

Each government elementary school was headed by a school director who was directly responsible to his awraja officer. However, most of these people had neither the necessary experience nor any formal training for the job. In mid-decade, it was found that out of 992 elementary schools only some 180 were headed by a director who was trained for the job.

Elementary school directors were assigned by the provincial education officers. Assignment to the directorship was supposed to be on merit and capability. However, more often than not "elementary school directors are appointed otherwise than on the basis of professional ability."[65] Thus the leadership of the elementary schools continued to be deficient until, with the help of some inservice training, the situation was rectified.

Secondary School Directors

At the beginning of the decade the Ministry of Education took steps to replace foreign school directors by nationals. As a result by 1966 there were only three foreign school directors in government secondary schools. Although the Ethiopianization of school personnel was desirable it was unfortunate it took place when qualified secondary school professionals were at a premium. This brought about the inevitable situation where young, inexperienced Ethiopians were put in as directors. In addition there continued to be a large turnover of people of this category and the secondary schools suffered not only for lack of experienced directors but also for lack of continuity in administration as well. To aggravate a bad situation some of the secondary schools were without properly appointed directors. The ministerial committee rightly noted "...the methods used to select directors for the nation's secondary schools were not those likely to guarantee the selection of personnel with the best personal and professional qualifications."[66] Another added factor was that many of the young directors were selected for study abroad. On return many of them preferred to stay at Headquarters in Addis Ababa.[67] Thus the general picture that prevailed, as far as secondary school directors were concerned, was one of incompetence and instability.

Commenting upon this instability in educational leadership, the committee already referred to said:

> "...there is an instability and constant change-over of school directors as well as senior Ministry officials at Headquarters. Even at the very top, the Ministry has had eight leaders in eleven years. Less than 20 percent of the elementary school directors are trained for their job, and as for the secondary school directors, their only claim to the job is the degree they hold rather than their experience and seniority as secondary school teachers..."[68]

Hence, there is a serious dislocation--one is tempted to say crisis--in all five of the component units of education: students, teachers, facilities, curriculum and administration. It would have been all too easy for this committee not to be so blunt and critical, but this would have been self-deception and contrary to the real interests of Ethiopia and her people.[69]

Inservice Programs for School Directors and Supervisors

The Ministry of Education and the university jointly decided to launch inservice programs for education officers. The question was now whether (1) to upgrade those who were in administrative positions already but who had less academic and professional preparation or (2) to make a fresh start, by selecting from those teachers who had already had adequate academic training, and give them professional training. The latter was chosen as the better alternative of the two.

Accordingly about one hundred candidates were selected for a one-year course at the university, with the ministry paying them their full salary while undergoing training. The one-year certificate program included some work in professional courses such as school administration and curriculum as well as some academic courses. Between 1963 and 1970, 740 people had graduated from the one-year program. Later the inservice activity was conducted during the long summer vacations where three successful summer attendances and completion of the program at an acceptable standard was considered equal to attending a one-year certificate program.[70]

Graduates of this program have replaced some of the unqualified personnel. But more remained to be done to upgrade the qualifications of the school leaders. It was expected that the inservice training program with proposed local self-administration[71] would accelerate the qualification, the responsibility as well as the stability of the leadership.

Elementary School Teachers

The Ministry of Education and Fine Arts had always assumed responsibility for the training, recruitment and placement of elementary school teachers. Recently they had also undertaken the training of junior secondary and technical school teachers. In addition, the ministry had been sponsoring young Ethiopians for scholarships abroad including those, who upon return, would become either school directors or teachers.

So as we have done in the previous era, for the 1960s we shall begin with the training aspect of elementary school teachers.

The Expansion of Elementary Teachers Education

Beginning around 1962 the 6-2-4 (three-tier system) became operational. This made it necessary to prepare special teachers to work at different levels. So teacher training programs were reorganized and improved including raising the entry level to grade ten and standardizing all teacher training institutes by offering a regular two-year program. A large comprehensive inservice teacher training program was organized in 1965-66 to upgrade teachers already employed.

In 1964, the Ethiopian government entered into an agreement with two United Nations agencies, i.e. UNESCO and UNICEF for the further improvement and expansion of teacher education. The objectives of the cooperative effort included: (1) to expand and strengthen primary teacher training institutions; (2) to organize an inservice teacher training program to improve the academic and professional competence of teachers; (3) to establish a separate teacher education department within the ministry.[72]

Under this scheme an advisor and two teachers were provided by UNESCO, and a salary subsidy for up to twenty-four Ethiopian teacher instructors was offered. Within the ministry itself a Department of Teacher Education was established with its own budget and defined areas of responsibility.[73]

Through the combined program all existing teacher training institutes were equipped with teaching aids and instructional materials to the tune of $12,500 each. Most of the money was earmarked for learning materials in rural science, home economics, general science, workshop tools and libraries, and also for transport for observation outings for student teachers. The whole venture was to give high priority to primary education by putting emphasis on the training, recruitment and retention of qualified teaching staff at all grade school levels.[74] The entry level to TTI's was raised to grade ten. Prior to this time students were taken in at various levels. Table 88 shows the pattern teacher training followed.

The four, later five, TTIs were functioning under pressure. The number of graduates was not able to meet the demand. As a result various shortcut methods had to be adopted. This could be done as long as quality was not sacrificed for quantity. With limited teaching personnel and facilities it is very hard to maintain both.

The Curriculum of Elementary Teacher Education

In 1963-64 it was decided by the ministry to standardize teacher training policy. Firstly, entry level was fixed at grade ten. From then on a two-year program was provided, with students no longer being regarded as tenth or eleventh graders but as first and second year students.

Table 88

Pattern of Growth of Teacher Training Institutions (TTIs)

Period	Enrollment	Output	Remarks
1961-62	913	310	-
1962-63	1,556	353	Beginning of phasing out of 3 & 4-year programs.
1963-64	1,344	330	-
1964-65	1,721	883	Debre Berhan became a TTI. Other TTIs established.
1965-66	1,768	868	Grade 10+1 program also to accelerate output.
1966-67	1,639	713	-
1967-68	1,722	874	Addis Ababa TTI expanded to 750 and Jimma opened with 300 students.
1968-69	2,255	1,356	Jimma TTI expanded to 550 students.
1969-70	2,545	1,357	Grade 11+1 to accelerate output.
1970-71	2,696	1,564	Debre Berhan TTI expanded to 550 students.
1971-72	2,800	1,860	Grade 12+1 emergency program started.
1972-73	2,800	1,860	-

Source: Ministry of Education, Pre-Service Teacher Education, 1964 EC., pp. 21-22.

Further in 1965-66 the ministry appointed a committee comprising representatives of the ministry, the university, TTI directors, USAID and UNESCO. The committee compiled an official national curriculum with the stipulation that fifty percent of learning time should be devoted to the professional aspects of teacher training. However, this approach was later considered too conventional and between 1967 and 1969 two curriculum workshops were conducted by the ministry with participation by subject specialists, ministry and university personnel, and UNESCO representatives as well as directors, department heads of TTIs, and curriculum experts.

The results of the workshop were forwarded to the TTIs themselves, and in the absence of any suggestion for radical change, the recommendations were adopted as the official curriculum guide for all TTIs. But with the passage of time and the frequent turnover of TTI teaching staff disparity arose again between one institute and another. A ministry report noted, "The result was that students were placed at a serious disadvantage in the national examinations, when they were being taught to a syllabus that did not accord with national aims nor with the syllabus from which the national teacher training examinations were set."[75]

The problem was further aggravated by the lack of textbooks for either staff or students. The less qualified teachers resorted to teaching subject matter following the traditional fashion. This problem remained unresolved.[76]

The TTI and Elementary School Curriculum

"One of the main problems associated with the curriculum is the apparent lack of correlation between what is taught at the Institutes and what students are required to teach in the schools when they graduated,"[77] reported a ministry publication. The problem rested primarily with the elementary school system; would-be teachers were taught to teach self-contained classes and subjects like rural science, physical education and home economics in a very practical way. Thus they were taught to be generalists. Yet when they reported at their posts they were required "to teach as specialists in a narrow academic range, and the practical and functional subjects are frequently neglected."[78]

As far as content was concerned the curriculum of the TTIs included: rural science, arts, crafts, wood-carving, leatherwork, nutrition, child care, dressmaking and cooking. These were designed to make elementary education practical, functional and everyday life oriented. But when teachers went to the schools they were asked to teach subject matter for its own end. This regrettable act was reflected in the barrenness of elementary school premises--no school garden, vegetable plots or tree plantations; no handicrafts or music. "Instead, young graduates are directed to teach as specialists in the formal academic areas such as mathematics, English, science, etc."

"The setting up of new institutions or different kinds of teacher training institutes equipped to teach the non-formal subjects will not change prevailing attitudes, nor will they by themselves, keep students on the land if subsistence farming is to be their future. The answer lies not in creating something with a new name but of making the present system work, and of ensuring that teachers teach what Ministry policy says they should be teaching, and that they teach in the subjects they are trained to teach, and that they relate their teaching to community needs."[79]

Another problem was that the medium of instruction in the TTI was English, while in the elementary schools it was Amharic.

Qualifications of Primary School Teachers

The qualifications of teachers had been low, generally speaking, throughout the previous twenty years. During our decade it was still low but marked improvements had taken place. For instance, in 1962-3, sixty-two percent of the teachers were of grade eight level or lower standard, with no teacher training. By 1967-68 that percentage was reduced to something like twelve percent, and by 1970-71 the number of teachers of elementary education standard without teacher training was reduced to five percent.[80] This was a remarkable achievement, but it hides other factors. For instance, elementary education had been reduced to grade level six, and the quality of program in the TTIs themselves was not free of defects, as we have already pointed out. But overall there was a marked improvement in the qualifications of teachers, if this were measurable by attendance at the TTI programs.

Table 89 illustrates the comparative salaries in relation to educational qualification of elementary as well as secondary teachers.

Elementary Teacher Wastage and Morale

The wastage of elementary teachers levelled off at about ten percent during the decade. This was a high rate of turnover, and its effect was felt the more because most of the people that departed were the better qualified ones.[81]

The powerful ministerial committee already referred to attributed the high teacher turnover to the following factors: (1) unfavorable salaries compared with alternative employment; (2) the absence of a satisfactory salary increment policy; (3) the wide feeling among teachers that they are given low status in society; (4) the unprofessional treatment of teachers by officials in the provincial education offices and Headquarters; (5) maladministration, and (6) the prospect of service in hardhsip areas without due reward. The committee then concluded: "...a state of chaos exists in the payment of increments to salary, that this results in a widespread feeling of injustice and dissatisfaction and that the existing low morale among elementary school personnel indicates the need for an urgent review, in detail, of the salary position."[82]

Other problems that contributed to high teacher turnover and low morale were inconsistent policy, unfair transfer from one post to another without prior notification, and the like. As the committee rightly added: "It would be possible for the Ministry of Education to take more interest in the teacher as a professional man trying to do a difficult job. Teachers must not be allowed to feel neglected, ignored or trodden upon by the various levels of officialdom. They must be given assistance and encouragement, and penalties must only be imposed upon those who neglect to take professional advantage of assistance offered."[83]

Secondary School Teachers

There were three types of teachers at the second level, i.e. junior, general, and technical-vocational secondary school teachers.

Junior Secondary Teacher Education

Since the new articulated grade structure (6-2-4) came into full operation in 1963-64 the need to prepare special teachers for the different cycles was apparent. Until 1963 teachers for grades seven and eight were graduates of the TTIs or the teacher training streams in the secondary schools. In fact as late as 1970-71, over fifty percent of such teachers were still teaching in grade seven and eight classes.[84]

With the coming of the junior secondary school curriculum which was designed to provide general education as well as vocational, exploratory skills, appropriately trained

Table 89

Comparative Salary Scale of Elementary and Secondary Ethiopian Teachers

Type of Teachers		Certified Teachers				Diploma		Degreed Teachers		
Segment		9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Qualifications		8+1TE	9+1TE	9+2TE 10+1TE	8+4TE or Equiv	12+1C	12+2C	BA.+PT B. Ed.	M.A.+PT M. Ed.	Ph.D. D. Ed.
Salary Step Probationary Salary	Year of Service Probationary Period				$225					
Starting	First	$130	$170	$210	250	$300	$350	$500	$600	$750
First	Second	140	180	220	265	315	365	520	620	770
Second	Third	150	190	230	280	330	380	540	640	790
Third	Fourth	160	200	240	295	345	395	560	660	810
Fourth	Fifth	170	210	250	310	360	410	580	680	830
Fifth	Sixth	180	220	260	325	375	425	600	700	850
Sixth	Seventh	190	230	270	340	390	440	620	720	870
Seventh	Eighth	190	230	270	340	405	455	640	740	890
Minimum		130	170	210	250	300	350	500	600	750
Maximum		190	230	270	340	405	455	640	740	890
No. of increments		6	6	6	6	7	7	7	7	7

TE: Teacher Education F: Failure P: Pass C: College (Faculty of Education) P.T.: Professional Training in Teaching

Source: John W. Hanson, Secondary Level Teachers: Supply and Demand in Ethiopia. (Michigan State University, 1970), p. 130

teachers were needed. Hence the faculty of education of the Haile Selassie I University assumed the responsibility of producing such teachers. These would-be teachers were recruited from among those who had completed grade 12 and had passed in two or three subjects of the E.S.L.C.F. They were given two years of training in the faculty proper and a third year in the country as part of their university service requirement. It did work out well for some time, but later on the objectives of training these teachers became confused. As a Ministry publication pointed out:

> "Students who came to the University to be teachers forgot what they came for, and found themselves attracted to other courses, and frequently found ways and means of 'swapping horses in mid-stream' and transferring to these courses especially if they led to a degree rather than a teacher's diploma...and consequently lectures were academically rather than professionally oriented, with general principles of education and subject methodology not always receiving the attention they deserved."[85]

When it was realized that the faculty of education was not producing the kind and number of teachers required by the ministry, the latter established a Junior Secondary Teacher Training College of its own in 1969 in Addis Ababa.

However, for lack of a well qualified staff of its own, the new college had to rely on part-time teachers drawn from the various faculties of the university and others. These part-time teachers brought with them their old lecture notes and followed the university syllabi strictly. As the Teacher Education Division of the ministry noted: "What had eventuated was not so much a Junior Secondary Teacher Training College as a junior University, teaching an academically oriented curriculum uplifted from the Universty calendar and unrelated to the needs of the junior secondary schools."[86]

This was not to say that junior secondary school teachers should not attend classes with other students, nor did it mean they should not join the university for the degree programs. What was being proposed was the candidates should complete their commitments to the government, and comply with the terms of their contracts by teaching in schools assigned to them for the stipulated number of years before they looked for further training.[87]

Since the academic year 1971-72 attempts have been made by the ministry to redesign the curriculum of the Junior Secondary Teacher Training College in accordance with the desired educational principles. It was hoped that the change would produce the required results. But in the meanwhile, the ministry fully aware of student agitation for more on the same lines as other programs, had decided not to succumb. Recalling what had happened in 1948 and 1949, and recalling the report of the director of the Teacher Training College in 1949-50, the ministry asserted "the disgruntled few should not be permitted to spoil the purpose of a teacher training institution, nor should they be allowed by their behavior and their attitude to hinder its progress."[88]

In the meantime the qualificatons of junior secondary teachers remained very low. For instance in the school year of 1970-71 the situation was as follows: The desired minimum standard to teach at the junior secondary year was the holding of a diploma which was based on 12 + 3, i.e. completion of grade 12 followed by two years of professional training plus one year University National Service. The total number of teachers on the job in 1971 was 1,582 nationals and 115 expatriates. Out of these: (1) 121 or 7.6 percent had the necessary diploma, (2) 24 or 1.4 percent had a university degree, (3) 815 or 51 percent were TTI graduates. In other words 9 percent of the teachers had some kind of qualification to teach at the junior secondary level. Of the rest; (1) 346 had attended university but had not completed, (2) 173 had only general secondary education, (3) 89 were graduates of technical and vocational schools, (4) 14 had only elementary education. So, by 1973 only 9 percent of junior secondary teachers had reached the desired minimum standards; 40 percent of the rest had received no teacher training at all, and 51 percent or more than half were graduates of TTIs (primary teacher training schools.)[89]

This shows that there is a hard task ahead yet before the minimum requirement of teachers for junior secondary schools are met.

Senior Secondary School Teachers

The three main sources of teachers for the senior secondary schools remained: (1) the faculty of education of HSIU, (2) expatriates recruited under contract, and (3) Ethiopian graduates of overseas universities. During our decade two additional major sources were identified, i.e. the Peace Corps Volunteer teachers and the Ethiopian University Service students.

As might be recalled the long-term plan had expected that secondary school teachers would continue to be mostly expatriates for some time to come. This holds true even to this day.

Qualification requirements for teachers of this category were: (1) expatriates must be between the ages of twenty-five to fifty years; must hold first degree in the subject to be taught, and must have had one or two years of teaching experience; (2) Ethiopians were required to have a university degree including professional training.[90]

Number and Types of Secondary Teachers Employed

In 1965 the estimated number of senior secondary school teachers was 424 Ethiopians, 349 foreigners under contract and 297 Peace Corps Volunteers from USA and France, (see Table 90). The total of foreign teachers was 646, constituting the majority.*

Table 90

Types of Senior Secondary Teachers Employed in 1965

Category	Grades 9 - 12
Ethiopians	424
Foreigners	349
Peace Corps Volunteers	297
TOTAL	1,070

Source: Ministry of Education, Current Operation of the Education System in Ethiopia (1966), p. 55.

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*The total number varies from one source to the next, but the general proportion stands.

Commenting on government junior and senior secondary school teachers, the committee, established by the Council of Ministers noted as follows:

(1) The existing senior secondary teaching force fell far short of the required employment standards. For instance, only 49 of the Ethiopian teachers employed had degrees, many of the Peace Corps volunteers had no experience in teaching, and the 194 Ethiopian University Service students had not yet completed their training.

(2) Only forty percent of the senior secondary school teachers were Ethiopians and only ten percent of these were qualified. It was also noted that a proportion of the Ethiopian teachers were nonacademic teachers of sports, morals, home economics, handicrafts and so forth. In addition a large number of unqualified staff taught Amharic in the senior secondary schools.

(3) Of the expatriate staff nearly half were volunteers and these served only a two-year contract. An analysis of some 327 foreign contract teachers (Table 91) shows that the great majority of them had served only a short time in Ethiopia.

(4) Further, perhaps only twenty percent of the existing senior secondary school teachers had both adequate qualifications and adequate teaching experience. A number of wives were employed each year on one-year contracts to fill the gaps in teaching staff.[91]

Table 91

Analysis of Years of Service of Expatriate Teachers

Years of Service	Number of Teachers
0 - 4	174
5 - 9	76
10 - 14	46
15 - 19	25
20 +	6
Total	327

Conditions of Service

The standard rates of salary paid to qualified senior secondary school teachers in 1965 is shown in Table 92.

The committee noted then that the salaries of Ethiopian graduates was not competitive with other professions which was largely responsible for the small number of Ethiopians serving in the senior secondary schools. At this rate, fear was expressed that it would take a long time to Ethiopianize the teaching staff. Furthermore increments were found to be small and irregular. The committee added rather sadly:

"It has become clear to the Committee that young Ethiopian graduates do not regard secondary school teaching as a satisfactory career...a number of students have actually repaid sums as large as $500 to the University to free themselves of any obligation to teach."[92]

Table 92

Standard Secondary School Teachers' Monthly Salaries, 1965

Ethiopian Graduates	$450*
European Expatriates	$750 + $120 housing allowance
Indian Expatriates	$400 + $100 housing allowance
Indian Wives	$250
Ethiopian Diploma holders (2 years of college plus 2 years of Ethiopian University Service)	$300

Source: Ministry of Education, The Current Operation of the Education System in Ethiopia (1966), p. 57.

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*This category has gone up to $500 since 1965.

Then the committee recommended to the ministry that: "Serious steps must be taken by the Ministry of Education to stop this wastage of specially trained personnel and to prevent this demoralization of teachers which begins even during their period of training."[93]

As far as the conditions of expatriate teachers on contract were concerned, the ministry policy with regard to increments "has been sporadic and largely individual. No general system seems to have been in operation."[94]

After analyzing salary conditions of 327 expatriate teachers on contract, the committee drew the following conclusions: (1) The existing salary of an expatriate teacher was only $10 per month above the starting salary of an Ethiopian graduate; (2) The total amount given in increments to this large group of teachers was small, and the average total received was $30, which was ridiculous considering the fact that the average length of service of the expatriate teaching staff was about 6 years; (3) The total sum given in increments to these teachers was only 6 percent of the total starting salaries even though the group contained 31 teachers who had served more than 15 years.[95] A bitter comment followed: "Not only has the Ministry of Education taken no reasonable steps to retain its valuable core of expatriate teaching staff but, in a highly competitive market for secondary school teachers, it has offered conditions which have become increasingly unlikely to attract good teachers to the country. Initial salaries offered...have remained unchanged for at least the past 20 years."[96]

The same committee asserted that volunteer teachers were not to be relied upon and that policies governing teacher transfer were partial and unfair. If the ministry wanted to improve morale among the teaching staff, remedial steps needed to be taken forthwith.[97]

Finally, the 1966 report of the Ministerial Committee concluded:

> "In this review of the educational staff in the employment of the Ministry of Education, it can only be concluded that the present personnel are woefully inadequate in numbers, training and experience in all categories...To a certain extent, it is true to say that the Ministry of Education has not been adequately financed for this purpose but, at the same time, a great deal of the responsibility lies with the Ministry of Education itself since the personnel policy and administration can only be described as careless, haphazard, illogical and chaotic. The impact of this situation on the quality of education which is made available to the nation's children cannot be overestimated."[98]

During 1970-71 the qualification of Ethiopian senior secondary school teachers was as follows: (1) Only 18.4 percent of them met the minimum standard, (2) 48.6 percent had not had any kind of teacher training, and (3) 16 percent were graduates of elementary school teacher training institutes.[99] Thus, the general situation in 1973 was not much brighter than it was in 1965.

Teachers of Special Schools

Table 93 shows the number of teachers in government post-primary schools. As far as numbers are concerned steady gains are apparent, but the proportion of qualified educators has not increased appreciably over the years.

The teachers in the technical-vocational as well as in the TTIs were mostly expatriates and the conditions of work and living were similar to those of the general senior secondary schools.

Women Teachers

In the annals of Ethiopian education it has never been easy to attract women teachers to the classrooms. The main reasons for this might have included: (1) the relatively small number of female students in the grade schools; (2) the traditional inhibition of women appearing in public and (3) the lack of adequate living quarters in the teacher training schools. However, since 1960 some gains have been noticed as Table 94 shows.

Over a period of ten years the percentage of girl students had increased from two percent in 1960-61 to almost eighteen percent in 1970-71. In fact for the 1970-71 year more girls had applied than could be accommodated in schools. In the future, policy makers would note this and make the necessary provisions to cater to the growing number of female students.[100]

Table 93

Number of Teachers in Government Postprimary Schools
1961-62 to 1970-71

Year	Number of Teachers Ac. Sec.	TTI	Tech/Voc.	Total
1961-62	478	278	-	756
1962-63	730	288	-	1,018
1963-64	1,353	312	-	1,665
1964-65	1,293	88	509	1,890
1965-66	1,180	93	205	1,478
1966-67	1,526	92	300	1,918
1967-68	2,333	101	349	2,783
1968-69	2,660	130	350	3,140
1969-70	3,140	150	400	3,690
1970-71	3,290	140	380	3,810

Note: Figures available for the period 1961/62 - 63/64 for the Technical Vocational Teacher Training Institutes are classified as "Special Schools" in the sources cited.

Sources: For the year 1961-62 see School Census for Ethiopia, 1961-62, p. 7.

For the year 1962-63 see School Census for Ethiopia, 1962-63, p. 7
For the year 1963-64 see School Census for Ethiopia, 1963-64, p. 1
For the year 1964-65 see School Census for Ethiopia, 1964-65, p. 3
For the year 1965-66 see School Census for Ethiopia, 1965-66, p. 1
For the year 1966-67 see School Census for Ethiopia, 1966-67, part 1, p. 10
For the year 1967-68 see MEFA - Annual Report 1968-69 Appendix 3, table 1
For the year 1968/69-1970/71 see MEFA - Annual Report 1970-71 Annex I, Table 11.

Table 94

Number of Female Students in Teacher Training Schools

Period	Total Enrollment	Number of Female Students	Percent of Female Students
1960-61	874	18	2
1962-63	1,485	135	9
1966-67	1,639	153	9
1967-68	1,722	177	10
1968-69	2,255	274	12
1969-70	2,545	396	15.5
1970-71	2,696	468	17.5

Source: Ministry of Education, The Development of Pre-Service Education, (1964 EC.), p. 44.

The number of women teachers in the government school system and the university is shown in Table 95. Over the three years for which we have adequate record, gains in the percentage of this category of teachers is noted. As a whole there were more women teachers at the primary and technical-vocational (home economics) levels; less at the general secondary, TTI and university levels.

The representation of women teachers in the school system in Ethiopia was much lower than any other country, including those in Africa. For instance, by 1970 the following norms prevailed: Africa twenty-six percent; Latin America forty-six percent; Canada, Australia, and New Zealand sixty-six percent.[101] Compared with these countries, Ethiopia's ten percent was very small indeed. In the future more effort has to be expended to attract women teachers into the school system.

Nongovernment School Teachers

The nongovernment schools continued to make a great contribution to the development of Ethiopian education. Although complete information is lacking on their activities including qualifications, salaries, and level of work, the numbers as such seemed to be indicative of progressive accommodation of growing educational needs.

Table 96 indicates that the combined teaching force in the mission, private and church schools for 1961-62 was 2,207; and that number had increased to 5,606 by 1970-71. As far as numbers go, this was a remarkable growth. However, for lack of information, the qualifications of these teachers cannot be ascertained. It is known that some of the missions and the church do have training schools of their own. But these schools were not affiliated to or evaluated by the Ministry of Education, which, incidentally is required by law to supervise and coordinate all types of educational activities in Ethiopia.

Table 95

Women Teachers in Government Grade Schools and the University

Grade Level	1968-69 Number	1968-69 Percent	1969-70 Number	1969-70 Percent	1970-71 Number	1970-71 Percent
Primary	1,012	10.1	1,180	10.1	1,425	10.9
Junior Secondary	173	12.1	143	8.2	102	5.3
Senior Secondary	23	5.5	39	6.0	52	6.2
Vocational-Technical	NR	NR	67	19.5	NR	NR
TTIs	1	1.8	3	5.0	7	9.3
University	25	11.4	9	4.1	15	6.3
TOTAL	1,234	10.0	1,441	9.8	1,662	10.1

NR: No record available.

Source: Ministry of Education, The Development of Pre-Service Teacher Education (1964 EC.), p. 45.

Table 96

Non-Government School Teachers 1961/62 - 1970/71

Year	Mission	Private	Church	Total
1961-62	1,077	747	383	2,207
1962-63	1,207	999	288	2,494
1963-64	1,170	1,171	499	2,840
1964-65	1,353	1,386	402	3,141
1965-66	1,507	1,457	375	3,339
1966-67	1,551	1,578	377	3,506
1967-68	1,673	1,857	445	3,975
1968-69	1,882	1,876	457	4,215
1969-70	2,017	2,288	560	4,865
1970-71	2,210	2,798	598	5,606

Source: Statistical Abstract 1967 and 1968, p. 192
Statistical Abstract 1971, p. 189

Thus it can be summarized that the quality of teachers at all levels of the grade school system had improved since 1951 and that progress has been made towards the Ethiopianization of the teaching staff. In the elementary schools the objectives of Ethiopianization have been realized, but at the general secondary, TTI and vocational-technical school, the majority of the teaching staff were still expatriates with all the instability and higher expenses this entails.

In the following chapter we will consider another important ingredient of effective education, the school plant.

Summary

In the present chapter the fact was argued that Ethiopia remained committed to the value and efficacy of education in the socioeconomic development of the country. But during the sixties emphasis shifted from education at any cost to as many people as possible, to education to meet the needed type and number of skills for national development.

This decade was also different from the previous decades for the simple reason that for the first time ever we began to interact with other independent and sovereign states of Africa and compare education notes with them. Several conferences were carried out by the African states assisted by international organizations such as UNESCO and friendly European and American governments. The most important of the conferences was the one carried out in Addis Ababa in May 1961. At that conference African leaders evaluated the performances of the respective education systems and set future goals.

For Ethiopia the Addis Ababa conference was revealing. Ethiopia, a symbol of African freedom on the political scene, a country of great prestige, was shocked by the facts brought to light at the conference. If education is a main factor in nation building and in social and economic changes, Ethiopia had to do something about the existing situation.

During the decade under review, the first five year development plan was followed by the second and the third. In all these plans education was assigned its fair share of available national resources. But it was not enough.

As far as textbooks, equipment and other teaching aids were concerned there was still heavy reliance on foreign sources although improvements had been made towards the last half of the decade, especially in the production of elementary textbooks in the national language. Instructional methods and approaches still were not directly related to Ethiopian realities. The 6-2-4 structure of the system became fully operational in most of the schools. The teaching staff at the elementary level in the government, as well as nongovernment systems of education, expanded. But the qualifications of all teachers had not come up to expectation. At the secondary level most of the teachers were still expatriates. Even the relatively few Ethiopian teachers at that level were teaching nonacademic subjects.

The material well-being of teachers had improved in general, but the expatriate teachers' salary scale remained stagnant. As a result many of the best qualified teachers left for other places that promised more. Among the Ethiopians, teacher wastage continued to be problematic. Further the secondary school teacher education program lagged behind demands and projections.

The qualifications of administrative personnel at the provincial and awraja levels had been improved by the introduction of training schemes at the Faculty of Education, Haile Selassie I University.

Notes

1. Ethiopia Observer, 5 (1961): 3.

2. Haile Selassie I, Emperor, "Inaugural Address," UNESCO-ECA, Final Report (UNESCO/E.D./181), 1961, p. 21.

3. Ibid., p. V.

4. Ibid., p. 3.

5. Teshome Wagaw, "A Follow-up Study of the 1961 Addis Ababa Education Conference of African States: Implications for Ethiopia," Dialogue 3(July 1971): 19-34.

6. Ibid., pp. 19-21.

7. Ibid., pp. 21-23.

8. Ibid., pp. 23-24.

9. Edward Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia, Policies and Practices in Education in Modern Ethiopia," Montreal, 1964. (Mimeographed) pp. 21-22.

10. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, "Porposed Plan for the Development of Education in Ethiopia," (Addis Ababa, August 1961), p. 14. See also speech by the Head of the Ethiopian Delegation in Addis Zemen, Ginbot 10, 1953 E.C., pp. 1 and 3.

11. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 23.

12. Teshome Wagaw, "A Follow-up study of the 1961 Addis Ababa Education Conference of African States...," pp. 25-33.

13. I.E.G., Second Five Year Plan, 1963-67 (Addis Ababa, October 1962), p. 259.

14. Ibid., p. 52.

15. Ibid.

16. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" p. 23.

17. I.E.G., Second Five Year Development Plan, pp. 262-263.

18. Ibid., p. 263.

19. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 25.

20. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Project for Second Level Education in Ethiopia (Addis Ababa, Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, March 1965), pp. 23-24. Donald Levine, Wax and Gold (1961) , pp. 108-109.

21. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Project for Expansion of Second Level of Education in Ethiopia (March 1965), pp. 24-25.

22. Ibid., p. 25

23. Ibid.

24. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Elementary School Curriculum Years I-VI (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, 1964), p. i.

25. Ibid., p. ii.

26. Ibid., pp. ii-iii.

27. Ibid., p. iv.

28. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Project for the Expansion of Second Level Education in Ethiopia (March 1965), p. 26.

29. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, The Current Operation of the Education System in Ethiopia (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, November 1966), p. 120.

30. Ibid., p. 123.

31. Ibid., pp. 186-87.

32. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Secondary School Curriculum, Book I (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, September 1963), p. i.

33. Ibid., pp. vi-vii.

34. Ibid., p. ix.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., p. vii.

38. Ibid., p. ix.

39. ibid., p. viii.

40. ibid., p. xiv.

41. Ibid.

42. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Secondary School Curriculum, Book I, p. 1.

43. In addition the Curriculum Guides listed already, see also Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Secondary School Curriculum Book 3 (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, 1963), pp. 162.

44. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, "Educational Projects proposed for the Third Five Year Plan" (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, July 1967, mimeographed), p. ii.

45. Ibid., p. iii.

46. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, The Current Operation of Education System in Ethiopia, p. 126.

47. Ibid., p. 185.

48. Ibid., p. 74.

49. Ibid., p. 77.

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52. Ibid., p. 80.

53. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Seminar on Junior and Senior Secondary School Directors: Addis Ababa July 26-31, 1971 (Ministry of Education, 1971), p. 49.

54. Ibid., p. 125.

55. Ibid., pp. 125-26.

56. Untitled U.N. Document Presented to the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts (unpublished, December 20, 1969), pp. 5-6.

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58. Ibid., p. 142.

59. Ibid., pp. 142-43.

60. Ibid., p. 143.

61. Ibid., p. 142. See also Ministry of Education, Seminar on Junior and Senior Secondary School Directors, p. 172.

62. Ministry of Education, Current Operation of the Education System in Ethiopia, p. 54.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid., p. 69.

65. Ibid., p. 53.

66. Ibid., p. 66.

67. Ibid., pp. 67-68.

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69. Ibid.

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72. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Preservice Teacher Education, 1937-1964 E.C.* (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, 1964 E.C.), p. 12.

73. Ibid., p. 13.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid., p. 27.

76. Ibid., pp. 27-28.

77. Ibid., p. 28.

78. Ibid.

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82. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *The Current Operation of the Education System in Ethiopia*, pp. 46-48.

83. Ibid., p. 52.

84. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *The Development of Pre-Service Teacher Education* p. 31.

85. Ibid., p. 32.

86. Ibid., p. 33.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid., pp. 33 and 38.

90. Ibid., p. 39.

91. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *The Current Operation of the Education System in Ethiopia*, pp. 54-57.

92. Ibid., pp. 58-59.

93. Ibid., p. 59.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid., p. 60-61.

96. Ibid., pp. 61-62.

97. Ibid., pp. 62-65.

98. Ibid., pp. 69-70.

99. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, The Development of Pre-Service Teacher Education, p. 39.

100. Ibid., p. 44.

101. Ibid., p. 46.

Chapter XIII

EDUCATION IN THE CONTINENTAL FRAMEWORK (Continued)

School Buildings, Quantitative and Qualitative Developments and Financing Education

Precise information on elementary school buildings was not available in the ministry. The limited amount of information available seemed to indicate that new buildings constructed by the Ministry of Education were adequate in terms of basic classroom accommodation, but usually did not make allowance for special rooms. The ministerial committee, referred to already, found that locally constructed schools were very often substandard and did not measure up to approved educational standards. Furthermore, most of the classrooms were overcrowded. The committee added that:

"In general...elementary education takes place in minimal physical surroundings and very often the accommodation is in a bad state of repair and makes no allowance for specialized accommodation such as libraries, workshops and laboratories. Clearly...elementary school students continuing education in secondary school have had little introduction to practical work and have not had the experience of using a school library."[1]

The committee noted that with the increasing number of elementary pupils physical conditions were minimal, as it would be too expensive to build "model elementary schools." However, "it is important to note that Elementary school facilities have never been provided with any precise requirements of the elementary school teaching programme in mind."[2] This was said for the period up to and including 1965. But fortunately improvements in classroom buildings have been made since then.

The Elementary School Building Unit

In June 1965 it was agreed by the Ministry of Education, the Ethiopian Government, and the International Development Agency of the Swedish government that the latter would send a group of Swedish volunteers (Peace Corps) to help construct some elementary school classrooms under the supervision of the Building College and the Ministry of Education. The two governments provided the necessary funds and a group of Swedish and Ethiopian young people set to work on the plan. The organization under which the operation took place was named Elementary School Building Program (ESBP).

Over a three-year period, from 1965 to 1968, 109 elementary schools of 704 classroom units were built by this combined venture.[3] In June 1968 the agreement was enlarged and extended to concide with the Third Five Year National Development Plan. As provided in the agreement between the Ethiopian and Swedish governments a special unit known as Elementary School Building Unit (ESBU) was established within the Ministry of Education. The agreement also stipulated that (1) ESBU will build elementary schools in the rural parts of Ethiopia, furnish them and (2) train Ethiopian high and middle level construction and management personnel. Further, the two governments were to contribute fifty percent each towards the construction and furnishing costs. In addition the Ethiopian government undertook to provide appropriate accessible school sites as well as adequate land, access to public utilities in Addis Ababa and pay the salaries of the Ethiopian personnel. The Swedish government agreed to contribute towards the cost of Swedish experts, consultants and high and middle level personnel. It also provided for the training of Ethiopians outside of the country. As long as the contract was in effect, maintenance of the buildings already erected was to be undertaken by ESBU and be paid for out of the joint fund.

The plan of operation called for an expenditure of sixty-four million dollars to construct and equip 7,000 classroom units during the five year plan period. However, the plan targets were underfulfilled, the primary reason being shortage of matching funds on the part of Ethiopia. The amount of money expended during the same period for the construction of new schools and furnishing them was twenty-nine million seven hundred forty dollars instead of the sixty-four million dollars envisaged. Yet as of March 1973 some 3,644 classroom units were completed, and furnished.

TABLE 97

ESBU-BUILT CLASSROOMS AND DIFFERENT TARGETS

Year	No. of Classrooms Completed	Target ESBU Annual Plan of Work	Target ESBU Plan Of Operation & TFYP*
1968-69	714	714	1,000
1969-70	710	600	1,000
1970-71	874	800	1,240
1971-72	996	1,000	1,620
1972-73	350	1,200	2,140

* Third Five Year Plan.

Source: ESBU, "Report of the Evaluation Team on the Elementary School Building Program," June 1973, p. 33.

The special feature of this program was that although the Ethiopian government assumed responsibility for Ethiopia's share of the building costs, it was actually the communities where these schools were built that raised the matching funds. This approach no doubt left a multiplying effect on the people in the sense that they learned to cooperate for the common good, and it gave them a sense of achievement and the feeling that the schools actually did belong to them.

As Table 98 demonstrates the building activities were spread over the fourteen provinces. Further, even within these provinces it was actually the rural areas that were the chief beneficiaries, areas which had been neglected up until that time. On a sample study (Table 99) it was shown that eight-five percent of the schools built under the plan were in rural areas.[4] It was also reported that sixty-two percent of the schools were located where a government primary school already existed and were therefore regarded as replacements, and thirty-eight percent were located where no government primary school had previously existed.[5] This indicated that (1) most of the new buildings were replacements rather than additions, and (2) thirty percent of the new schools were located where there was no elementary schools thus providing new opportunities for unreached areas.

Table 98

ESBU Built Classrooms by Year and Province, 1968-1972

	1968-69		1969-70		1970-71		1971-72		Total	
Province	Schools	Class-rooms	Schools	Class-rooms	Schools	Class-rooms	Schools	Class-rooms	Schools	Class-rooms
Arussi	4	26	9	54	9	53	8	42	30	175
Bale	0	0	4	24	1	6	13	73	18	103
Begemdir	7	38	5	30	8	44	18	106	38	218
Eritrea	12	76	9	44	9	52	23	117	53	289
Gemu Gofa	6	43	4	24	8	48	6	36	24	151
Gojam	6	33	5	38	8	48	17	102	36	221
Harerge	8	59	5	37	13	73	11	70	37	239
Illubabor	2	12	9	58	7	42	10	55	28	167
Keffa	9	48	5	28	8	40	6	32	28	148
Shoa	23	131	30	192	32	190	31	159	116	672
Sidamo	8	49	7	40	10	58	17	99	42	246
Tigre	10	58	9	41	15	78	14	79	48	256
Wellega	19	96	7	42	13	78	10	50	49	266
Wollo	9	45	10	58	14	100	11	59	44	262
Total	123	714	118	710	155	910	195	1079	591	3413

Source: ESBU, "Report of the Evaluation Team on Elementary School Building Program," June 1973, p.50.

Table 99

Sample Schools in Rural and Urban Areas by Year, 1968-1972

	Rural		Urban		Total	
Completion Year	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
1968	6	75	2	25	8	100
1969	13	68	6	32	19	100
1970	21	88	3	12	24	100
1971	20	86	2	14	22	100
1972	23	92	2	8	25	100
Total	83	85	15	15	98	100

These classrooms were built of standard material and at moderate prices. For instance the per square meter cost for the buildings between 1968 and 1972 was $129.[6] This was very reasonable indeed.

In addition ESBU also constructed water supply lines, sunk wells and provided electricity and fences where necessary and possible.[7] The present agreement was extended until the end of fiscal year 1974.

Thus the need for additional elementary school buildings has been met by this new and rather imaginative arrangement. Additional buildings were constructed by local community efforts. Unfortunately some of this later group were not fully utilized for lack of plan coordination with the Ministry of Education which was responsible for providing teachers, equipment and teaching aids.

Secondary School Buildings

The secondary school buildings varied from the good to the very bad. Some of the original secondary schools, mainly in Addis Ababa were constructed with requirements of the secondary school programs in mind and they did provide for library, workshop and laboratory needs. But as the secondary school system expanded to new locations less and less provision was made for the special requirements of secondary education. As the 1965 committee pointed out, to a large extent the school was created out of the existing elementary school classrooms at the expense of a decrease in elementary enrollment. "It is clear that at the moment physical conditions are not satisfactory in many secondary schools for secondary school education."[8] On the whole, however, the secondary schools in Addis Ababa and Asmara were better equipped than in any other part in the country.[9]

The First I.D.A. Loan

After lengthy negotiations, that began soon after the May 1961 Conference of African States on the Development of Education in the continent, the Ministry of Education concluded an agreement with IBRD/IDA in December 1964 for a loan of Eth. $23.15 million to be used in the expansion of second level education over a four year period (1965-68). In the words of the Minister of State for Education, the money would enable that ministry (1) to expand the enrollment in secondary schools so that the manpower requirements of the country would be met, (2) to carry out a reorganization of the structure and curriculum of second level educaton; and (3) to bring second level education nearer to the homes of rural people thus effecting a more equitable and rational geographical distribution of secondary schools throughout Ethiopia.[10]

The project under the loan agreement was divided into two major parts, the first consisted of eighty-four general secondary schools. Of these eighty-four schools, forty-two were senior secondary schools, one of which was to be constructed from funds currently available and only equipment and furniture were included in the project. Of the remaining forty-two schools, twenty-one were existing schools which needed extension, ten were existing schools which required rebuilding on new sites, and ten were completely new. All of these secondary schools, except one, were also to have junior secondary sections. The forty-one junior sections were new constructions, except two which had junior sections already and required only small extension of accommodation.[11]

In addition to the above junior and senior schools, the project included the construction of forty-two separate and new junior secondary facilities. To sum up this section, then, the objective was to provide these new or expanded facilities and to furnish and equip them over the four-year period.[12]

The project also included the extension of technical, vocational and elementary school teacher training institutes. Accordingly the Addis Ababa Technical School and the Asmara Trade Institute were to be expanded and equipped. In addition two vocational schools were to be constructed, equipped and furnished at Dire Dawa and Jimma. Further plans called for establishment of vocational training facilities to provide day-release and evening courses in general mechanics and woodworking in existing secondary schools.[13]

Project plans also called for the expansion of the Addis Ababa Teacher Training Institute to provide additional buildings and equipment so that enrollment could be increased to 500 and output to 250 per year. A new teacher training institute was to be established at Jimma with an enrollment capacity of 300 and yearly output of 150 trained teachers.[14]

In connection with the expansion and improvement of secondary schools, the project program also called for the construction of student hostels and teachers' housing at certain locations where these facilities were needed. Another item included was the provision of six master teachers who would be travelling to supervise the general secondary school system. For all of these items in the project a total of 23.15 million Ethiopian dollars was requested and granted.[15] If actually carried out the project for the expansion of second level education buildings would have a number of salutary effects in the annals of Ethiopian education.

Remarking on the existing building conditions in 1965 the IDA loan, the ministerial committee had noted that: "the details of this project give some indication of the inadequacy of the present secondary school system. Of the total capital sum of $4,118,000 to be spent on senior secondary schools, all but $471,000...is to be spent on the rebuilding and extension of existing secondary schools."[16]

Within the sum allotted for the expansion of the senior secondary school system, provisions have been made for specialized accommodation as shown in Table 100. Although the figures do not indicate to what extent requirements for special rooms have been met or whether they were rationally distributed among existing secondary schools, they do indicate the extent to which existing secondary schools lacked this special accommodation and how important was the loan in meeting the requirements of the category.

Table 100

Provision for Specialized Rooms in the Secondary Schools in IDA Loan

Item	No. of Rooms
Science Laboratories	49
Geography Rooms	21
Libraries	24
Industrial Arts Workshops	61
Home Economics Rooms	30
Commercial Training Rooms	20
School Clinics	23

Source: Ministry of Education, The Current Operation of the Education System in Ethiopia, p. 72.

At this writing there is no complete evaluation data available. But the Ministry of Education's annual report covering the period 1968-69 indicated that as far as the construction and equipping the secondary schools were concerned, ten schools had been completed and occupied but none of them had been supplied with the full range of equipment.[17] The program had been seriously retarded by delays in payments to contractors. At that time it was estimated that, if there were no further delays in payments, an additional seventeen schools might be ready for use in September 1969. This was of course far short of the eighty secondary school projects envisaged in the first IDA program, and even if payments were made on time at that late hour it was not anticipated that the first IDA agreement could be completed by the end of the 1969-70 school year as planned.

In April 1971 another loan agreement was concluded between the Ethiopian government and IDA. The $23,750,000 interest free loan was intended for the establishment of an Academy of Pedagogy at Bahr Dar which would have its own TTI. "Also being envisaged is the opening of five teacher training institutes and colleges."[18] A third loan agreement has been concluded between the ministry and IDA recently, but the details of the agreement as well as the projects have not been made public at this writing.

Quantitative & Qualitative Development

Growth of the Education System

The government, as well as the nongovernment school system, continued to expand during the 1961-72 decade. As Table 101 indicates the growth patterns for the number of schools, teachers, students and classroom units of all types of schools in the empire, were steady though uneven. Accordingly during the school year 1970-71 there were about 800,000 students taught by 19,000 teachers in 2,500 schools of 16,000 classroom units. The mean percentage growth rates of schools, teachers, students and classroom units of 1970-71 over 1960-61 were 9.5, 11.1, 12.5, and 9.8 respectively.

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TABLE 101

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS, TEACHERS, AND STUDENTS IN GOVERNMENT AND NONGOVERNMENT SCHOOLS 1960-72

		1960-61		1961-62		1963-64		1964-65		1965-66		1966-67		1967-68		1968-69		1969-70		1970-71		1971-72	
	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Government																							
Schools	710	778	9.6	870	11.8	943	8.4	1006	6.6	1067	6.0	1116	4.5	1121	0.44	1148	2.4	1257	8.4	1321	5.0	1421	8.00
Teachers	5323	5857	10.0	6665	13.7	6540	-18.6	7334	12.1	8152	11.1	9036	10.8	9724	7.60	10239	5.2	12330	20.4	13285	7.7	15205	14.40
Students	197840	207380	4.8	234360	13.0	265464	13.3	99384	11.1	332901	12.7	371416	11.5	409367	10.20	469751	14.7	534821	13.8	594400	11.1	661719	11.32
Classrooms	4916	5369	9.2	6024	12.1	6146	20.3	6527	6.1	7055	8.0	7731	9.5	8444	9.20	8948	5.9	9954	11.2	10962	10.1	11724	6.90
Mission																							
Schools	178	185	3.9	199	7.6	214	7.5	238	11.2	268	12.6	271	1.1	289	6.60	336	16.2	352	4.7	394	11.9	337	-5.30
Teachers	942	1077	14.3	1207	12.1	1170	3.1	1353	15.6	1507	11.3	1551	2.9	1673	7.80	1882	12.4	2017	7.1	2210	9.5	2175	-1.50
Students	24398	27118	11.1	30029	10.7	32627	8.7	38038	16.5	42294	11.1	46562	10.0	47351	1.60	58940	24.4	63769	8.1	70746	10.9	67512	-4.70
Classrooms	865	933	7.9	1065	14.1	1035	- 2.8	1141	10.2	1256	10.0	1323	5.3	1315	-6.00	1540	17.1	1754	13.8	1857	5.8	1714	-7.70
Private																							
Schools	128	138	7.8	193	39.9	277	43.5	300	8.3	325	8.3	315	-3.0	356	13.00	394	10.6	471	19.5	619	31.4	677	9.30
Teachers	648	747	15.3	999	33.7	1171	17.2	1386	18.3	1457	5.1	1578	8.3	1857	17.60	1876	1.0	2286	21.9	2798	22.2	3368	20.30
Students	20401	19606	-3.9	28768	46.8	38122	32.5	41930	9.9	44067	5.0	45929	4.2	60347	31.3	68367	13.3	86633	26.6	103014	18.9	118206	14.70
Classrooms	658	728	10.6	963	32.3	1084	12.6	1213	11.9	1237	1.9	1297	4.8	1690	30.3	1733	2.5	2133	23.0	2639	23.7	3065	17.50
Church																							
Schools	55	130	13.6	99	-23.8	122	23.2	123	0.8	107	-13.0	106	-9.3	120	13.2	135	12.5	169	25.1	184	8.8	132	-28.20
Teachers	282	383	35.8	288	-24.8	499	73.3	402	19.4	375	-6.7	377	0.5	445	18.0	457	2.6	560	22.5	598	6.7	519	-13.20
Students	7820	14739	88.5	10981	-25.5	17198	56.6	17732	3.1	17332	-2.2	16282	-6.0	18160	11.5	19184	5.6	24528	27.8	27556	12.3	24479	-11.10
Classrooms	134	313	13.4	294	- 6.1	320	8.8	376	17.5	362	-3.7	356	-1.6	388	8.9	384	-1.0	466	21.3	566	21.4	447	-20.00
All Schools																							
Schools	1071	1231	14.9	1361	10.5	1556	14.0	1667	7.1	1767	6.0	1808	4.3	1886	4.3	2013	11.8	2249	11.7	2518	11.9	2609	3.60
Teachers	7195	8064	12.2	9159	13.6	9380	2.4	10475	11.8	11491	8.7	12542	9.2	13699	9.2	14454	5.5	17196	18.9	18891	9.9	21269	12.50
Students	250459	268833	7.3	304138	13.1	353411	16.2	397084	12.3	436504	9.9	480189	11.5	535225	11.5	616271	15.5	709751	15.2	795716	12.1	871916	9.60
Classrooms	6573	7343	11.7	8346	13.7	8585	5.7	9257	7.8	9910	7.1	10707	10.8	11873	10.8	12606	6.2	14307	13.5	16024	12.0	16950	5.80

Note: 1. In the total higher education

2. Percentages indicate increase or decrease over the previous year.

Sources: 1. Statistical Abstract 1967 and 1968, p. 192.

2. Statistical Abstract 1971, p. 189.

This pattern of growth meant that enrollment was growing faster than the recruitment of teachers or the expansion rate of school facilities; which no doubt, resulted in overcrowded classrooms and over loading of teachers. This state of affairs did have untoward effects on the quality of education offered to Ethiopian children and youth.

On the whole in the number of schools, teachers, students as well as classroom units the growth rate of the nongovernment system was higher. This was another indication of the interest of parents for more education for more of their children. Since the government system was not responding as fast as the need, people were resorting to the nongovernment schools, on a pay-as-you go basis, to get what they felt they should get. Later, we shall be commenting further on this topic. Now let us turn and see how the government system was functioning under the tremendous pressure for more education on behalf of the people.

Table 102 shows the enrollment pattern in government schools over a period of twelve years at all grade levels. On the whole approximately seventy-six percent of the students were in the primary grades (one to six). The next largest group was in junior secondary schools followed by enrollments in the senior secondary and the university. As a whole the growth rate of enrollments was relatively small and uneven. The unevenness of enrollment growth continued to be problematic making conditions for planning and projection very difficult.

Table 103 shows a comparison of enrollment between the government and non-government system of education. On the whole over seventy-five percent of the total student body were pursuing their education in government-operated schools. Moreover, most of the nongovernment schools were concentrated at the primary level.

As far as the sexes were concerned the average enrollment of girls in government schools remained on the low side of 28.4 percent for our period. But a steady gain, beginning at 23 percent in 1960-61 and reaching 29 percent in 1971-72, was noted. When we consider the problems of the previous decades, this growth pattern was very encouraging.

Among schools in the nongovernment systems, the mission schools enrolled the largest number of students followed by the private and church schools in descending order. The average growth rate for enrollment in the mission schools was about nine percent, in the private schools ten percent and in the church schools three percent. Further the ten percent rate of growth of enrollment in the private schools indicated that people were sending their children to private schools where in most cases the major criteria for admission was ability to pay. This pattern, of course, was a direct reversal of what prevailed some thirty years ago when people had to be cajoled into sending their children to school. Here it is also worth noting that in the nongovernment schools the enrollment of female students was relatively higher than in government schools. Among the nongovernment schools themselves, the mission and the private schools have had initially the highest percentage of female students, the church schools the lowest (28, 28 and 16 percent respectively). Twelve years later in 1970-71, the private schools had gone far ahead (35 percent) followed by the mission and church schools in that order. However the female enrollment in the church system had grown faster than the rest, from 16 percent in 1960-61 to almost 30 percent in 1970-71. One more interesting factor worthy of mention in this regard is that more girls were turning to the private schools. This may indicate a change of attitude on the part of female students and their parents about education; and since getting a place in the government schools was highly competetive (though free), they began to search for placement opportunities in the nongovernment school system.

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TABLE 102

NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS BY GRADES 1960-61 TO 1971-72

	1960-61	1961-62	% Incr.	1962-63	% Incr.	1963-64	% Incr.	1964-65	% Incr.	1965-66	% Incr.	1966-67	% Incr.	1967-68	% Incr.	1968-69	% Incr.	1969-70	% Incr.	1970-71	% Incr.	1971-72	% Incr.	1972-73
Primary																								
1.	69253	68141	-2.0	23180	22.1	95480	1.50	94043	-1.5	95002	1.0	98834	4.0	103753	4.9	110539	6.5	123865	12.1	134687	8.7	155431	15.4	
2.	36853	39094	6.0	41351	5.8	47161	14.10	55719	18.1	60845	9.2	64352	5.8	66341	3.1	73354	10.6	77892	6.2	84668	8.7	95139	12.4	
3.	26406	28234	7.0	30710	8.8	30490	-0.71	41115	34.8	48207	17.2	54272	12.6	57168	5.3	63666	9.7	69221	8.7	74663	7.9	82287	10.2	
4.	19784	20636	4.0	22466	8.9	26607	18.40	29078	9.3	34274	17.9	41607	21.4	47559	14.3	54692	15.0	60637	11.2	67445	10.9	72439	7.4	
5.	12846	14089	10.0	15398	9.4	17810	15.70	21812	22.5	25109	15.1	29956	19.3	35563	18.7	43973	23.6	49975	13.6	55351	10.8	60498	9.3	
6.	9656	10359	7.3	11306	9.1	12892	14.00	15669	21.5	19838	26.6	23186	16.9	28353	22.3	36136	27.5	48991	35.6	54169	10.6	59901	10.6	
Total	174806	180633	3.5	204410	13.2	230440	12.70	257436	11.7	283275	10.0	312207	10.2	338737	8.5	382360	12.9	430756	12.7	470983	9.3	525695	11.6	
Junior Sec.																								
7.	7135	7896	10.6	8891	12.6	9330	4.90	11375	21.9	13407	17.9	18067	34.8	20801	15.1	26281	26.3	26166	-0.4	35083	34.1	33723	-3.9	
8.	6428	7190	11.6	7652	6.4	8555	11.80	8976	4.9	11028	22.9	12769	15.8	17593	37.8	22235	26.4	28673	29.0	28322	-1.2	34024	20.1	
Total	13563	15086	32.0	16543	9.7	17885	8.10	20351	13.8	24436	20.1	30836	26.2	38394	24.5	48516	26.4	54839	13.0	63405	15.6	67747	6.8	
***Senior Sec.**																								
9.	3567	4756	33.3	5586	17.5	6751	20.90	8730	29.3	8520	-2.4	9545	12.0	10707	12.1	15073	40.8	18357	21.8	23436	27.7	18970	19.0	
10.	2230	3004	34.7	3380	12.5	4818	42.50	5459	13.3	7091	29.9	7011	-1.1	8303	18.4	9910	19.4	13958	40.8	16929	21.3	18343	8.4	
11.	1867	1823	-2.4	2156	18.3	2549	18.20	3566	39.9	4471	25.4	5509	25.2	5888	5.2	6158	4.6	7180	16.6	9525	32.7	12026	26.3	
12.	869	1212	39.5	1244	2.6	1306	12.10	2199	57.6	2853	29.7	3390	18.8	4127	21.7	3623	-12.2	5093	40.6	5580	9.6	6928	24.2	
Total	8533	10794	26.5	12366	14.6	15513	25.40	19964	28.6	22935	14.9	25545	11.4	29025	13.6	35006	20.6	44588	27.4	55469	24.4	56267		
Higher Inst.																								
1st year	356	333	-6.5	402	20.7	853	112.10	844	-1.1	996	18.0	1293	29.8	1273	-1.5	1507	18.4	2266	50.4	1507	-33.5	1643	1.4	1864
2nd year	263	259	-1.5	212	-18.1	280	32.10	464	65.7	549	18.3	631	14.9	775	22.8	817	5.4	830	1.6	1038	25.1	1138	9.6	532
3rd year	183	205	12.0	228	11.2	249	9.20	169	-32.1	301	78.1	437	57.1	493	12.8	677	37.3	367	46.5	823	124.3	830	0.9	424
4th year	137	171	24.8	199	16.4	244	22.60	166	-31.9	210	26.5	199	-5.2	321	61.3	457	42.4	632	38.3	699	10.6	625	10.6	636
Total	939	968	3.1	1041	7.5	1626	56.20	1643	1.0	2056	25.1	2560	24.5	2862	11.8	3458	20.8	4095	18.4	4067	-0.7	4978*	22.4	3941*
Grand Total	197840	207380	5.2	234360	13.0	265464	13.30	299384	12.7	332901	11.2	371416	11.6	400367	10.2	469751	14.8	534821	13.9	594400	11.1	654087	10.1	

*Includes Teacher Training Institutes, Vocation and Technical Schools

Sources: For the years 1960/61-1966/67 see Statistical Abstract 1967 and 1968, p. 198.
1967/68-1970-71 see Statistical Abstract 1971, p. 195.
1971/72 see Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Planning and Research Division (The data for Higher Institution for the year 1971/72 is not from this source).
1971/72-1972/73 for the higher institution see HSIU Registrar's Office, Enrollment statistics, 1971-72 and 1972-73.

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TABLE 103

ALL TYPES OF SCHOOLS, NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS BY TYPE OF SCHOOL AND SEX 1960-72

	1960-61		1961-62		1962-63		1963-64		1964-65		1965-66		1966-67		1967-68		1968-69		1969-70		1970-71		1971-72	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Government																								
Total	197840	79.0	207380	77.1	234360	77.1	265464	74.4	299384	75.4	332901	76.2	371416	77.3	409367	76.5	469751	76.2	534821	75.4	594400	74.7	678000	74.50
Female	43452	22.0	48134	23.2	56149	24.0	64967	24.0	74643	24.9	85411	25.6	97636	26.3	111319	27.2	130029	27.1	150841	28.2	171473	28.8	193600	29.41
Male	154388	78.0	159246	76.8	178211	76.0	200497	76.0	224741	75.1	247490	74.4	283780	73.7	298048	72.8	339722	72.3	383980	71.8	422927	71.2	469600	70.59
Mission																								
Total	24398	9.7	27118	10.1	30033	9.9	32627	9.1	38038	9.6	42294	9.7	46562	9.7	47351	8.8	58949	9.6	63769	9.0	70746	8.9	67512	7.74
Female	6825	28.0	8203	30.2	8959	29.8	9906	30.6	11060	29.1	12584	29.8	13763	30.0	14943	31.6	18716	31.7	20891	32.8	23155	32.7		
Male	17573	72.0	18915	69.8	21074	70.2	22721	69.4	26978	70.9	29710	70.2	32799	70.0	32408	68.4	40233	68.3	42878	67.2	47591	67.3		
Private																								
Total	20401	8.2	19596	7.3	28768	9.4	38122	10.7	41930	10.6	44067	10.1	45929	9.6	60347	11.3	68387	11.1	86633	12.2	103014	12.9	118206	13.55
Female	5622	27.6	6438	32.9	9475	32.9	11976	31.4	13002	31.0	14255	32.3	15247	33.2	21806	36.1	25445	37.2	30783	35.5	36964	35.9		
Male	14779	72.4	13158	67.1	19293	67.1	26146	68.6	28928	69.0	29812	67.7	30682	66.8	38541	63.9	42942	62.8	55850	64.5	66050	64.1		
Church																								
Total	7820	3.1	14739	5.5	10981	3.6	17198	4.8	17732	4.4	17332	4.0	16282	3.4	18160	3.4	19184	3.1	24528	3.4	27556	3.5	24479	2.80
Female	1218	15.6	2588	18.0	2784	25.4	3539	20.6	4224	23.8	4918	28.4	4881	30.0	5320	29.3	5483	28.6	7039	28.7	8234	29.9		
Male	6602	84.4	12151	82.0	8197	74.6	13659	79.4	13508	76.2	12414	71.6	11401	70.0	12840	70.7	13701	71.4	17489	71.3	19322	70.1		
All Schools																								
Total	250459	100.0	268833	100.0	304142	100.0	353411	100.0	397084	100.0	436594	100.0	480189	100.0	535225	100.0	616271	100.0	709751	100.0	795716	100.0	871916	100.0
Female	57107	22.8	65366	24.3	77363	25.4	90388	23.3	102929	25.9	117158	26.8	131527	27.4	153388	28.7	179673	29.2	209554	29.5	239826	30.1		
Male	193352	77.2	203467	75.7	226779	74.6	267023	76.7	294155	74.1	319436	73.2	348662	72.6	381837	71.3	436598	70.8	500197	70.5	555890	69.9		

Sources: 1. Statistical Abstract 1967 and 1968, pp. 196-197.
2. Statistical Abstract 1971, pp. 193-194.

Table 104 depicts student enrollment by grade and sex for a period of eleven years. There it can be observed that the primary grade pupils (grades one to six constituted the vast majority of the total enrollment, which of course is as it should be. The second largest enrollment was in the junior secondary school (grades seven and eight) followed by the senior secondary schools (grades nine to twelve) and institutions of higher learning. Enrollment in the specialized schools (the technical, vocation and teacher training schools) came last throughout our period.

As far as growth patterns were concerned they were uneven from one year to the next, sometimes even negative growth was recorded. Among the sexes, enrollment of female students grew faster than that of male over the entire period. In the case of specialized schools the number of female students at all levels remained relatively low.

Thus, on the whole the Ethiopian system of education has grown and developed during the 1960s. The growth and development pattern has taken place at all levels - elementary, secondary, special schools and university. In all students and at all levels nearly 800,000 students were enrolled in the empire. During the past ten years enrollment in the government school system alone has multiplied more than four times.

During the same period, not only has the total enrollment increased, but the aims of education have also changed. The system was originally designed to produce needed administrative personnel for government services. But now it has broadened out into a comprehensive structure supplying various types of people for a variety of levels of government and private employment. Further the emphasis tended towards technical and practical education. Most important, however, was the fact that educational objectives have broadened to include the long-range aim of universal education.

However, although qualitiative progress has been made and the system has developed structurally, there were very many problems that needed urgent resolution. Many of these problems revolved around the questions of rapid spread of educational opportunities to most of the nation's children and youth, quality of education, relevance of the content of the schools to the Ethiopian realities, equal educational opportunity among the several regions, and general efficiency of the education system.

Population Growth Versus Enrollment

Although the system had expanded by more than four times during the current decade the students enrolled in 1973 for full-time education at the various levels represented only a small fraction of the total young people in the country. Table 105 sets forth the relative state of enrollment in grade 1 vis-a-vis the total age group for a period of 16 years. In 1956-57 the 60,216 pupils enrolled in grade 1 represented about 11.8 percent of the total population of similar age-group. By 1961-62 it had increased by one-fifth point to 12.0 percent. In 1962-63 the increase represented 2.2 percent over the previous year to 14.4 percent. It crept along until by 1971-72 enrollment stood at 20 percent of the grade 1 age-group. As far as rate of growth was concerned it could have been tolerated, but when the enrollment figures are compared with those that were outside the school system, even at grade 1 level, it was woefully inadequate.

Table 106 presents yet another comparative study of government elementary school enrollment (ages 7 to 12 years) as a percentage of the total age-group. In 1956-57, the earliest we have some useable data for our purpose here, the 129,379 pupils enrolled in all government elementary schools represented only 4 percent of the total age-group. By 1961-62 it had grown to 5 percent, by 1965-66 to 8 percent and by 1972-73 it has reached 14 percent. This was the picture. Of course, it could be argued that the figures do not include those children enrolled in the nongovernment schools and that the population

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TABLE 104

GOVERNMENT AND NONGOVERNMENT STUDENT ENROLLMENT, BY GRADES AND SEX 1961-62 TO 1971-72

	1961-62	1962-63		1963-64		1964-65		1965-66		1966-67		1967-68		1968-69		1969-70		1970-71		1971-72	
	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Grades 1-6																					
Male	177,513	197,772	11.4	229,223	15.9	254,800	11.2	273,593	7.4	293,331	7.2	318,087	8.4	357,393	12.4	409,770	14.7	449, 724	9.8	427,967	-
Female	59,823	70,581	18.0	84,017	19.0	92,970	10.7	105,157	13.1	116,379	10.7	134,370	15.5	156,675	16.5	180,675	15.4	205,703	13.9	205,703	-
Total	237,336	268,353	13.2	313,240	16.7	347,770	11.0	378,750	8.9	409,710	8.2	452,457	10.4	513,961	13.6	590,445	14.9	655,427	11.0	716,729	9.4
Grades 7 & 8																					
Male	14,653	15,893	8.5	16,468	3.6	18,851	14.6	21,834	15.8	27,261	24.9	32,825	20.4	41,513	26.5	46,090	11.0	53,706	16.5	57,453	-
Female	3,446	4,253	23.4	4,653	9.4	5,846	25.6	6,978	19.4	9,219	32.1	11,952	29.6	15,405	28.9	17,125	11.2	19,415	13.4	21,815	-
Total	18,099	20,146	11.3	21,121	4.8	24,697	16.9	28,812	16.7	36,480	26.6	44,777	22.2	56,918	27.1	63,215	11.1	73,121	15.7	79,338	8.5
Grades 9-12																					
Male	7,506	8,111	6.7	10,280	26.9	13,060	26.9	17,615	34.9	19,526	10.8	21,807	11.7	25,623	17.5	35,193	37.3	42,031	19.4	48,227	-
Female	1,189	1,329	11.8	1,638	23.3	2,577	57.3	4,011	55.6	4,306	7.4	4,883	13.4	6,320	29.4	17,294	173.6	11,205	-35.2	13,126	-
Total	8,695	9,440	8.6	11,927	26.3	15,637	31.1	21,626	38.3	23,832	10.2	26,690	12.0	31,943	19.7	52,487	64.3	53,236	1.4	61,353	15.2
Specialized Sch.																					
Male	2,862	4,020	40.5	...	0.0	5,801	44.3	4,138	-28.7	6,511	57.3	5,894	-10.7	7,486	27.2	6,147	-21.8	6,240	1.5	5,940	-
Female	859	1,142	13.9	...	0.0	1,536	34.5	1,012	-51.8	163	-83.9	2,183	113.9	1,073	-50.8	2,821	162.9	3,149	11.6	2,860	-
Total	3,721	5,162	38.7	5,497	6.5	7,337	33.5	5,150	-42.5	6,674	29.6	8,067	20.9	9,559	18.5	8,968	- 6.2	9,389	4.7	9,518	1.4
Institutions of Higher Learning																					
Male	933	983	5.1	1,546	57.3	...	0.0	...	0.0	3,326	115.1	...	0.0	3,583	7.7	4,290	19.7	4,189	- 2.4	4,604	9.6
Female	49	58	18.4	80	37.9	...	0.0	...	0.0	167	108.8	...	0.0	287	71.9	346	20.6	354	2.3	374	-
Total	982	1,041	6.0	1,626	56.2	1,643	1.0	2,256*	37.3	3,403*	51.8	3,234*	- 8.0	3,870*	19.7	4,636*	19.8	4,543*	- 2.0	4,978	9.6
Grand Total of Enrollment	268,833	304,142	13.1	353,411	16.2	397,084	12.4	436,594	10.0	480,189	10.0	535,225	11.5	616,271	15.1	709,751	15.2	795,716	12.1	871,916	9.6

* Including students on Ethiopian University Service.

Note: 1. Percentages indicate increase (or decrease) over the previous year.
2. ... indicates not information available.

Sources: 1. For the years 1961/62 - 1963/64 see Statistical Abstract 1965, p. 199.
2. For the years 1964/65 - 1966/67 see Statistical Abstract 1967 & 1968, p. 194.
3. For the year 1967/68 see Statistical Abstract 1969, p. 190.
4. For the years 1968/69 - 1970/71 see Statistical Abstract 1971, p. 191.
5. For the year 1971/72 see HSIU, Office of the Registrar, Enrollment Statistics of I Semester, 1971/72.

estimates of the Central Statistical Office might not be accurate. This type of argument may have some validity, but we do not think it changes the general picture very much even after all these discrepancies are taken into consideration. Certainly the enrollment figures in the elementary schools are far below those envisaged at the Addis Ababa Conference of May 1961, which had anticipated some 75 to 80 percent enrollment in the elementary schools by 1973.

Table 105

Enrollment in Grade I of Government Elementary Schools as % of Grade I Age Group 1956/57 to 1971/72

Year	Enrollment in Grade 1 in Government Elementary School	% of Grade I Age Group Enrolled
1956-57	60,216	11.8
1957-58	61,447	11.8
1958-59	61,184	11.5
1959-60	65,119	12.0
1960-61	69,253	12.5
1961-62	68,141	12.0
1962-63	83,180	14.4
1963-64	95,480	16.2
1964-65	94,043	15.7
1965-66	95,002	15.6
1966-67	98,834	14.3
1967-68	103,753	15.0
1968-69	110,539	15.6
1969-70	123,865	17.0
1970-71	134,687	18.04
1971-72	155,687	20.31

Source: 1. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, The Current Operation of the Education System in Ethiopia (Nov 1966), p. 89.

2. Central Statistical Office, Statistical Abstract 1971, p. 195.

3. For the Years 1965 through 1972 data supplied by Ministry of Education Planning Unit and the Central Statistical Office arrive at the percentage of the estimated grade 1 age group. Total elementary enrollment figure from the respective school census.

Table 106

Enrollment in Government Elementary Schools as % of Primary School Age Group 1956/57 to 1971/72

Year	Total Enrollment in Government Elementary Schools	% of Primary School Age Group Enrolled in Govt. Schools
1956-57	129,379	4.2
1957-58	142,471	4.6
1958-59	149,410	4.7
1959-60	162,700	5.0
1960-61	147,805	5.3
1961-62	100,533	5.3
1962-63	204,410	5.9
1963-64	234,440	6.6
1964-65	257,436	7.2
1965-66	283,275	7.7
1966-67	312,207	8.2
1967-68	338,737	8.8
1968-69	382,360	9.7
1969-70	430,758	10.7
1970-71	470,983	11.5
1971-72	525,695	12.4
1972-73	588,868	13.5

Source:
1. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, The Current Operation of the Education System in Ethiopia (Nov 1966), p. 89.
2. Central Statistical Office, Statistical Abstract 1971, p. 195.
3. For the Years 1966-1973 Ministry of Education, Planning Unit and Central Statistical Office supplied data were used to arrive at the estimated primary school age groups. Total enrollment figures are actuals.

Comparative enrollment figures for government second level education as well as the primary and secondary level of nongovernment schools are not available to the extent we would like to have them. But the limited information available, as shown in Table 107 indicates that for the three selected years enrollments for government second level education were 1.7, 3.6 and 3.5 percent respectively of the total estimated secondary school age group (13-18) for the period 1965-66, 1970-71 and 1971-72 respectively. This was very small indeed.

Again referring to Table 107 it can be observed that for the three years enrollment came only to 10, 16 and 17 percent respectively at the elementary level and 2, 4 and 4 percent at the secondary level; supporting the thesis that the school system was very small at all levels.

Table 107

School Age Population and Percentage Enrolled in All Schools for Selected Years

	Estimated Population Age Group (in ten thousands)		Percentage Enrolled In Govern. Schools		Percentage Enrolled In All Schools	
Period	7-12	13-18	Elementary %	Secondary %	Elementary %	Secondary %
1965-66	342	285	8.3	1.7	10.1	2.0
1970-71	408	333	11.5	3.6	16.1	4.1
1971-72	419	373	12.6	3.5	17.2	4.1

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Planning Unit, August 29, 1973.

Note: The slight discrepancies that appear between this and the previous Table are in the sources.

Even the rate of growth at the three levels was uneven and for the elementary level small and stagnant. As Table 108 indicates the annual growth rate at the elementary level was eleven percent, at the second level nineteen percent and at the university level twenty percent or at the average rate of twelve percent at all three levels. The data shown in Table 109 based on a different source corroborates the preceding statistics; that is enrollment growth rate for the four consecutive years at all levels remained at about the twelve percent level.

When the nongovernment schools are taken into account the general situation does not change very much.

Table 108

Growth of Enrollment in Government Schools Over a Period of Four Selected Years
(Enrollment in thousands)

	Grade 1-6		Grade 7-12		University		Total	
Period	Enrol	Annual Growth Rate(%)	Enrol	Annual Growth Rate(%)	Enrol	Annual Growth Rate(%)	Enrol	Annual Growth Rate(%)
1955-56	163.2	9.3	22.1	21.1	.9	24.6	186.2	10.4
1960-61	283.3	11.7	47.3	16.5	2.1	18.5	332.7	12.3
1970-71	471.1	10.7	117.3	19.9	4.5	16.5	592.9	12.3
1971-72	525.7	15.8	124.0	5.7	5.0	11.1	654.7	10.4
Average Annual Growth Rate for the last 15 years		10.6		19.1		19.9		11.7

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, "Report on the Organization of Education in Ethiopia," (Addis Ababa, June 1973), p. 28.

Table 109

Enrollment and Growth Rate of Government Schools at All Levels, 1968-69 to 1972-73

	Grade 1-6		Grade 7-12		University		Total	
Period	Enrol	Annual Growth Rate(%)	Enrol	Annual Growth Rate(%)	Enrol	Annual Growth Rate(%)	Enrol	Annual Growth Rate(%)
1968-69	382.4	12.9	83.6	24.0	3.9	25.8	469.9	14.8
1969-70	430.8	12.7	99.1	18.5	4.6	17.9	534.5	13.7
1970-71	471.0	9.3	118.3	19.4	4.5	-2.2	593.8	11.1
1971-72	525.9	11.7	131.3	11.0	5.0	11.1	662.2	11.5

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Planning Unit, August 29, 1973.

Equity of Education Opportunity

Another problem that accentuated the smallness of the education system was the uneven distribution of educational opportunities between the urban and rural areas of the country. Table 110 shows the size of the system by province and awrajas (districts) among the 15 administrative units (taking Addis Ababa as a unit) of Ethiopia. The Table shows the comparison of enrollment by age group at the primary level (ages 7-12 years). In the province of Arusi less than 2 percent of the elementary age group were enrolled, in Bale 6 percent, Begemeder 9 percent, Eritrea 37 percent, Gemu Gofa 7 percent, Gojam 8 percent, Hararghe 7 percent, Illubabor 13 percent, Kafa 15 percent, Shoa 7 percent, Sidamo 7 percent, Tigre 8 percent, Welega 18 percent, Welo 5 percent and Addis Ababa 58 percent. Thus Addis Ababa and Asmara-Eritrea, the two largest metropolitan areas had enrolled 58 percent and 37 percent respectively while the other areas averaged about 7 percent. Further, as the same table indicates, the enrollment figures at grade 6 level for the backward areas was relatively smaller, proving the fact that either many of the elementary schools were incomplete, or most of the students fell by the way side before they reached grade 6, or both.

Table 110

All Types of Elementary School (Grade 1-6) Enrollment in All Awrajas As Percentage of Total Age Population 1966-67

	Total Elementary Enrollment	Percentage of the Age Group Enrolled	Grade Six Enrollment
Arusi			
1. Arbagugu	3,111	11.5	184
2. Chlalo	8,717	13.6	563
3. Ticho	2,485	8.0	185
Total	14,313	1.8	932
Bale			
1. Genale	1,429	6.0	73
2. Delo	242	2.9	7
3. Fasil	2,772	8.7	179
4. Wabe	1,048	4.2	74
5. Elkere	33	0.4	0
Total	5,524	5.6	333
Begemeder and Semien			
1. Wegera	2,052	7.6	80
2. Semien	1,528	5.1	69
3. Gondar	9,862	28.0	708
4. Libo	862	3.1	50
5. Chilga	968	5.4	25
6. Debre Tabor	2,868	4.9	150
7. Gayint	1,409	5.0	69
Total	19,549	8.5	1,151

Table 110 (continued)

	Total Elementary Enrollment	Percentage of the Age Group Enrolled	Grade Six Enrollment
Eritrea			
1. Sahil	664	8.3	13
2. Keren	6,261	52.2	413
3. Akordat	4,886	19.5	198
4. Mitsiwa	2,095	36.2	154
5. Hamasen	34,538	59.5	2,760
6. Seraye	10,873	25.9	740
7. Akele Guzay	9,503	28.8	549
8. Aseb	888	29.6	34
Total	70,508	37.3	4,861
Gemu Gofa			
1. Gofa	1,865	7.2	80
2. Gemu	2,820	6.3	176
3. Gardula	2,673	9.2	145
4. Galeband Hamer Bako	763	10.9	43
Total	8,123	7.6	444
Gojam			
1. Metekel	1,538	6.2	43
2. Agew Mider	2,874	10.6	122
3. Bahir Dar	3,526	7.2	134
4. Damot	4,588	8.7	170
5. Debre Markos	5,399	13.5	511
6. Bichena	1,347	4.3	54
7. Mota	1,158	3.3	55
Total	20,430	7.9	1,089
Hararge			
1. Garaguracha	684	1.6	0
2. Dire Dawa	6,698	24.8	480
3. Webera	2,730	8.3	122
4. Chercher	3,348	3.9	93
5. Garamuleta	1,496	3.7	101
6. Harar Zuria	7,261	48.4	700
7. Gursum*	-	-	-
8. Jijiga	1,912	6.0	115
9. Degeh Bur	196	1.1	0
10. Kebri Dehar	346	1.2	33
11. Kelafo	189	1.0	0
12. Warder	190	0.3	0
Total	25,050	6.5	1,644

*Number of students enrolled is not given for Gursum Awraja.

Table 110 (continued)

	Total Elementary Enrollment	Percentage of the Age Group Enrolled	Grade Six Enrollment
Ilubabor			
1. Gambela	1,148	8.2	6
2. Gore	7,225	13.9	247
3. Buno	3,406	11.0	62
4. Mocha	1,858	20.6	77
Total	13,382	12.9	392
Kefa			
1. Jima	7,487	20.8	548
2. Limu	2,355	16.8	97
3. Kefa	3,189	14.5	93
4. Kulokonta	1,477	12.3	37
5. Maji & Guldiya	608	4.8	24
6. Gimira	688	5.7	50
Total	15,804	14.5	849
Shewa			
1. Menz & Gishe	1,833	3.0	158
2. Merhabete	549	1.1	11
3. Yifat & Timuga	511	6.7	92
4. Tegulet & Bulga	4,850	7.3	323
5. Selale	3,061	10.9	344
6. Jibat and Mecha	8,991	13.6	344
7. Menagesha	5,504	6.2	405
8. Yerer & Kereyu	9,713	13.5	1,023
9. Haykoch & Butajra	6,672	8.3	429
10. Chebo & Gurage	10,982	18.5	519
11. Kembata	8,516	6.6	745
Total	62,182	6.5	4,118
Sidamo			
1. Welamo	6,964	7.9	451
2. Sidama	10,329	6.9	762
3. Derasa	4,454	5.2	326
4. Jemjem	2,822	5.8	129
5. Arero	1,346	33.7	59
6. Borena	1,953	7.8	101
Total	27,790	6.7	1,828
Tigre			
1. Shire	2,228	6.8	151
2. Aksum	2,353	8.1	108
3. Adwa	5,511	10.2	381
4. Agame	2,808	6.5	233
5. Hulet Awlailo	994	4.0	37
6. Temben	937	5.2	43
7. Inderta	4,127	12.1	352
8. Raya and Azebo	2,324	8.9	122
Total	21,282	8.4	1,627

Table 110 (continued)

		Total Elementary Enrollment	Percentage of the Age Group Enrolled	Grade Six Enrollment
Welega				
1.	Asosa	1,538	12.8	43
2.	Gimbi	12,809	25.1	659
3.	Horo and Guduru	4,054	14.0	144
4.	Leka	6,048	15.9	401
5.	Arjo	1,787	11.2	152
6.	Kelem	7,278	18.2	221
	Total	33,514	18.0	1,620
Welo				
1.	Wag	1,044	4.0	65
2.	Lasta	528	1.1	30
3.	Raya and Kobo	776	7.1	67
4.	Yeju	1,484	5.3	103
5.	Ambasel	1,449	3.3	72
6.	Wadla Delaata	393	1.6	10
7.	Were Himeno	913	2.4	58
8.	Dese	7,488	20.8	696
9.	Borena	1,262	2.9	76
10.	Were Ilu	971	4.4	70
11.	Kalu	1,012	4.6	68
12.	Awsa	604	4.6	32
	Total	17,924	5.0	1,347
	Addis Ababa	53,788	57.9	6,246

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Educational Projects Proposed for the Third Five Year Plan, July 1967, pp. 64-68.

There were apparent inequities among the backward provinces as well as among awrajas within the same province, usually the larger urban centers were better off than the rural ones.

As the Ministry of Education annual report indicated for the period 1968-69 the three areas of Addis Ababa, Shoa and Eritrea provinces had between them twenty-five percent of the primary school age population. At the same time, in that year (1968-69) the three areas had forty-one percent of the total primary school enrollment and fifty percent of the enrollment in grade six. Further, the trend was that increase in enrollment continued to favor these privileged areas.[20] This trend had to be reversed especially when we consider the fact that approximately ninety percent of the Ethiopian people lived in the rural areas. Moreover the same report outlined:

> "If many of these areas are to be provided with primary schools and an effective system of education, this activity must be matched by parallel efforts, particularly with regard to the development of communication and the resettlement or regrouping of rural or nomadic peoples. Unless such steps are taken, it will be difficult to organize, control and develop effective education"[21]

In 1968-69 there were still thirteen awrajas (districts) in which even primary school enrollment was not likely to reach five percent of the school age population. These included Lasta, Ambasel, Wadla Dalanta, Were Himeno, Genale, Delo, El Kere, Garamuleta and the five awrajas of the Ogaden.[22]. In connection with the Third Five Year Development Plan it was proposed to reach the backward areas with at least primary education. The ministry had tried to control the expansion of the elementary school system in an effort to bring about equitable distribution of education opportunities, but as late as 1973 the solution to the problem continued to be elusive and the school system in the favored regions continued to expand faster than the disadvantaged rural areas with or without government assistance.[23]

As Table 111 sets forth, the number of weredas (sub-districts) without schools has been decreasing over the period shown. But even as late as 1972-73, out of the 518 weredas in the empire, 28 of them were without any elementary school.[24] The situation was worse at the second level of education. The significance of this situation was well realized by the responsible authorities, and some attempts, feeble as they may be, have been made to equalize the educational opportunity among the several areas of Ethiopia but they remain as wide as ever.

Table 111

Government Elementary School Distribution by Weredas, 1961-62 to 1972-73

	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1972-73
No. of Weredas with at least one Government elementary school	349	421	474	490
Weredas without any school	169	97	44	28

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, "Report on the Organization of Education in Ethiopia " (Addis Ababa, June 1973), p. 34.

Problems of Second Level Education

Mention has already been made regarding enrollment developments of the education system at all levels. A brief summary follows regarding the division of labor between the government and nongovernment systems of education in general and some of the critical problems faced by second level education in particular.

Second level education constituted the junior and senior academic or general secondary schools, the vocational-technical schools and the teachers training institutes. Since 1963 grades seven and eight were labeled as junior secondary schools and grades nine through twelve as the senior secondary schools. The technical-vocational and teacher training schools constituted approximately the equivalent of grades ten through twelve. Within the senior secondary school system there were the academic and "comprehensive" schools. The former type concentrated on traditional academic subjects, while the latter included commercial, technical, industrial and home economic subjects as well as the academic subjects. In the comprehensive secondary schools students were encouraged to choose their lines of concentration according to their capacity, aptitude and interest. The technical-vocational streams were usually regarded as terminal while the academic streams led to the possibility of university admission. In practice, however, either group might sit for the ESLCE (University Admission Examination).

As Table 112 shows, in 1971-72 there were 76,338 students enrolled in the 368 junior secondary schools and 61,353 students in the 105 senior secondary schools. The total enrollment was 137,691. By contrast enrollment in the 60 vocational-technical schools was only 5,737 and 2,875 students in the 10 teacher training institutes. This was inspite of deliberate efforts by the Ministry of Education to get more students channeled to the technical-vocational streams. Table 113 shows how the enrollment patterns were between the government and nongovernment sectors.

The problem of getting enough candidates enrolled in the technical schools has always been a problem in Ethiopia. Partly for cultural reasons and partly for lack of experience or the absence of any supporting attitude on the part of the Ethiopian public, youth with ability and ambition to succeed in life, have looked to the purely academic careers at the expense of the technical fields. This will be illustrated by comparing the targets and achievements of the Second Five Year Plan.

Table 112

Government and Nongovernment Second Level Education Statistics, 1971-72

School Level	Government	Mission	Private	Church(1)	Total
Students					
Junior Sec.	67,747	5,111	5,704	776	76,338
Senior Sec.	56,267	1,599	3,174	313	61,353
Voc. Tech	3,419	916	1,402	-	5,737
T.T.I.	2,766	109	-	-	2,875
Teachers					
Junior Sec.	1,981	236	284	28	2,529
Senior Sec.	1,890	159	235	17	2,301
Voc. Tech	332	100	100	-	532
T.T.I.	163	19	-	-	182
Schools					
Junior Sec.	242(2)	62	58	6	36
Senior Sec.	57	23	23	2	105
Voc. Tech	26	26	8	-	60
T.T.I.	5	4	1	-	10
Classrooms					
Junior Sec.	1,397	138	165	11	1,711
Senior Sec.	1,032	76	112	5	1,225

(1) Only schools following Ministry of Education curriculum.

(2) Except for 26 government and 2 private schools with separate facilities, the balance are junior secondary grades attached to primary or senior secondary schools and are not included in the total number of schools.

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, "Report on the Organization of Education in Ethiopia " (Addis Ababa, June 1973), p. 35.

Table 113

Second Level Education Total Enrollment and the Division Between Government and Nongovernment Schools, 1968-69 to 1971-72

	Enrollment (in thousands)				Percentage in Govt. Schools			
School Level	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72
Junior Sec.	56.9	63.2	72.3	80.0	85.2	86.7	86.6	85.0
Senior Sec.	32.0	42.5	53.0	61.9	90.0	89.6	91.1	90.8
T.T.I.	2.4	2.5	2.8	2.9	95.7	96.0	96.4	96.6
Voc-Tech.	7.2	6.2	6.2	5.7	55.6	61.3	59.7	59.6

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, "Report on the Organization of Education in Ethiopia " (Addis Ababa, June 1973), p. 34.

Note: Discrepancies in enrollment figures between this and the immediate preceding table are in the source.

Table 114 presents the implementation picture of the plan. There it can be noted that at the primary, general secondary and tertiary levels, enrollment realization has exceeded the set targets. But in the special areas such as technical-vocational, the TTIs, plan targets have fallen short by as much as fifty percent in some instances; confirming once more that unless some drastic steps are taken to rectify the situation, the needed workforce will not be available in the desired number and quality.

As far as educational endeavors were concerned the government system enrolled about eighty-five percent of the junior secondary school students, ninety percent of the senior secondary school students and ninety-six percent of the TTI students. At the vocational-technical school level enrollment in the government schools was only about sixty percent. The rest of the students, or forty percent, were enrolled in the nongovernment schools.

At second level there were 368 junior secondary schools of which 242 were government owned. The senior secondary schools totaled 105 of which 57 (in 1972-73 the figure was 59) were government owned and operated. There were 60 vocational-technical schools of which 26 belonged to the government. Of the 10 TTIs, 5 belonged to the government.

The main technical-vocational schools of the ministry were the Technical School (Addis Ababa), the Vocational Trade School (Asmara) and the Poly-Technical Institute (Bahr Dar). In addition there are other trade, nursing and vocational schools operated by other ministries and nongovernment organizations. In 1968-69 the enrollment in technical-vocational schools was about fifteen percent of that in senior secondary schools. Approximately one-third of the students were in four schools under the Ministry of Education, one-fourth in thirty other government schools and the rest in forty private or mission schools. The increase noted in enrollment was almost all concentrated in nongovernment schools.[25]

In brief it can be stated that the technical-vocational and professional second level schools have not attracted as many candidates as expected in line with the overall national development plans, and that in almost all instances enrollment in this sector continued to fall behind the national needs for middle-level technicians and professions.

Quality and Efficiency of the Education System

The quality of the education system may be gauged in terms of teacher-student ratio, student holding power, the number and qualifications of the teaching force, the type and quantity of teaching aids and materials available, space available for group and individual work, per capita expenditure on pupils, and in general the variety and quality of instruction provided for the children during regular classroom hours as well as extra-curricular activities and other variables that may directly or indirectly influence the quality of education.

Table 114

Shortfall of Enrollment in Technical-Vocational Schools as shown in the Implementation of the Second Five Year Plan (1962-63 to 1966-67)

Enrollment	Targets 1966-67	Actual 1966-67	Percent of Implementation
Primary (1-6)			
Government	275,900	312,200	120
Nongovernment	55,200	97,500	177
TOTAL	331,100	409,700	124
General Secondary (7-12)			
Government	26,000	51,200	197
Nongovernment	3,500	9,100	260
TOTAL	29,500	60,300	204
Specialized (Technical, Vocational & TTI)			
Government	9,600	5,100	53
Nongovernment	1,300	1,600	123
TOTAL	10,900	6,700	62
Post Secondary			
University	1,560	2,828	181
Abroad	1,700	-	-
Graduates from Specialized Schools			
Technicians	1,550	1,528	99
Agriculture and Forestry Tech.	1,329	413	45
Primary School Teachers	2,500	3,554	141
Commercialists	1,340	758	57
Other Skills (Clerks, etc.)	4,980	4,900	99
TOTAL	11,699	11,153	95

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Educational Projects Proposed for the Third Five Year Plan, July 1967, p. 33.

Table 115 depicts the average number of students per school, per teacher and per classroom in different types of schools for a period of twelve years. In the government sector of the education system the number of students per school, per teacher and per classroom have progressively increased over the twelve years shown. While the number of students per school remained within bounds, the teacher-student as well as the classroom-student ratios have risen beyond what was expected. In the mission sector the corresponding ratios were relatively smaller although a continued rise in all respects was recorded. The same was true of the private schools. In the church sector of the system the number of students per school as well as classroom-student ratios have remained constant throughout; the teacher-student ratio has risen from twenty-eight students per teacher in 1960-61 to forty-seven students per teacher in 1971-72. As Table 116 shows the lower grades have the largest classes per teacher while secondary schools are relatively well off.

On the whole at all levels of education in the different types of schools teacher-student and classroom-student ratios remained higher than expected. The comforting aspect was that at the elementary level although the teacher-student ratio has fallen short of expectation, the quality of teachers has much improved over the years. Similarily the pupil retention rate has grown from thirty-seven percent to thirty-five percent between 1968-69 and 1970-71.[26]

At the junior secondary level the quality of teachers was very much below expectation. As late as 1972-73 more than sixty were unqualified. Furthermore a good number of junior secondary schools were attached to primary schools, most of which have no laboratories or other necessary facilities. Indications were that student performance was endangered by these factors.[27]

In the senior secondary schools reliance was made on Peace Corps and other voluntary teachers from America and Europe, as well as foreign teachers on contract, most of whom were from India. Many of the Haile Selassie I University students were engaged to teach during their one year of national service. The rest of the teaching force was made up of regular Ethiopian teachers most of whom were unqualified. Thus, although the number of unqualified teachers was high, the quality of senior secondary school education has been adversely affected by its rapid, uncontrolled growth and consequent overcrowding. Workshops, laboratories and libraries were in short supply. "In some cases, these facilities do not exist."[28] Because of these shortages of supplies, equipment and qualified teachers the quality of education was bound to suffer.

TABLE 115

AVERAGE NUMBER OF STUDENTS PER SCHOOL, PER TEACHER, PER CLASSROOM IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF SCHOOLS (1960-72)

	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72
Government												
School	278.6	266.6	269.4	285.6	297.6	312.0	332.8	365.2	409.2	425.5	450.0	463.7
Teacher	37.1	35.4	35.2	41.2	40.8	40.8	41.1	42.1	45.9	43.4	44.7	43.5
Classroom	40.2	38.6	38.9	43.8	45.0	47.2	48.0	48.5	52.4	53.7	54.2	56.4
Mission												
School	137.1	146.6	150.9	152.5	159.8	157.8	171.8	163.8	175.4	181.2	179.6	180.9
Teacher	25.9	25.2	24.9	27.9	28.1	28.1	30.0	28.3	31.3	31.6	32.0	31.0
Classroom	28.2	29.1	28.2	31.5	33.3	33.6	35.2	36.0	38.3	36.4	38.1	39.3
Private												
School	159.4	142.0	149.1	137.6	139.8	135.6	145.8	169.5	173.6	183.9	166.4	174.6
Teacher	31.5	26.2	28.8	32.6	30.1	30.2	29.1	32.5	36.5	37.9	36.8	35.0
Classroom	31.0	26.9	29.9	35.2	34.6	35.6	35.4	35.7	39.5	40.6	39.0	38.6
Church												
School	142.2	113.4	110.9	141.0	144.2	161.9	153.6	151.3	142.1	145.1	149.8	185.4
Teacher	27.7	38.5	38.1	34.5	44.1	46.2	43.2	40.8	41.9	43.8	46.1	47.1
Classroom	58.4	47.1	37.4	53.7	47.2	48.0	45.7	46.8	50.0	52.6	48.9	54.7
All Types of Schools												
School	230.4	218.4	222.8	229.7	238.2	247.1	265.6	283.8	306.1	315.6	316.0	334.2
Teacher	34.8	33.3	33.2	38.1	37.9	38.0	38.3	39.1	42.6	41.3	42.1	40.9
Classroom	38.1	36.6	36.5	41.6	42.9	44.1	44.8	45.1	48.9	49.6	49.7	51.4

Sources: For 1960/61-1966/67 see Statistical Abstract 1967 and 1968, p. 195.

For 1967/68-1970/71 see Statistical Abstract, 1971, p. 192.

For 1971/72, computed from the Summary of Educational Statistics for 1971-72, p. 35 and Ministry of Education, "Report on the Organization of Education in Ethiopia 1971-72 & 72-73" June 1973.

Table 116

Teacher-Student Ratio by Grade Level, 1968-69 to 1971-72

Grade Level	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72
Primary	49.1	49.1	49.1	47.1
Junior Sec.	29.1	30.1	33.1	32.1
Senior Sec.	22.1	23.1	28.1	27.1
T.T.I.	17.1	15.1	18.1	16.1
Voc.-Tech.	14.1	10.1	10.1	12.1

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, "Report on the Organization of Education in Ethiopia" (June 1973), p. 32.

Note: Source does not indicate whether nongovernment schools are included; but it is safe to assume they are.

The committee that examined the quality of Ethiopian education during the last half of our decade noted:

> Ethiopia...relies for her development upon the abilities and the training of a relatively small group of graduating students. The supply of suitably trained young people is much smaller than the demand. It is important, therefore, not only that the supply of suitably trained personnel should increase but that the training given should be of the highest quality possible.
>
> The Committee has reached the clear conclusion that, in encouraging a quantitative growth in the education system in recent years, insufficient attention has been paid to the quality and type of education given. Resources have been limited but, at the same time, resources have been wasted. Many students have emerged from various levels in the school system ill-equipped for employment or further training.[29]

Retention Power of the School System

One way of assessing an education system is by assessing how many of the learners progress from one grade to the next with the minimum of student wastage. Later we shall examine how the Ethiopian system fared in terms of this criterion.

First let us look at the results of the three (grades six, eight and twelve) national examination results. The grade six examination was the late comer of the three and its purpose was to control the flow of students from grade six to seven which is to say the transition between elementary education and junior secondary education. The results of this examination show primarily not the ability of students but the number of available spaces in grade seven. As can be seen in Table 117, in 1965 some 17,412 students sat for the examination and eighty-two percent passed it. For the following three years the percentage of passes was reduced to eighty-one or eighty-two and in 1969 it reached sixty-one percent. Again indicating, perhaps, that the expansion rate of school accommodation was not catching up with the enrollment growth, hence the authorities were forced to weed out as much as forty percent of the candidates.

The grade eight examination percentage of students passing was even smaller (Table 118). The percentage of passes was fifty-two percent in 1961, for the rest of the eight year period it remained between sixty-one and sixty-nine percent; almost stagnant. Again one is forced to conclude that the failure rate was too high and this was brought about mainly by the lack of school accommodation. The number of youth seeking more and further education was simply outstripping the expansion rate of school facilities. To the extent this has happened, the efficiency of the school system was low and the country suffered.

Table 117

Grade Six Examination Results

Year	Total No. of Students Sat	No. of Passes	Percent of Passes	No. of Failures	Percent of Failures
1965(1)	17,412	14,356	82.4	3,061	17.6
1966(1)	22,595	18,331	81.1	4,264	18.9
1967(1)	27,133	22,167	81.7	4,862	18.3
*1968(2)	34,164	27,946	81.8	6,218	18.2
*1969(2)	43,627	26,783	61.4	16,844	38.6

*Government Schools only.

Sources: (1) Computed from data obtained in Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, School Census for Ethiopia, 1967-68, p. 64.

(2) Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, National Examinations Report (June 1970), p. 24.

Table 118

Grade Eight Examination Results, 1960-69

Year	No. of Students Sat	No. of Passes	Percent of Passes	Failure	Percent of Failure
1960	6,884	2,749	39.9	4,135	60.1
1961(1)	7,103	3,708	52.0	3,395	47.8
1962(2)	7,580	4,761	62.8	2,819	37.2
1963(3)	8,452	5,122	60.6	3,330**	39.4**
1964(4)	9,555	6,587	68.9	3,090**	31.1**
1965(5)	10,419	6,799	65.3	3,623	34.7
1966(6)	12,583	7,811	62.1	4,772	37.9
1967(7)	14,619	8,956	61.3	5,663**	38.7**
*1968(8)	21,286	13,037	61.2	8,249	38.8
*1969(8)	27,552	16,975	61.6	10,577	38.4

*Government School Only

**Includes those awarded certificates but not promoted.

Sources:
1. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, School Census for Ethiopia for 1960-61, p. 23.
2. __________, School Census for Ethiopia 1962-63, p. 30.
3. __________, School Census for Ethiopia 1962-63, p. 30.
4. __________, School Census for Ethiopia 1963-64, p. 100.
5. Computed by the author from data obtained in Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, School Census for Ethiopia 1967-68, p. 9.
6. __________, School Census for Ethiopia 1965-66, p. 90.
7. __________, School Census for Ethiopia 1966-67, part I, p. 108.
8. __________, National Examination Report, June 1970, p. 24.

As far as the grade twelve examination was concerned we will consider it in detail in the next chapter. Suffice it to say here that the rate of passes remained between eighteen and twenty percent of the total number who sat.

Now let us examine the situation from the grade to grade progression point of view. Table 119 shows the progression rate from year to year for nine years. In 1960-61 the rate of promotion from grade one to two was about fifty-seven percent. The following year it was sixty-one percent. From there on slow progress was made until in 1967-68 it reached seventy-one percent. Looking at the rest horizontally, slow improvement was made from year to year. The most interesting, and at the same time startling fact is however, the high attrition rate from year to year. For instance five years later only thirty-seven percent of the grade one cohort was still in school.

Table 119

Annual Enrollment in Grades 2 to 8 as a Percentage of the First Grade From Which The Cohort Started, 1960-61 to 1968-69

	1	2 1 yr. Later	3 2 yrs Later	4 3 yrs Later	5 4 yrs Later	6 5 yrs Later	7 6 yrs Later	8 7 yrs Later	8 8 yrs Later
1960/61	100	56.5	44.3	38.4	31.5	28.6	26.1	25.4	21.9
1961/62	100	60.7	50.6	42.7	36.8	34.0	30.5	32.6	
1962/63	100	56.7	49.4	41.2	36.0	34.0	31.5		
1963/64	100	58.4	50.5	43.6	37.2	37.8			
1964/65	100	64.7	57.7	50.5	46.7				
1965/66	100	67.7	60.1	57.5					
1966/67	100	67.1	64.4						
1967/68	100	70.7							
1968/69	100								

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, School Census for Ethiopia, Part I, p. 6.

Another way of looking at the holding power of the education system is to compare the grade to grade ratios. Table 120 shows the grade to grade progression for a period of seven years. In 1960-61 57 percent were promoted from grade one to grade two and reading horizontally for the same year the progression was 77, 78, 71, 81, 82 and 101 percent respectively. The higher the grades, the higher the retention rates. The same held true for the rest of the period. At the same time there was also apparent improvement for all grades as the years progressed. Two other facts stand out from the Table: firstly, the attrition rate was too high between grades one and two and secondly, the attrition rates have declined slowly throughout the rest of the period. On the whole, although some improvements had been made regarding retention rates in the elementary schools, the wastage was still too high to be tolerated, for a student who dropped out before the completion of at least elementary schooling was to all intents and purposes wasted to himself and to the society which had paid dearly for his schooling.

Table 120

Grade to Grade Progression Ratios in Government Schools, Grades 1 to 8, 1960–61 to 1968–69

Grade Compared	Grade 2 Grade 1	Grade 3 Grade 2	Grade 4 Grade 3	Grade 5 Grade 4	Grade 6 Grade 5	Grade 7 Grade 6	Grade 8 Grade 7
1960/61-1961/62	56.5	76.6	78.1	71.1	80.6	81.8	100.8
1961/62-1962/63	60.7	78.6	79.6	74.6	80.4	85.8	96.9
1962/63-1963/64	56.7	83.4	86.6	79.3	83.7	82.5	96.0
1963/64-1964/65	58.74	87.2	84.3	82.0	88.0	88.2	96.22
1964/65-1965/66	64.7	86.5	83.4	86.3	90.9	85.6	96.9
1965/66-1966/67	67.7	89.2	86.3	87.4	92.3	91.1	95.2
1966/67-1967/68	67.1	88.8	87.6	85.4	94.6	89.7	97.3
1967/68-1968/69	70.7	59.9	95.6	92.4	101.6	92.6	106.8

Source: Ministry of Education, School Census for Ethiopia, part 1, p. 6.

At the senior second level of education the wastage rate was not as high as at the elementary level, but it was still too high for comfort. Table 121 shows the annual enrollment in grade ten to twelve as a percentage of the grade from which the cohort started. In 1960-61 for instance only 78 percent of grade nine students were promoted to grade ten, 59 percent to grade eleven and only 39 percent to grade twelve. Improvements in retention rates were noticeable from year to year until in 1968-69. Ninety-three percent were promoted to grade ten, 65 percent reached grade eleven and 45 percent made it to grade twelve.

However, at the secondary level the wastage was not entirely due to attrition. Many of the students at grades nine, ten or eleven levels were "tapped off" for further training in the teacher training institutes, the Air Force, and some 20 other government and nongovernment agencies. For instance in 1964-65, 2,129 students were tapped off by no less than 14 different agencies.[30] Often these students were some of the best of the secondary school students.

To sum up this section, student wastage continued to be problematic throughout the decade. A student who left school before completing at least elementary schooling was lost to himself and society since there was practically no chance for productive employment, nor further opportunity for self advancement through reading or in other ways.

Table 121

Annual Enrollment in Grades 10 to 12 As a Percentage of the Ninth Grade From Which the Secondary Cohort Started, 1960-61 to 1968-69

	9	10 1 yr later	11 2 yrs later	12 3 yrs later
1960/61	100	78.3	59.3	39.4
1961/62	100	77.8	59.6	51.4
1962/63	100	87.3	64.6	51.7
1963/64	100	80.9	66.2	50.3
1964/65	100	81.2	64.1	47.2
1965/66	100	82.3	69.1	45.2
1966/67	100	86.9	65.1	
1967/68	100	93.2		
1968/69	100			

Source: Ministry of Education, School Census for Ethiopia, Part I, p.7.

After carefully examining the problem of student attrition, the ministerial committee already referred to, concluded:

"...many students (particularly those in the lower grades of the elementary school system) drop out before completing their education. Money and effort spent on a child who enters grade 1 but does not complete Grade 6 are money and effort thrown away and scarce resources wasted. At the moment (1966), only one child in six of those who enter grade 1 completes the elementary course."[31] What was said in 1966 would, with slight modifications as noted above, apply just as well in 1973.

Mass Media and Adult Education

Mass Media

Given Ethiopia's varied physical characteristics, composed for the most part of a complex of plateau and deep gorge, mountains and steep escarpments, communications---especially during the long rainy seasons--are difficult. Under these circumstances contact with the schools and supervision of work in the schools is not easy.

Further, schools located away from the few major urban centers have little access to resources which would assist the teacher in the classrooms. As the ministry readily admits, newspapers, magazines and supplementary books are rare phenomena and even materials from which teachers can make their own illustrative teaching aids are either in short supply or nonexistent in many of the rural schools.

At the same time the expanding education system and a shortage of trained personnel mean that experience and proven ability are often thinly spread over the school system and it was not always possible for support services to reach the inexperienced teacher in remote locations.

As we saw earlier in the present chapter the vast majority of school-age children were not able to find a place in the formal school system; even after reaching adulthood they might not have had any basic education or training in formal or nonformal classes. Therefore, a solution, other than the traditional approach through the classroom, must be found.

In response to the needs enumerated above, the establishment and use of new educational technology, especially that of radio and television was imperative. Hence some four years ago the Ministry of Education established an Educational Media Center in Addis Ababa. This center was to provide services for:

a) the production and transmission (and storage on tapes) of educational radio programs;

b) the production and transmission (and storage of video tapes) of educational television programs;

c) ancillary services for photographic works and graphics;

d) library services for visual and sound materials (films, slides, tapes, wall charts, etc.) for schools; and

e) maintenance services for mass media equipment.[34]

Educational Radio Programs

The new mass media offered an important new tool for literacy and basic education as well as for the enrichment of regular classroom instruction. Experiments in the teaching of reading and writing by radio had been going on since the early 1960s in the Ministry of Education. The initial work had been controlled by experts in radio education supplied by a local business firm. The experiments had been encouraging[35] and it was decided to expand the program.

After the establishment of the New Mass Media Center, the educational radio project was started seriously in 1969-70. During the first semester of that year, lessons were beamed to 56 elementary schools in Managesha Awraja (near Addis Ababa). In November of that year, 262 radio sets were distributed to senior secondary schools and senior secondary transmissions were added to the broadcast schedule. Radio lessons were prepared to supplement the teaching of Amharic, English, history, geography and science.[36] (See Table 122.)

During 1969-70 a total of 171 hours of original boradcasts were beamed to the schools (see Table 123). Many of these lessons were rebroadcast later in the day or week to provide teachers with flexibility in listening time. During 1970-71 the hours or original broadcasts were increased to 180 with emphasis on lessons geared for primary schools rather than secondary schools. A total number of 126 primary schools, 59 secondary schools, and 10 adult education centers (five farm forums and five community development centers) were involved in the radio project by the end of 1971. The number of radio sets totaled 388.[37]

Table 122

Number of Schools and Recieving Sets Involved in the Instructional Radio Project Classified by School Levels

	Radio						
	Elementary		Secondary		Adult	Total	
Year	A	B	A	B	B	A	B
1968-69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1969-70	112	112	59	262	10	171	359
1970-71	126	126	59	262	10	185	388

A: Number of Schools receiving programs.
B: Number of receiving sets.

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, "Annual Report, 1970-71" (Addis Ababa, December 1973), p. 15.

Table 123

Hours of Annual Original* Broadcasts of the Instructional Radio and Television Program for Elementary, Junior and Senior Secondary Schools, Adult Education and Teacher Training Institutes

	Television						Radio					
Year	El.	J.S.	S.S.	Adlt	T.T.I.	Tot.	El.	J.S.	S.S.	Adlt	T.T.I.	Tot.
1968-69	30	24	32	0	6	92	0	0	0	0	0	0
1969-70	30	24	8	73	70	135	24	20	108	16	3	151
1970-71	30	32	0	78	0	140	40	0	80	20	40	180

*Original broadcasts refer to the first transmission during a given year of a particular lesson.

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, "Annual Report, 1970-71", p. 17.

Educational Television

A full trial year of education was carried for the first time in Addis Ababa in 1965-66. Programs in English language, biology, chemistry, physics, geography and health were transmitted to fifteen Addis Ababa secondary schools at various grades. With the assistance of the United Kingdom, staff were trained and the nucleus of an educational television center consisting of seven full-time production and direction personnel was established. All secondary schools in the Addis Ababa area were supplied with television sets and about three thousand students received television instruction as part of their regular school program. The experiment aroused much interest on the part of students and teachers alike and it was decided to expand the programs.[38]

By 1969-70 a total of 49 schools with 68 receiving sets were involved in the educational television project, and during the following year had increased to 103 schools and 143 receiving sets (Table 124).

Table 124

Number of Schools and Receiving Sets Involved in the Instructional Television Project Classified by Schools Catering to Various Grade Levels

	Television											
	Grades 1-6		Grades 1-8		Grades 1-12		Grades 7-12		Grades 9-12		Total	
Year	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
1968-69	12	13	20	28	6	10	4	9	3	5	45	65
1969-70	16	17	21	31	6	10	4	8	2	2	49	68
1970-71	50	57	35	55	9	12	8	16	2	3	103	143

A: Number of Schools receiving programs.
B: Number of receiving sets.

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, "Annual Report, 1970-71" (Addis Ababa, December 1973), p. 16.

Of late the emphasis has shifted away from lessons meant for senior secondary grades to the junior secondary schools and especially towards adult education broadcasts as well as to upgrading the quality of transmitted lessons. Also during 1970-71 coverage of telecasts was extended to the area of Nazreth, Sidamo, (Wollamo-Sodo) through the introduction of a booster at Nazreth (about 100 km. south of Addis Ababa). In the Mass Media Center a new video-tape machine with a 50-hour supply of video-tapes has been installed. A total of 175 television receiving sets has been received by the center from the United Kingdom and Japan, which were distributed to the schools. Also for the first time some 192 programs were taped and have been stored for later use. This will relieve the production staff of day-to-day teaching chores, although some of the tapes still have to be upgraded occasionally.[39]

More needs to be done to put modern technology to better use. At this time Ethiopia is faced with innumerable problems such as: the shortage of teachers; the low ability and lack of experience of many teachers currently employed, the extreme shortage of equipment for practical work and the inexperience of many teachers in carrying out practical work; the extreme shortage of visual material for teaching purposes and the large size of classes which makes it impossible for teachers to devote much attention to individual students.[40] In many of these problems the wise use of modern electronic devices such as radio and television will be a boon to education.

Adult Education

Being aware of the large number of illiterate people in modern Ethiopia, interest was aroused to spread literacy among its populace. The Berhanih Zare New (literally it means "Your Light is Today,") night school established in 1948 was a response to this awareness. More recently in 1967 the government of Ethiopia created the Adult Education and Literacy Department headed by a Director General within the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts. Prior to this there had been a program known as "Meserete Timhert" or "Fundamental Education" under the supervision of the Primary Education Division of the ministry.[41]

The primary objectives of the Adult Education and Literacy Program was said to include the following:

1. To enable illiterate citizens of any age group to read and write and hence eradicate illiteracy;
2. to raise the level of aspirations of the people and to render them more productive by organzing the program around the kind of life they lead; and
3. to encourage and motivate the newly literate to pursue more learning.[42]

The duties and responsibilities of the department were:

1. to coordinate all activities of Adult Education and Literacy programs undertaken either by the government or nongovernment agencies;
2. to solicit the cooperation of diverse agencies and individuals in the war against ignorance;
3. to provide materials and curriculum for adult education and literacy programs;
4. to encourage adult education and literacy programs in night schools; and
5. to report on budget expenditures and to draft annual budget requests.[43]

In October 1968 a National Advisory Council was formed in compliance with the Teheran Conference resolution and UNESCO's recommendations. The council was responsible for formulating general policy and for giving guidance to the nation-wide literacy program. An executive committee was appointed consisting of representatives from the various departments of the government.[44] Later in the year nine members from the Advisory Council were asked to serve as members of the executive committee for the special fund project.[45]

In 1968-69 the United Nations Special Fund Work-Oriented Literacy Project was initiated and it soon undertook a base-line field study. Steps were taken to coordinate the work of the special fund project with the program of the Mass Media Center, and a research program in mass media communication for literacy purposes was started. A monthly newspaper was launched by the project for new literates. Other publications included a primer designed for the employees of St. George Brewery.

The Special Fund Project was organized in the following sections:

1. evaluation, statistics and economics;
2. mass communication;
3. texts and reading materials production;
4. teacher training and class organization;
5. home economics; and
6. agricultural extension.[46]

Although the beginning was promising as far as the Special Fund was concerned, it encountered several problems, including (1) insufficient staff, in particular lack of Ethiopian counterparts, (2) the shortage of funds arising from difficulties in obtaining the government counterpart finance, and (3) the fact that only ten of the thirteen experts to be appointed by UNESCO/UNSF arrived, and several of these were late in arriving.[47] The 1968-69 report showed that out of an establishment of thrity-one professional positions only ten were filled and of the nonprofessional establishment only seven out of twenty-seven were actually on the job.[48] No doubt this state of affairs hampered the work of the project, and at the same time reflected on the degree of commitment to the project on the part of the Ethiopian Government. Inspite of the many difficulties encountered, the 1971-72 annual report of the ministry struck the following optimistic note:

"The programme, since its inception, had done appreciable work. In the last few years, 1,213,088 adults were taught to read and write and 180,168 attended primary, secondary and college level schools. This year, through June of 1971, 1,122,920 have attended the programme. In September of 1968, a jury awarded the Mohammed Rezo Pahlavi Prize, honourable mention, to the Debre Berhan Teachers Training Institute for their worthy work in literacy. In the educational programme to date, 18,000 people are or have been engaged."[49]

Also during the life of the Special Fund Project a number of experimental materials were produced which may have a wider application later. It has also been possible to explore the ways in which educational activities of this kind may be linked with other development programs in a well integrated pattern for rural regeneration and development.[50] One of the major problems was whether the literates would remain literate in the basic appropriate, job-oriented reading materials. At present it does seem that many of them lapse back into illiteracy after a few months unless something is done to hold their interest and to help them keep learning.

Educational Legislation and Finance Legislation

During our decade there were few legislations enacted that were relevant to education. These included the Urban Property and Salary, Education Taxes Proclamation, Local Self-Administration, the Charter of the National Commission of Education and the Charter of the National Commission for UNESCO.

Since 1947 the only tax that was earmarked for education was the rural land tax which was levied on rural lands to pay for the development of elementary education within the respective provinces where the taxes were collected. Secondary and tertiary education were financed from the Central Treasury. As time progressed it became clear that the tax on rural land was becoming increasingly stagnant and that the richer provinces were relatively better off than the poorer provinces in terms of elementary educational development upon which the second- and third-level education rested. Further while the rural land owners, including the poor peasants, shouldered the burden for education, the salary earners and urban property owners who were benefiting the most from the available education pie were not directly contributing their fair share of tax monies for education. Although it did not achieve what was first hoped, the "Additional Educational Taxes Proclamation" was supposed to reduce these imbalances by adding more money to the treasury earmarked for education.

This law provided that beginning from the fiscal year 1963 Eth.C. (1970) education tax on urban land would be payable annually by owners of all urban land subject to urban land tax at a rate equal to thirty percent of the amount payable in respect of such property by way of urban land tax. Secondly, two percent of personal emoluments would be payable for education on monthly salary earnings.[51]

The Local Self-Administration law came into existence in 1966. Its main aim was to provide for the awraja self-administration and responsibility for matters like public health, education, transportation, water supply, agriculture and community development, trade and commerce. The intent was to make the people at awraja level increasingly responsible for most developmental activities.[52] At this writing the concept is still at the talking stage although plans are afoot to start experimenting with about thirty-five selected awrajas. More will be said regarding this in the final chapter.

Order No. 52 of 1968 was the Charter of the University of Asmara, a private institution under the aegis of the religious congregation "Piae Matres Nigritiae" of Italy. The government of Ethiopia agreed to contribute some funds towards the operation of the university and was well represented in the Board of Governors.[53]

The National Commission for UNESCO was established within the Ministry of Education (1) to coordinate the educational, cultural and scientific activities of Ethiopia in close cooperation with that organization on behalf of the Ministry of Education, and (2) to be responsible for developing and facilitating educational, scientific, and cultural exchange between the people of Ethiopia and the people of the world.[54]

The National Board of Education which had been established in 1947 had died quietly with the reestablishment of the Ministry of Education to Cabinet rank. In 1966 the emperor transferred the portfolio of Minister of Education, which he had asumed in the early 1940s, emphasizing the importance the emperor attached to education. Perhaps to fill the void created by disbanding the board as well the need to benefit from the views of a wide spectrum of opinions, the National Commission for Education was established in June 1969. The criteria for selecting the members was not made known, but twenty-two people were appointed in the first instance to constitute the membership of the commission. The commission was charged with the following functions:

(a) to study and recommend the aims and objectives to which Ethiopian education should be oriented by combining what is best from the old heritage and from the new trends of thought with a view to enriching the Nation both materially and spiritually;

(b) to study and propose ways and means of making available to all the people, in accordance with the needs and the capacity of the Nation, a uniform and comparable educational opportunity, from the points of view of both quality and quantity;

(c) to study and propose ways and means of adapting and assimilating the objectives of elementary, secondary and higher education to the needs of the country and obtaining the expected results therefrom; and

(d) to study and propose ways and means of coordinating academic, technical and vocational as well as work-oriented adult education; of integrating the same into the social structure; and of educating the public to the importance and benefits of each of these forms of education and training with a view of accelerating national Development.[55]

The commission was empowered to utilize or engage experts to study specific projects from time to time as the need arose. It was provided also with a secretariat with adequate staff, to be directed by a secretary general. The commission would have an annual budget allocated by the government.[56]

The charges of the commission were broad and comprehensive. To date it has heard testimonies from people engaged in Ethiopian education, staff as well as students. It has also participated in the Education Sector Review concluded over a year ago. But aside from these activities it has remained inactive. Unless the commission reactivates itself and finds something useful to do (and there are numerous things it could do), it may die a natural death. It will be a pity if that happens.

Financing Education

The financial support for Ethiopian education during our decade continued to come from the Central Treasury of the government, taxes earmarked for education, external assistance and private, nongovernment sources. Following this we shall try to analyze how and to what extent each of these sources contributed to the expansion and operation of the national system of education. How the money is administered by the various agencies follows.

Table 125 depicts the actual recurrent and capital expenditures by the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts over a period of fourteen years (the last three years are budget, not expenditures). Table 126 indicates actual capital expenditure from all sources for an additional period of six years through 1972. Table 127 shows the actual recurrent expenditures of the Ministry of Education. There it can be noticed that recurrent expenditure was much higher than capital expenditure, as would be expected. But in this case the capital expenditure represented was relatively too small, and as we shall see later, this would affect the quality of education adversely. Another fact to be noted from the same table is that a decline in expenditures occurred between 1960-61 and 1961-62, and for the rest the increase from year to year was uneven and relatively small. Of course this again was a reflection of the general economic growth rate of the country and how much money might be allocated to education each year depended on the total resources available in the treasury. As a result, increase in expenditure on education in 1970-71 was only thirty percent of what it was ten years earlier in 1960-61.

Chart 6 gives a summary of expenditures by level of education and sources of financing. On the average, about forty-five percent went to primary, twenty-four to secondary, twenty-four to tertiary, and about eight percent to informal education. Primary education claimed nearly twice as much of the budget as secondary and tertiary combined.

Table 125

Actual Recurrent and Capital Expenditures
Ministry of Education & Fine Arts
(in current Ethiopian Dollars)

	Recurrent	Capital	Total
1960-61	19,116,870.81	240,947.04	19,357,817.85
1961-62	18,411,589.55	236,163.83	18,647,753.38
1962-63	18,211,775.41	2,262,787.53	20,474,362.94
1963-64	22,840,675.40	2,136,253.87	24,976,929.27
1964-65	24,899,167.68	956,974.43	25,856,142.11
1965-66	30,856,813.55	1,015,721.90	31,872,535.45
1966-67	34,851,998.45	2,917,771.32	37,769,769.77
1967-68	38,928,682.72	2,523,682.89	41,452,365.61
1968-69	45,878,000.00	6,356,600.00	52,234,600.00
1969-70	56,292,700.00	4,879,537.00	61,172,237.00
1970-71	60,698,184.00	3,966,368.00	64,664,552.00
1971-72 (a)	71,168,300.00	17,449,300.00	88,617,600.00
1972-73 (b)	83,705,800.00	22,500,800.00	106,216,600.00
1973-74 (b)	105,767,200.00	25,686,900.00	131,454,100.00

Notes: (a) Budget, not actual expenditure.
(b) Budget request.

Source: Division of Administration and Finance, Department of Administrative Services, Ministry of Education & Fine Arts, December 1972.

TABLE 126

ACTUAL RECURRENT EXPENDITURE BY THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND FINE ARTS FINANCED BY THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE, 1966/67 TO 1971/72

(IN MILLIONS OF ETH. $)

	1966-67 Actual	1967-68 Actual	1968-69 Actual	1969-70 Actual	1970-71 Actual	1971-72 Actual
Primary Schools	2.00	5.94	7.49	6.12	6.22	8.17
Junior Secondary	8.42(a)	5.73(a)	9.90(a)	7.32(a)	1.33	2.40
Senior Secondary					1.72	2.76
Technical & Vocational					0.23	3.54(b)
Teacher Training Inst.					0.15	0.58
Total	10.42	11.67	17.39	13.44	9.65	17.45

(a) Includes capital expenditure for junior and senior secondary, technical-vocational, teacher training and others.

(b) Includes capital expenditure for technical-vocational and teacher training institutes.

Source: Ministry of Education, Department of Administrative Services.

TABLE 127

ACTUAL CAPITOL EXPENDITURE BY THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION & FINE ARTS FINANCED BY THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE, SIDA AND EXTERNAL LOANS
1966-67 TO 1971-72
(IN MILLIONS OF CURRENT ETH. $)

		1966-67 Actual	1967-68 Actual	1968-69 Actual	1969-70 Actual	1970-71 Actual	1971-72 Actual
I.	ADMINISTRATION	3.42	3.47	3.30	3.81	3.91	4.25
	Head Office	1.84	1.87	1.82	2.10	1.85	2.33
	School Adm.	1.58	1.60	1.48	1.61	1.88	1.68
	Other	-	-	-	0.10	0.18	0.24
II.	GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS:	30.84	35.06	42.58	52.48	58.59	68.15
	Total Salaries	26.34	29.40	37.59	45.90	52.38	60.57
	Total Running Costs	4.50	5.65	4.99	6.68	6.21	7.58
	PRIMARY SCHOOLS	17.05	18.99	24.16	30.56	34.50	40.31
	of which salaries	15.56	18.19	23.22	28.64	33.18	38.69
	JUNIOR SECONDARY	(b)	(b)	0.57	1.42	2.13	2.84
	of which salaries	(b)	(b)	0.42	0.96	1.61	2.28
	SENIOR SECONDARY	7.13(c)	8.87(c)	9.95	11.64	12.76	14.36
	of which salaries	6.82(c)	7.69(c)	8.89	10.21	11.43	13.94
	TECH. & VOCATIONAL	2.10	2.49	2.99	3.08	3.40	3.78
	of which salaries	1.49	1.88	2.21	2.44	2.75	3.02
	TEACHER TRAINING	1.35	1.41	1.74	2.83	3.04	3.47
	EDUCAT. RADIO & TV	-	-	-	0.14	0.23	0.38
	CONTR. TO ADULT ED.	0.67	0.81	0.50	0.37	0.53	0.79
	NATIONAL SERVICE + PEACE CORPS (a)	1.22	1.21	1.45	1.50	1.22	1.18
	CONTR. TO FOREIGN SCHOLARSHIPS	1.06	0.99	0.93	0.67	0.50	0.66
	GRANTS TO AUTONOMOUS INSTITUTIONS	0.25	0.28	0.29	0.28	0.28	0.38
III.	GRAND TOTAL	34.26	38.52	45.87	56.29	62.50	72.40
	of which salaries	28.27	31.95	40.19	48.58	55.17	63.99
	Other	5.99	6.57	5.68	7.71	7.33	8.41

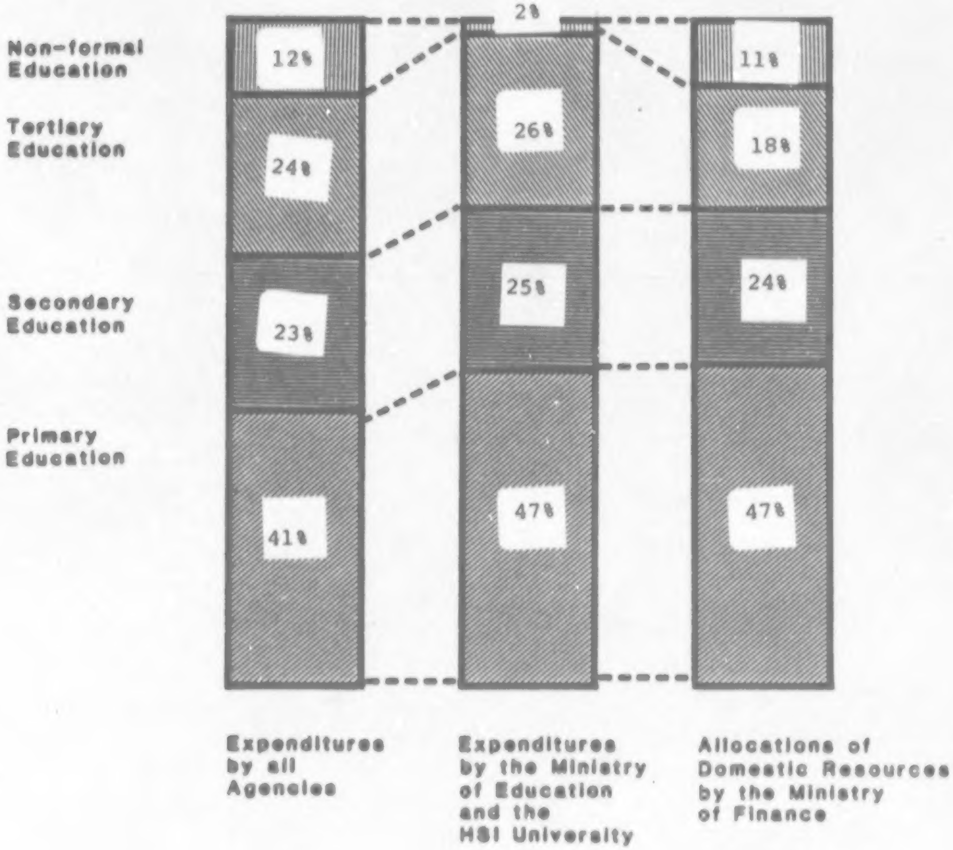
Note: Totals may not add due to rounding.

(a) Salaries for general senior secondary schools.
(b) Included in the senior secondary categories.
(c) Includes junior secondary.

Source: Ministry of Education, Department of Administration Services.

Chart 6

Percentage Allocation in Ethiopia of Education Monies to Primary, Secondary, Tertiary, and non-Formal Education, 1970-71



Source: Kiros, Fassil; ter Weele; Thome; et al., Education Sector Review Final Report, Financing Education, 1972, p. 33.

Teacher salaries were the highest recurrent expenditure in the government school system. Table 128 indicates that at the primary level this item claimed from ninety-one to ninety-six percent of the total recurrent expenditure for the period shown. At the general secondary level it was a little less than at the elementary level but still salaries represented close to ninety percent of the money designated for recurrent expenditure. At technical and vocational level teachers' salaries represented lower ratios; approximately seventy-five percent of the recurrent cost at that level, and at the teacher training level about sixty percent. In total, salaries represented about eighty-seven percent of recurrent costs. This meant that less money was made available for such important items as school supplies, school plant maintenance and travel for supervision. In other words the government was desperately trying to catch up with enrollment pressures while, due primarily to financial imitations, the quality of learning and instruction were overlooked. We shall now see how these constraints arose.

Table 128

Teacher Salaries Estimated as a Proportion of Total Recurrent Expenditure at Each Education Level, 1966-67 to 1971-72, for Government Schools
(in %)

		1966-67 Actual	1967-68 Actual	1968-69 Actual	1969-70 Actual	1970-71 Actual	1971-72 Actual
I.	Ministry of Education PRIMARY SCHOOLS	91.1	95.8	96.1	93.7	96.2	96.0
	GENERAL SECONDARY (incl. junior and senior + national service & peace corps)	96.3	88.3	89.9	87.0	88.5	94.7
	TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL	71.0	75.5	73.9	79.2	80.9	79.9
	TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTE	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GRAND TOTAL (includes Administration)	82.5	82.9	87.6	86.3	88.3	88.4
II.	HSI University						
	HSIU (excluding central administration)					85.90	
	HSIU (incl. adm.)					75.0	76.0

Sources: A.H. ter Weele, "Financing of Education in Ethiopia" (Ministry of Education Planning and Programming Unit, June 1972), Annex III-Q.

Taxes Earmarked for Education

Mention has already been made that in 1947 a law was promulgated that required a payment of rural land tax to be earmarked for education. The monies raised from this source were to be used within the province where they were collected, primarily for the operation of primary schools. During the first few years after the law was passed monies thus collected were more than sufficient to take care of the primary school financial requirements. But as the years went by and the primary system expanded, the tax based on rural land became stagnant and was not sufficient to meet expenditure requirements. At that stage the central government stepped in to augment local efforts. Finally in 1970 another education tax law was proclaimed covering personal incomes as well as urban properties.

Table 129 depicts this in full. Thus in 1970-71 the total amount of tax collected rose to over twelve million dollars and the following year to fourteen million dollars; thus doubling the tax money collected. On the surface this looked to be the answer for primary education finance, but the Ministry of Finance insisted the added tax money was part of the general revenue of the Central Treasury, and is not necessarily earmarked for education. Perhaps the battle will be fought out between the two ministries. But in reality the argument would not change the financial requirements of the government school system in general and the elementary school system in particular. For as the following paragraphs show much more than the earmarked money was required.

Table 130 outlines the percentage of education taxes to total government revenue for a ten-year period. There it can be noted that until 1971 the tax money earmarked for education stood still and as a percentage of total government revenue it was declining until 1970-71 when it rose to 21%. Hence the Central Government, drawing on the assistance of external bilateral and international sources, had to shoulder the larger burden of education, including elementary education, up to a point.

Table 131 shows a comparison between the central government's expenditure and expenditure on education from 1961-62 to 1970-71. During the first two years of our period expenditure on education represented 8 percent of total expenditure. During the next four years it rose to approximately 3 percent; thereafter it declined a little. The mean for the ten-year period was 11.3 percent. These figures indicate that (1) the tax money earmarked was insufficient for the financial support of education; hence it was essential that more money should be obtained from the Central Government Treasury, (2) the 11% allotted to education might indicate the amount of money that could rightly be devoted to education, depending on the total national resources, such as GDP and other sectors of the economy that demand a fair share of the funds for national development; and (3) on the expansion rate of the education system itself. We shall take these points one by one in the following few paragraphs.

For diplomas in technical teacher education and as land surveyors admission requirements were lower; three passes in the ESLCE instead of five. Even these programs may, in the near future, require five passes, because there are more people who want admission than there are places.

A few qualified students may apply for "advanced standing" if they have already done some college work acceptable to the Board of Admissions and to the department they wish to join.

Once admitted to the university, students may join one of the three streams of the freshman year students, in consultation with the receiving department, may apply to join a department, if space is available and if the national workforce needs warrant it. Sometimes students are persuaded to join departments not included in their original list of interest.

Graduation Requirements

The minimum duration of training for a Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science degree is 128 weeks (e.g. 4 academic years) plus one year in the Ethiopian University Service. The minimum total credit requirements for the Bachelor of Arts or Science degree is 130 credit hours. The proportion of time to be given to lectures, and laboratory work for each course is left to the department offering the course and approved by the respective faculty commission.

The minimum credit hours a student may take in a given semester is fifteen and the maximum is eighteen. Any student who wishes to deviate from this requirement is required to get the approval of his department head and his dean. The regulations for diploma programs vary.

As far as major and minor fields are concerned, the minimum total credit hour requirement for a major was forty-two; for a minor twenty-four. The rest are to be taken as general education and electives.

One unique requirement is that Ethiopian students must serve for one year in rural Ethiopia before graduation, known as the Ethiopian University Service (E.U.S.), this concept became a reality in 1964, when the Faculty Council voted to require all able-bodied HSIU students to render one year of service in a rural context. The program has two objectives, in the words of the Faculty Council, "The Council believes that a programme wherein university students spend one academic year using their university training to provide services to local communities will be beneficial not only to the national welfare but to the students to understand, in a much more significant way, the problems and the needs of their country, particularly its less developed areas."[32]

The basic requirements of the service were specified as follows:

(1) work in the field for the purpose of establishing contact and rendering service to essentially rural communities;

(2) in any capacity entailing the use of special skills developed by University Training;

(3) with an adequate living allowance provided;

(4) for a period of one academic year while the University is in session;

(5) for the purpose of aiding national welfare by contributing to the welfare of local communities;

(6) and for the purpose of improving student understanding of local community needs, problems and development.[33]

The council established a standing committee to suggest ways and means to operate the program and to be in charge of it. An office was also established, headed by a director. All faculties were required to participate in the supervision of students while the latter worked in the field. Table 160 shows the number of EUS participants over the ten year lifetime of the program. Most of them were assigned to teaching, but other activities were not forgotten.

The chancellor's Advisory Committee on Higher Education, after visiting HSIU in 1966 noted that EUS was an "inspiration of genuine" and that Ethiopia was leading the rest of Africa and the rest of the university world in this enterprise, adding that "... this idea fulfills two fundamental requirements that every university in a developing country must meet: first it supplies a practical experience for university students through which they can use what they have already learned in the University... secondly, through the services that the students offer in schools, courts of law, clinics and government offices it brings the University, as a reality, into the communities that comprise the nation and thereby ensures the support and respect of all the people. Fulfilling these requirements, this idea cannot fail to prosper."[34]

The EUS concept might have been a very good one but as the years progress it needs rethinking and revamping. It is still operating, but there are signs on the horizon that unless it provides new challenges and goals it will fade away. As a recent report pointed out, "Problems identified by the students when surveyed included lack of cooperation from professional workers, irrelevant field placements and community resistence. Because the University is not basically organized to manage a geographically dispersed programme of this magnitude... the question of the most appropriate agency for its administration was raised by HSIU during the latter years of the TFYP (Third Five Year Plan, e.g., 1968-73). The Education Sector Review recommended a National Service Commission to oversee such activities."[35]

Academic Programs and Units

Table 161 summarizes the academic programs of all units constituting HSIU with the name and date of founding of each unit, location, admission requirements, type of credentials awarded and the duration of the programs (where appropriate). It includes units that did not conduct any type of teaching activities. The last chapter gave a brief description of the colleges that were in existence at the establishment of HSIU. Here are presented brief descriptions of the rest of the units that came into existence since 1961.

The College of Business Administration was founded in September 1963 as a unit of HSIU to help meet the growing needs for business education in Ethiopia. Its objectives included producing people trained in management. The major program of

TABLE 160

EUS ASSIGNMENTS BY FACULTY/COLLEGE
1964-1974

Faculty/ College	Teaching	Non-Teaching	Total	Percent Teaching
Agriculture	317	158	475	66.7
Arts	400	88	516	77.5
Business	452	88	540	83.7
Education	1,136	19	1,155	98.4
Law	12	169	181	6.6
Pharmacy	1	82	83	1.2
Science	193	62	255	75.7
Social Work	43	9	52	82.7
Technology	188	292	480	39.2
Total	2,742	967	3,737	73.37

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TABLE 161

ACADEMIC PROGRAMS OF ALL UNITS OF HSIU AS OF 1973-74

Faculty or Institute	Date Founded	Location	Admission Requirements	Degree, Diploma or Certificate	Duration of Program	Specialization
1. College of Agriculture	January 16/58	Alemaya (Harar)	ESLCE or well qualified graduates from Grade 12, agricultural school.	B.Sc. (Agric.)	4+1	General Agriculture, Agricultural Economics & Business, Agricultural Education, Animal Science, Plant Sc.
			Pass in three subjects of ESLCE	Diploma	2+1	Home Economics
2. Faculty of Arts	March 20/50	Addis Ababa	ESLCE	B.A.	4+1	Economics, Public Administration, English, History, Geography, Ethiopian languages, Political Science, European languages
3. Faculty of Law[1]	Sept. 23/63	Addis Ababa	Completion of one year program in another college with a G.P.A. of at least 2.0 for degree prog.	LL.B	5+1	Lawyer
			Must complete former Extension Certificate Program, two years of schooling or equivalent.	Diploma	3	
4. College of Business Administration	Sept. 1963	Addis Ababa	ESLCE or its equivalent	B.B.A.	4+1	Management and Accounting
5. Faculty of Education	1962, Dept. with Arts Sept. 1962 as a Faculty	Addis Ababa	ESLCE, qualified graduates of the Laboratory School or qualified people from Summer and other school systems.	B.A. (Ed.)	4+1	History, Geography, English, Amharic Professional Education, Psychology
				B.Sc. (Ed.)	4+1	Biology, Chemistry, Math, Physics
			Pass in three subjects in ESLCE of qualified graduates of technical schools.	Diploma[2] (Technical Education)	2+(1)	Automotive Technology, Drawing Tech., Electrical Technology, Metal and Wood Technology.
6. University Extension	1952, become coordinating agency in 1962	Addis Ababa Asmara Harar Debre Zeit	ESLCE or its equivalent, Graduates of the Military Academy, member of Imperial Ethiopian Air Force, "mature age admission."	B.A. BBA	7[3]	Economics, Political Science, Public Administration, Management, Accountancy, Amharic-English composite major, History-Geography composite major, pre-engineering covers the first 2 years towards B.Sc. in Eng.
			Passes in three subjects in ESLCE at C level, one of which must be English.	Diploma	3	Accountancy, Civil Engineering, Law, Education, Electrical Engineering, Library Science, Mechanical Engineering, Public Administration, Secretarial Science, Social Work.
				Certificate	?	Statistics.
7. Faculty of Technology[4]	1953 as two year college. 1958 as a full college.	Addis Ababa	Completion of one year in the physical science stream of the Freshman Programme with a minimum G.P.A. of 2.0.	B.Sc. (Eng.)	5+1	Chemical Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Civil Engineering, Electrical Engineering.
				B.Sc. (Arch. & Town Planning)	5+1	Architecture & Building Technology.
			Pass in three subjects of ESLCE or qualified 12th grade graduates of technical schools.	Diploma	3+1	Building Engineer, Building Constructor, Building Construction Supervisor, Quality Survey, Technical Assistanceship in Architect's Office, Building Maintenance Engineer.
				Certificate	?	Building Foreman, Building Workman.
8. Faculty of Medicine	Oct. 1964	Addis Ababa	Completion of two year program in science faculty with G.P.A. of 2.0.	M.D.	6+1	
9. Public Health College	Oct. 1954	Gondar	ESLCE or its equivalent for degree program.	B.Sc. (Public Health)	4+1	Health Officers
			Must pass the tenth grade	Diploma	3+1	Sanitarian and Community Nurses, Laboratory Technicians, Mid-Wifery.
10. Faculty of Science	March 20/50	Addis Ababa	ESLCE or its equivalent for degree program.	B.Sc.	4+1	Mathematics, Physics, Biology, Chemistry, Geology, Statistics.
11. School of Pharmacy	-	Addis Ababa	Completion on one year program in science faculty with a G.P.A. of 2.0.	B.Sc. (Pharm.)	5+1	Pharmacists.
12. School of Social Work	1959 department. April 1963 Faculty.	Addis Ababa	ESLCE, qualified graduates of Awasa after a minimum of two years service.	B.Sw.	4+1	Social Welfare and Community Development workers.
13. Theology College	Oct. 5/60	Addis Ababa	Completion of Freshman Program of the university with a minimum G.P.A. of 1.75.	B.Th. (Theology)	4+1	
			Completion of Freshman Program with a G.P.A. of 1.25-1.74, an average of C in 3 subjects ESLCE.	Diploma		
			Must pass the College's special test.	Certificate		
14. Freshman Program	Sept. 1959	Addis Ababa Alemaya	Must pass the ESLCE			
15. Institute of Ethiopian Studies	Jan. 1963	Addis Ababa				

the college was the preparation of full-time degree students for the Bachelor of Business Administration degree. Students might specialize in either management or accounting. But regardless of their major area of concentration, all students were required to take certain designated courses in accounting, business organization, administrative behavior, personnel management, finance, marketing, production and quantitative analysis, and some liberal arts courses.[36]

Faculty of Education had its beginning in 1952 as a section of the Faculty of Arts of UCAA. In 1959 it became a separate department of that faculty. In September 1962 it became a full-fledged degree granting unit of HSIU. The USAID through a contract with the University of Utah rendered valuable assistance and cooperation in providing personnel, equipment and facilities as well as scholarships. The Faculty of Education as of 1973 prepared senior secondary school teachers, elementary school administrators, teacher-educators (for the teacher training institutes of the Ministry of Education), school counselors, librarians, inservice programs for practicing teachers and administrators, and had its own research center and published the Journal of Ethiopian Education.

This faculty for the time being is and has been the only center where senior secondary school teachers are prepared. Although it offers degree programs in educational psychology and professional education, as well as a diploma program for school librarians, for the rest it has to cooperate with the other colleges of HSIU such as the science and arts faculties. For the last few years the faculty has been preparing technical teacher education graduates for the school system through the recently established department.

The Faculty of Education has been charged with a tremendous task, which has been very hard to fulfil under the various constraints with which it has to live as a member of the national university.

The University Extension Division of HSIU was formally instituted in 1962 as a service arm of the university. Prior to this date extension work had been carried out by the Extension Division of the University College and Engineering College where evening classes had been offered since 1952 and 1957 respectively. In September 1963, extension centers were established in Harar, Asmara, Debra Zeit, Gondar, Nazreth, and Massawa. In September 1964, additional centers were opened in Jimma and Dire Dawa. Due primarily to the shortage of college level students, the Nazreth, Massawa, Gondar, Dire Dawa and Jimma centers have since been closed.

As a service arm of HSIU, the Extension Division maintained the stated aims:

1. To offer educational opportunities to adults unable to attend regular University classes in Addis Ababa and in some other important centres in the provinces.
2. To provide various specialized diploma and certificate programmes to enable individuals working for the Government or private organizations to be competent and efficient in their respective professions.
3. To provide lectures and seminars that are of interest to the public.
4. To organize discussion groups on an informal and non-credit basis for

continuing education of adults.

5. To stimulate and encourage life-long learning at all levels.[37]

It is obvious that the Extension Division has not achieved all of its expressed aims, but it has proven to be a useful branch of the university. The recently concluded, Sector Review of Education has recommended that this unit become a full-fledged college in its own right.

Although the main headquarters of the Extension Division were located at the main campus in Addis Ababa, it had branches on the College of Technology campus (Addis Ababa) as well as in the others listed above. Each center was headed by a director of extension and at the headquarters there was a dean.

Most of the programs of the division are offered in cooperation with the other colleges or faculties of HSIU. In most cases the academic commissions of the respective colleges decide on the degrees and requirements for graduation of students in the Extension Division. Admission requirements in general are similar to those of other colleges, i.e., a successful pass in ESLCE or its equivalent, but additional provisions have been made regarding admission of graduates from the Military Academy of the Imperial Ethiopian Air Force. Further a "mature age" admission regulation has been instituted providing a second chance for those mature people who have not gone through the ESLCE. This latter group still have to complete secondary school and pass the HSIU Entrance Aptitude Test. Degree, diploma, and certificate programs have been offered in the Extension Division.

The Faculty of Technology (formerly the College of Engineering) was founded in 1953 by the Ministry of Education, and was housed on the same premises as the Technical College of Addis Ababa. At the beginning it ran a two-year program in pre-engineering for students who were subsequently sent abroad to complete work leading to the baccalaureate degree. Two years later, a four-year degree program was introduced in civil and industrial engineering, and the first B.Sc. degree in engineering was awarded in July 1958.

In 1959 the college included instruction in electric and mechanical engineering and the program of study was extended to last five years instead of four. After being incorporated into the HSIU family of colleges, a department of architecture and town planning was established and started instruction in January, 1963.

As a result of a bilateral agreement between Ethiopia and the Federal Republic of Germany a beautiful structure was constructed and equipped; the faculty moved in during 1969. After a number of studies had pointed to the desirability of consolidation, the Building College and the Engineering College started formal consolidation in 1970 under a single dean and under the name of the Faculty of Technology.

The faculty in 1973-74 had programs leading to a B.Sc. in engineering and in architecture and town planning, a diploma in building technology, a building foreman's certificate and a certificate of skill. The land surveyors program was also in this faculty.[38]

The Faculty of Law was reestablished in September 23, 1963, but this time as a full-fledged degree granting institution. In 1973-74 the Faculty of Law was offering two programs designed to meet the need of modern Ethiopia for legally trained people. The LL.B. program trained selected students with the stress upon lawyers as policy-makers in a developing society. The law diploma program (with instruction in Amharic) provided training in law for part-time students. Graduates of this program would be qualified to assume responsibilities in government and in the administration of justice in Ethiopia. In addition the faculty, in consultation with the Ministry of Justice, periodically undertook special programs geared to the particular needs of the legal community.

Since its inception the law faculty has undertaken both research and publication programs. Projects already completed included the translation of the Fetha Negast, publication of the Consolidated Laws of Ethiopia, compiling and indexing the first twenty years of Ethiopian legislation and the publication of the Journal of Ethiopian Law.

The Center for African Legal Development is also housed in the Faculty of Law. This center wil eventually house documentation on the legislation of all African states.[39]

The Faculty of Medicine was formally established by the Faculty Council in 1964. The faculty consisted of the School of Medicine, and the School of Pharmacy. The School of Medicine provided training for medical personnel and conducted research into medical problems of national and international importance. The training of medical doctors stressed special knowledge of tropical and preventive medicine and laboratory technology to enable graduates to function satisfactorily under adverse conditions and with limited technical support.

The medical program began by training six students, who had received pre-clinical instruction at the American University in Beirut, in clinical subjects. These six students graduated in July 1968. The complete program for medical students, however, started on October 1966 with twenty-two pre-clinical students. The medical students were drawn from three sources: The Faculty of Science of HSIU, the Public Health College at Gondar and from some foreign universities.

In addition the pre-clinical units accepted pharmacy students for instruction in anatomy, physiology and pharmacology. The Faculty of Science was the main source of medical students.

Admission was through the ESLCE and via the Faculty of Science. At the time of registration the student indicated his intention to join the Faculty of Medicine, and presented himself for interview to a committee set up for the purpose. If successful, he registered as a pre-medical student. After successfully completing his second year in the Faculty of Science, the pre-medical student entered the Faculty of Medicine and became a medical student. Other channels for entry were also available. It took two years of pre-clinical, three years of paraclinical and clinical, and one year of internship (a total of six years) for the student to graduate with an M.D. degree.

On October 16, 1964 the emperor had given the partially constructed Duke of Harar Hospital to the university to be used as a teaching hospital for the

Faculty of Medicine. In September 1973 most of the activities of the faculty were transferred to the hospital and the remaining departments, except for the Pharmacy Department and the Ethio-Swedish Pediatric Clinic, which were to move there soon afterwards.[40]

The Public Health College, located in Gondar, was established on 4 October 1954 by the Ethiopian government in cooperation with WHO, UNICEF and USAID. The college trains middle-level health personnel as health officers, community nurses, sanitarians, midwives and laboratory technicians. The degree program for health officers started in the early 1960s. Candidates of the health officer's program received a B.P.H. degree, and the others received diplomas after a two or three year course of study. Admission for degree candidates was through the regular university approved channel; but diploma candidates were recruited by a college committee set up for the purpose.[41] The college operated five training stations in the vicinity of Gondar, where students went out to practice as teams, under staff supervision. The college has been very effective in the broad area of public health.

The Faculty of Science began as one of the two departments of UCAA in 1951. Since the founding of HSIU it has become a constituent college with its own dean and program.

The program of the faculty was designed "to stimulate scientific curiosity; to provide thorough grounding in the knowledge and practical techniques of the major sciences; to satisfy the needs of Ethiopia in the scientific fields, particularly by assisting in the preparation of science teachers for the nation's schools."[42] Research activities were undertaken for two purposes, one to investigate natural phenomena which were unique to Ethiopia, and secondly to help solve "problems which are barriers to national economic and social development."

The faculty prepared few "pure scientists." Most of its students have been prospective teachers for public senior secondary schools. These would-be teachers are trained in conjunction with the Faculty of Education. Successful candidates are awarded the B.Sc. degree at the end of a five-year program.

The Natural History Museum, the National Herbarium and the Geophysical Observatory form part of the Science Faculty. These units have made significant contributions in their own spheres. At this writing the faculty was being greatly expanded, in view of the importance accorded to science education in the national development plans.

The School of Social Work began in 1959 with a two-year program leading to a diploma. It grew under the auspices of the Ethiopian Ministry of Public Health and of the United Nations, with the cooperation of the Ministry of Education and the University College. In 1961-62 the School of Social Work was included as a department in the Faculty of Arts of UCAA. In 1963 the school became a separate unit within HSIU. In 1966, a four-year degree program was introduced and the diploma program began to be phased out. The school aimed at providing young people with the necessary "knowledge and skill in social policy formulation, social research, planning of social action programs and development administration."

It had two channels of admission: through the university freshman program (passes in ESLCE and one year training in the freshman program) and through the Awassa Community Development Training Center.[43]

The Theological College of the Holy Trinity grew out of a school founded in 1942 by the emperor. It had had as its guiding objective the training of the clergy and those who were preparing to take up responsibility in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. It had begun as an elementary school, but gradually expanded up to twelfth grade level.

In October 5, 1960 the college division of the school was inaugurated. With the establishment of HSIU in 1961, the elementary section of the institution was eliminated and the Theological College became one of the chartered units of the first national university. Beginning in 1963-64 a curriculum approved by the Faculty Council has been operational in the college.

The primary aims of the college were described as: "To train young people for the service of God, in and through the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the Ethiopian nation, as clergymen, religious and moral teachers, theologians, missionaries, national leaders imbued with an intelligent understanding of the Christian faith and the foundation of morals."[44] However, graduates of the college have been confronted with employment problems, because the church is apparently not ready to absorb university graduates, though the need is conspicuous.

The Freshman Program was established as an independent unit of HSIU with its own director in 1969. Throughout the twenty years of higher education in Ethiopia student wastage had been a problem. Several surveys and studies have pointed out the need for prompt rectification of the situation. The Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Higher Education had become aware of the problem in 1966 and had urged a solution. The committee noted:

> One measure of the efficiency of a university is the proportion of entrants who graduate successfully. In all universities there is some wastage of students who leave without degrees. But in Haile Selassie I University this wastage is too high. The cost of putting a student through the University is so great that a nation cannot tolerate such a loss of potential graduates. In the long term the success of the University will be judged more by its output of graduates than by its input of freshmen.... A "drop-out is not only an unfinished product; he is also a potentially resentful and uncooperative citizen.[45]

In response to the challenge HSIU established the Freshman Program to reduce student wastage, strengthen the overall academic standards of the university and to provide a standard first year program before channeling students to the various colleges or faculties. Henceforth, with the exception of the Public Health College, the Extension Division, the various Faculty of Education diploma programs, and the land surveyors diploma program of the Faculty of Technology, all applicants were given the choice of three streams: arts, life science, and physical science. After completing the freshman program, during which they undergo intensive instruction in language, mathematics, study methods, and orientation into university life, successful candidates apply to the respective faculties in their second year. However, students entering the university through the laboratory school, the teacher inservice program and other approved special streams, can only apply for entrance to the Faculty of Education at the end of the Freshman Program. Students coming from the Theological High School can apply for entrance to the Theological College only.[46] Whether this program achieved its objectives will be discussed later in the present chapter.

As already shown in the last table, there were a number of service or research institutes within HSIU. The most significant ones are discussed briefly.

The Institute of Ethiopian Studies was established on January 1, 1963 as the "University's depository for research, documentation and publications on Ethiopia."[47] The specific objectives were listed as follows:

1) to conduct, promote and coordinate research and publication on Ethiopian studies with a special emphasis on the humanities and cultural studies.
2) To aid in editing in the preservation of the Ethiopian Cultural heritage by collecting, cataloging and displaying in a museum of Ethiopian artifacts and items of historical value.
3) to aid in editing, translating and publishing important works and documents on Ethiopia.
4) to aid and support the conduct of research on Ethiopian Studies by acquiring and making available to interested scholars published and unpublished materials, relating to all aspects of Ethiopia.[48]

The institute was governed by a board and administered by a director, situated in Ras Makonnen Hall, the institute housed an important library and had a reference collection of books on Ethiopia in Amharic and other languages. In 1973 the collection contained 16,000 titles. It also maintains a large ethnological museum with over 3,000 items. There is an expanding museum where exhibitions of traditional art were on display. Recordings of secular and religious music, poetry, oral traditions and folklore are also made.

The institute's publications include: The Journal of Ethiopian Studies, which appears twice a year; the Register of Current Research on Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa, which appears annually; A List of Current Publications in Ethiopia; Ethiopian Publications, an annual bibliography of all works printed in Ethiopia, and some others.

The Institute of Development Research is a recent arrival. The Faculty Council of HSIU approved the establishment of the institute on July 5, 1971. On January 14, 1972 the statutes of the institute containing the overall objectives of the institute were approved. As the Institute of Ethiopian Studies was the university vehicle for research in the cultural and historical areas of the Ethiopian heritage, so the Institute of Development Research was designed as an arm of HSIU to initiate and conduct research in the social sciences, with special emphasis on development problems. The institute had the following specific objectives:

1 to initiate, coordinate, and direct interdisciplinary research on development problems of Ethiopia and to develop teaching materials

in the Social Sciences by utilizing research findings;

2. to cooperate with and promote consultative service to government agencies and other organizations on questions falling within the functional sphere and capability of the Institute;
3. to provide a forum for the exchange of views and information among those concerned with Ethiopia's development issues and problems in relation with other developing countries;
4. to initiate, plan, organize, and seek various foreign and local research grants and donations.[49]

On the whole, research results emanating from the activities of IDR were expected to be directly relevant to solving development problems, and to serve as a basis for preparing teaching materials in "development administration."[50]

Administratively, the institute's policies were formulated by a board whose membership was drawn from the relevant units of the university. The staff of IDR was headed by a director who was nominated by the board and appointed by the university president for a three-year term. It is too early to evaluate the impact IDR has made on the development scene of Ethiopia.

The third service and research arm of the university was the recently created Institute for Scientific and Technological Research and Development. This institute was brought into being by the Faculty Council in the spring of 1973. It incorporated the Material Research Unit of the former Building College and the Institute of Pathobiology of the Faculty of Science.

The Creative Arts Center of HSIU was established in the summer of 1963 with the aim of "preserving and encouraging the appreciation of Ethiopic art in all its forms, both new and old." The center served the university community and the Addis Ababa public by providing occasional theater offerings, film shows and art exhibitions.[51]

The University Library System included the main university library and eleven specialized branch libraries. With its declared aims of serving the teaching and research needs of the university community as well as those of the educated Addis Ababa public, the library system has perhaps the best collection of books and journals of any library in Ethiopia. In 1973, the total holdings of the library system exceeded 266,000 volumes and 55,000 microtext units. These were growing at the rate of approximately 17,000 volumes per annum. As far as collections were concerned the library has benefited from substantial grants from USAID and the Ford Foundation.

The main center of the library system was the John F. Kennedy Memorial Building at Sidest Kilo which was inaugurated in July 1970. This beautiful and modern structure was a gift of the USAID. The university library is a full depository of United Nations publications. The publications of African and other governments as well as other international agencies are kept in a Government Documents Collections.

Publications of the university libraries include: Guide to the Library, Orientation Manual for Freshmen, Monthly Acquisitions List, Current Periodicals

List, and a series of bibliographies.[52]

The Students

Admission

In modern Ethiopia, access to educational opportunity was primarily based on individual competence, as measured against successful passes in classroom or national examinations. Of course, there were other factors, such as geographical location, that tended to favor people from urban cernters as opposed to those coming from rural areas, but these were not intentional, and measures are being taken to provide remedies.

By the same criteria, access to the colleges and faculties of HSIU was based on successful passes in the ESCLE or its equivalent. In the 1950s most university students were drawn from Addis Ababa - Shoa and Asmara - Eritrea. The trend is still the same but the proportions has changed for the better. On the average, there were some twenty different channels that led to university admission. Table 162 sets out the number and percentage of students that have been admitted to HSIU through each channel over a period of seven years. Of all of the channels listed, the ESLCE had been the single most important one through the period shown. It increased from forty percent of the total number in 1964-65 to fifty-six percent in 1970-71. The other channels included the Laboratory School twelfth grade special program, and selected graduates of the summer program for teachers (for the Faculty of Education), selected students from two agricultural schools (for the Agricultural College), selected students from the Commercial School, from the other technical and vocational schools, from the armed forces academies, from the American Field Service, civil servants and holders of foreign secondary school leaving certificates. Most of the candidates from non-ESLCE channels were preprogrammed to join specific faculties, such as education, agriculture and social work. In addition to holding recommendations from appropriate persons and having completed the twelfth grade, they had to sit for special examinations set by the faculties and/or pass personal interviews. For the past few years all candidates have been required to pass the University Aptitude Test.[53]

Prior to 1953-54 students desiring to join one of the colleges in Ethiopia had to sit and pass the General Certificate Examination of London (G.C.E. ordinary level). The Ministry of Education felt that the G.C.E. was not responsive enough to the requirements of the Ethiopian situation, specially in the social science areas such as history and geography, and with the cooperation of HSIU started the ESLCE. Ever since 1963 the ESLCE, with slight modifications through the years, has been the main avenue to university admission.

Over the years, the percentage of passes in the ESLCE has diminished significantly, as shown in Table 163. In 1961 thirty-seven percent of those who sat it, passed the examination. In 1965 the figure was only fifteen percent and by 1970 it was eighteen percent. The reason for this reduction could be either the higher number of candidates or perhaps a deterioration in the instructional quality of the high schools. At any rate, the ESLCE remains the single most important avenue to university admission, in spite of the fact that it has been criticized for technical and methodological deficiencies and for weakness in predicting success in university work.[54] (At this writing (January 1974) a Board of National Examination was established to be responsible for all examinations, including the ESLCE.)

TABLE 162

CHANNELS OF ACCESS TO HSIU

Channel	1964-65	% of Total	1965-66	% of Total	1966-67	% of Total	1967-68	% of Total	1968-69	% of Total	1969-70	% of Total	1970-71	% of Total
ESLCE	266	40.43	448	41.48	535	39.08	737	44.89	915	53.29	957	55.57	970	59.25
Advance Standing	17	2.58	-	-	37	2.70	24	1.46	36	2.10	71	4.12	-	-
Foreign Credentials[1]	33	5.02	-	-	45	3.29	189	11.51	-	-	-	-	51	3.12
LAB School	229	34.80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	203	12.40
Military Academy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43	2.63
Transfer-Readmission	14	2.13	74	6.86	52	3.80	-	-	-	-	100	5.81	207	12.65
Special High School[2]	53	8.05	27	2.50	56	4.09	4	0.24	-	-	-	-	33	2.02
Tech. & Voc. Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	1.04
Others[3]	46	6.99	531	49.17	644	47.04	688	41.90	766	44.61	594	34.50	113[4]	6.90
Total	658	100.00	1080	100.00	1369	100.00	1642	100.00	1717	100.00	1722	100.00	1637	100.00

Note: The totals in each column do not necessarily agree with those supplied by the Registrar's office because in their totals they have included figures that were not itemized. The figures here indicate my direction, not necessarily absolutes. This is a result of there not being uniformity of recordkeeping in the sources. For instance, an item that has been included under 'other' in 1967 was included in another category in the following year and so forth. However the ESLCE figures are probably correct.

1. American Field Service, other graduates from acceptable overseas high schools.
2. High schools specially established to serve as 'feeders' to Theological College & School of Social Work.
3. All other channels that do not fall under any of the given categories are included under "Others." All in all there are approximately 20 different channels.
4. In 1970-71 95 students were admitted primarily to the Technical Education Department of the Faculty of Education for Diploma Programs.

Source: Teshome Wagaw, "Access to Haile Selassie I University," Ethiopia Observer, vol. XIV, no. L, p.44; and HSIU Registrar's Office.

TABLE 163

ETHIOPIAN SCHOOL LEAVING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION RESULTS 1950-1970

Year	Total No. of Students Sat	No. Pass	% of Passes	No. of Failure	% of Failure
1950-51	53	47	88.7	6	11.3
1951-52	83	63	75.9	20	24.1
1952-53	86	64	74.0	22	25.6
1953-54	105	73	69.5	32	30.5
1954-55	159	88	55.3	71	44.7
1955-56	163	103	63.2	60	36.8
1956-57	153	111	72.5	42	27.5
1957-58	317	197	62.1	120	37.8
1958-59	441	180	40.8	261	59.2
1959-60	412	168	40.8	244	59.2
1960-61	481	176	36.6	305	63.4
1961-62	933	220	23.6	713	76.4
1962-63	2045	293	14.3	1752	85.7
1963-64	2649	338	12.6	2311	87.4
1964-65	2793	407	14.6	2386	85.4
1965-66	3821	490	12.8	3331	87.2
1966-67	2294	506	22.1	1788	77.9
1967-68	2702	719	26.6	1983	75.4
1968-69	3852	738	19.2	3114	80.8
1969-70	4750	856	17.6	3914	82.4

Sources: Teshome Wagaw, "Access to Haile Selassie I University," Ethiopia Observer, p. 43; E. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 17.

In the early sixties, for lack of qualified senior secondary school graduates, HSIU was forced to admit candidates with low scores in the ESLCE (i.e., maintaining a G.P.A. of 2.0 or '0' in five subjects, including English, Amharic, mathematics and science). This practice has dramatically changed since 1972-73. In that year for the first time, the number of qualified applicants exceeded the capacity of the university to admit them. Accordingly some five hundred students were rejected. In 1973-74 550 such students were rejected for the same reason. If this trend continues, and there is no sign that it will not since the university is not expanding proportionately, then more and more qualified applicants will be rejected.

Enrollment

At registration each student is asked to list his preferred specialization. Although student preference is considered, his choice may not be granted for several reasons, including his performance during the freshman year, his aptitude, or the lack of places in a given faculty. Even though it may not be the faculty of his choice, as a general rule every student who has registered and performed well, has been admitted to a faculty. In some instances students had to accept the faculty they have been assigned to and make the best of it.

As shown in Table 164 the quota assigned to each faculty or college varied from year to year over the thirteen year period shown. On the whole the Faculty of Education received the largest number of students followed by the College of Agriculture, the Faculty of Arts, and Science.

The total enrollment in 1961-62 was only 974. In 1973-74 the enrollment had jumped to 6,474, six times as much. This growth rate occured in spite of the university's efforts to bring enrollment growth in line with its capacity, without lowering the quality of research and instruction.

During the 1950s students were admitted to Ethiopian colleges as they wished, regardless of other consideration. In 1955, one of the minutes indicated that an Ethiopian member of the Board of Governors of UCAA had questioned whether students should not be trained according to the workforce needs of the country. The president had replied by saying that college level students are not to be "programmed' against their will. The matter was dropped then and there. In May 1961 and in 1963 African educational leaders stressed that in matters of student enrollment the ratio should be sixty percent to forty percent in favor of science and technology, e.g. sixty percent of the students should be channeled to the science and technology areas and only forty percent to the social science and humanities. In the 1960s therefore, HSIU has attempted, rather shyly, to follow such a plan. Table 165 gives a rough estimate of the distribution. In 1961-62 HSIU was slightly over the target sixty-two percent. From 1963-64 to 1972-73 enrollment in the science-technology areas had been going down. This indicates that many of the students continue to show a preference for the social sciences and humanities, in spite of university pressure. Lower grade science teaching may not be strong enough, either for lack of qualified teachers, or of science facilities and equipment and students do not have the knowledge nor the confidence to go into the physical and life science areas. A lack of proper guidance may be an added factor. Doubtless, the university will be under pressure to recruit more students in science-technology, but if that is what is needed, the appropriate place to begin is in the grade schools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts. At the

TABLE 164

FULL-TIME STUDENT ENROLLMENT AT HSIU CLASSIFIED BY FACULTY OR COLLEGE AND PERCENTAGE 1961-62 TO 1973-74

	1961-62[1]		1962-63		1963-64[2]		1964-65		1965-66		1966-67		1967-68		1968-69[3]		1969-70		1970-71		1971-72		1972-73[5]		1973-74	
College/Faculty	No.	% of Total[4]	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total
Agriculture	195	20.0	220	20.2	211	14.0	196	11.0	258	11.4	228	8.1	236	7.0	347	9.0	444	9.6	461	10.1	519	10.4	271	6.9	533	8.2
Arts	356	36.6	299	27.4	299	19.8	290	16.3	356	15.8	412	14.6	441	13.1	527	13.6	433	9.3	370	8.1	392	7.9	262	6.7	400	6.2
Building[6]	111	11.4	112	10.2	111	7.4	107	6.0	83	3.7	88	3.1	84	2.5	122	3.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Business (CBA)	-	-	-	-	148	9.8	204	11.5	292	13.0	366	12.9	454	13.5	479	12.4	414	8.9	390	8.6	348	7.0	190	4.8	297	4.6
Education*	-	-	127	11.6	210	13.9	431	24.2	624	27.7	799	28.3	993	29.5	1106	28.6	969	20.9	817	18.0	861	17.3	596	15.1	1063	16.4
Engineering[6] (Technology)	146	15.0	161	14.8	203	13.5	200	11.3	219	9.7	286	10.1	271	8.0	319	8.2	373	8.0	343	7.6	326	6.5	260	6.6	452	7.0
Law	-	-	-	-	60	4.0	68	3.8	94	4.2	110	3.9	189	5.6	177	4.5	276	6.0	259	5.7	340	6.8	168	4.3	334	5.2
Medicine & Ph.	-	-	-	-	16	1.1	25	1.4	41	1.8	60	2.1	79	2.3	109	2.8	119	2.6	130	2.9	153	3.1	135	3.4	190	2.9
Public Health	46	4.7	63	5.8	75	5.0	76	4.3	104	4.6	142	5.0	156	4.6	169	4.4	171	3.7	165	3.6	163	3.3	179	4.5	363	5.6
Science	106	10.9	95	8.7	122	8.2	140	7.9	127	5.6	248	8.8	368	10.9	398	10.3	288	6.2	319	7.0	377	7.6	261	6.6	669	10.3
Social Work	-	-	-	-	26	1.7	22	1.2	37	1.6	61	2.2	63	1.8	83	2.1	68	1.5	83	1.8	93	1.8	74	1.9	82	1.3
Theology	14	1.4	14	1.3	23	1.6	20	1.1	21	0.9	28	0.9	34	1.0	34	0.9	33	0.7	29	0.7	29	0.8	45	1.2	58	0.9
Freshman Prog.[7]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1048	22.6	1177	25.9	1367	27.5	1494	38.0	2033	31.4
Total	974	-	1091	-	1510	100.0	1779	-	2255	-	2828	100.0	3368	-	3870	-	4636	100.0	4543	100.0	4978	100.0	3935	100.0	6474	100.0

* Education was under the Faculty of Arts up to 1962.

Sources: 1. The figures for Arts of 1961-62 include students of Social Work & Education.

2. Data for 1963-64 were obtained from E. Trudeau, p. 129 (there were six special students in 1963-64 comprising 0.4% of the total).

3. Data for 1968-69 were obtained from the Registrar's Office, HSIU (Admitted by data of enrollment between 1961-65 are not consistent since they were taken at

4. 'Percent of total' is of the total university enrollment.

5. Data for 1969-70 to 1973-74 were obtained from Registrar's Office, HSIU.

6. Colleges of Building and Engineering were incorporated under the Faculty of Technology in 1969-70.

7. Freshman Program was launched in 1969-70.

Note: Freshman enrollment is for the first semester. Some variations might have occured during the second semester.

TABLE 165

ENROLLMENT DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND SCIENCE TECHNOLOGY 1961-62 TO 1973-74

		Social Science(1)		Science-Technology(2)	
Year	Enrollment	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total
1961-62	978	374	38.2	604	61.8
1962-63	1041	447	42.9	594	57.0
1963-64	1511	762	50.6	749	49.4
1964-65	1695	1035	61.6	660	38.9
1965-66	2256	1424	63.8	832	36.2
1966-67	2828	1776	62.4	1052	37.6
1967-68	3368	2174	64.9	1194	35.2
1968-69	3870	2406	62.7	1464	37.3
1969-70	4636	2691	58.0	1945	42.0
1970-71	4543	2546	55.8	1997	44.2
1971-72	4956	2676	59.9	2280	46.1
1972-73	3914	1912	48.9	2002	51.1(3)
1973-74	6474	3115	48.1	3359	51.9(3)

(1) The Social Sciences include Arts, Business Administration, Social Work, Education, Theology, and Law.

(2) Science-Technology includes pure sciences, Engineering, Public Health, Medicine, and Agriculture.

(3) During 1971-73 and 1973-74 there were campus disturbances which resulted in irregular enrollment patterns which in turn account for the discrepancies that appear here.

Sources: 1. For 1961-62 computed from data obtained in E. Trudeau (1964), p. 73.

2. For 1962-63 to 1973-74, computed from data obtained in the HSIU Registrar's Office.

same time, the university should do what it can to encourage more students to go into areas of national priority, by providing guidance services and remedial tuition.

Female Students

The enrollment of female students at HSIU has always been relatively small, as may be seen in Table 166. In fact the total has never been more than eight percent of the total student population, and most of the time it has stayed at the four to five percent mark. The reasons for this may lie in the cultural milieu of the society. HSIU certainly could have done more, by providing certain alternatives, such as mathematics, in the admission examinations. Until such a course or similar ones are taken, the number of female students at HSIU will remain small for some time to come.

Foreign Students

HSIU has always been attended by international students. Beginning in 1958 (in the days of UCAA) when Haile Selassie I scholarships for African students were inaugurated, through the latter part of the 1960s, most of the international students have come from other African countries. Students from other areas, including Europe and Asia, have come to the country as dependents (while their parents or spouses served on diplomatic or business missions) and have attended the university. The statistics of enrollment are shown in Table 167. All in all, some 1,080 of these students had attended HSIU during the ten year period. The four colleges attended by most international students were, in descending order, arts, science, technology, and agriculture. Foreign student enrollment had remained relatively static, and has even decreased, perhaps as a result of the demise of the scholarship scheme.

The importance, presence and contribution of international students to the university has been recognized and appreciated. An office was set up at HSIU, headed by a foreign students advisor "who should be a mature, sympathetic and experienced Ethiopian" who was to be "responsible for the overall administration, supervision and guidance of the foreign students and to help in all ways possible with their personal, financial and other difficulties..."[55]

University Extension Enrollment

As Table 168 shows, the Extension Department has contributed to the development of a skilled workforce, by providing a second chance to the adult population who were unable to gain access to higher education through regular channels. During the twelve year period, some thirty five thousand people have been exposed to some form of higher education. Some of these were enrolled outside the metropolitan areas, providing a limited but unique opportunity to the people of the regions.

Some centers in the outlying areas have been closed, and the Extension Department has been criticized for duplicating regular full-time university programs instead of innovating and exploring. New approaches, whereby higher education may be made available to even more people have been making some impact, and the department was planning to launch, for example, some correspondence courses. This is a healthy sign. Most extension students are able to pay tuition and other expenses, making the program nearly financially self-supporting. There were plans to make extension an autonomous unit within the university, with its own teaching and administrative staff. Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to say that the good

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TABLE 166

ENROLLMENT @ HSIU DIVIDED ACCORDING TO SEX
1962-63 TO 1972-73

Faculty or College	1962-63 M	F	T	%F	1963-64 M	F	T	%F	1964-65 M	F	T	%F	1965-66 M	F	T	%F	1966-67 M	F	T	%F
Agriculture	211	-	211	-	221	-	221	-	204	-	204	-	258	-	258	-	220	-	220	-
Arts	242	45	287	15.7	256	43	299	14.4	254	36	290	12.4	315	41	356	11.5	349	43	392	11.0
Building	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	107	-	107	-	83	-	83	-	79	-	79	-
Business	-	-	-	-	135	13	148	8.8	195	9	204	4.4	262	30	292	10.3	323	37	360	10.3
Education	124	5	129	3.9	197	13	210	6.2	425	6	431	1.4	599	25	624	4.0	671	42	713	5.9
Medicine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	1	20	5.0	40	1	41	2.4	54	5	59	8.5
Law	-	-	-	-	59	1	60	1.7	67	1	68	1.5	93	1	94	1.1	104	-	104	-
Public Health	58	-	58	-	75	-	75	-	70	-	70	-	102	2	104	1.9	136	5	141	3.5
Social Work	16	-	16	-	16	10	26	38.5	15	7	22	31.8	30	7	37	18.9	38	22	60	36.7
Science	71	7	78	9.0	111	11	122	9.0	131	9	140	6.4	114	13	127	10.2	197	20	217	9.2
Technology	134	1	135	0.7	201	2	203	1.0	199	1	200	0.5	217	2	219	0.9	254	2	256	0.8
Theology	15	-	15	-	19	-	19	-	20	-	20	-	21	-	21	-	35	-	35	-
Freshmen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	871	58	929		1280	83	1363		1712	70	1782		2134	122	2256		2460	176	2636	

Faculty or College	1967-68 M	F	T	%F	1968-69 M	F	T	%F	1969-70 M	F	T	%F	1970-71 M	F	T	%F	1971-72 M	F	T	%F	1972-73 M	F	T	%F
Agriculture	229	10	239	4.2	323	24	347	6.9	396	48	444	10.8	410	51	461	11.1	472	47	519	9.1	363	14	377	3.7
Arts	387	54	441	12.2	466	61	527	11.6	322	41	363	11.3	342	28	370	7.6	368	24	392	6.1	336	25	361	6.9
Building	82	2	84	2.4	120	2	122	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Business	403	51	454	11.2	414	65	479	13.6	359	55	414	13.3	337	53	390	13.6	303	45	348	12.9	165	15	180	8.3
Education	950	43	993	4.3	1049	57	1106	5.2	917	52	969	5.4	788	29	817	3.5	815	46	861	5.3	550	46	596	7.7
Medicine	70	9	79	11.4	99	10	109	9.2	108	11	119	9.2	112	18	130	13.8	139	14	153	9.2	122	13	135	9.6
Law	186	3	189	1.6	176	1	177	0.6	370	6	376	1.6	205	4	209	1.9	334	6	340	1.8	166	2	168	1.2
Public Health	152	4	156	2.6	163	6	169	3.6	165	6	171	3.5	158	7	165	4.2	152	11	163	6.7	106	73	179	40.8
Social Work	46	16	62	25.8	55	28	83	33.7	47	21	68	3.9	58	25	83	3.1	69	24	93	25.8	52	22	74	29.7
Science	337	31	368	8.4	367	31	398	7.8	266	20	286	6.9	303	16	319	5.0	356	21	377	5.6	340	21	361	5.8
Technology	269	2	271	0.7	437	2	439	0.5	372	1	373	0.3	341	2	343	0.6	326	2	328	0.6	359	1	360	0.3
Theology	34	-	34	-	34	-	34	-	33	-	33	-	39	-	39	-	39	-	39	-	45	-	45	-
Freshmen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	962	86	1048	8.3	1056	121	1177	10.3	233	134	367	36.5	1353	141	1494	9.4
Totals	3141	237	[illegible]		3703	287	3990		4220	346	4566		4189	354	4543		3604	374	3978		3547	394	3941	

Note: Total enrollment was taken at the beginning of each year & may not correspond to previous tables due to variation in the sources.

Source: HSIU Registrar's Office.

TABLE 167

ENROLLMENT STATISTICS OF FOREIGN STUDENTS AT HSIU 1963-64 TO 1972-73

Faculty/College	1963-1964	1964-1965	1965-1966	1966-1967	1967-1968	1968-1969	1969-1970	1970-1971	1971-1972	1972-1973	Total
Agriculture	12	4	7	3	9	19	26	17	22	23	142
Arts	60	46	37	28	18	18	13	9	5	10	243
Building	6	4	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	14
Business	21	15	18	18	14	8	8	8	7	7	124
Education	12	9	12	13	14	8	6	3	6	6	89
Engineering (Tech.)	20	20	19	22	15	16	9	-	7	29	157
Freshman	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	24	23	14	78
Law	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	7
Medicine (Pharm.)	-	1	1	1	3	4	7	8	8	10	43
Public Health	-	-	1	2	3	1	-	1	1	-	9
Science	13	15	22	22	24	22	9	9	8	10	159
Social Work	1	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	5
Theology	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	10

Note: First semester enrollment figures were taken for each year. Second semester figures may vary from the first semester ones.

Source: Registrar's Office, HSIU.

TABLE 103

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION ENROLLMENT
1961-62 TO 1971-72

Centers	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72
Main Campus	980	1212	1029	1120	1242	1164	1029	1272	1368	1347	1674
Engineering	46	64	50	112	169	220	115	291	247	503	469
Main Campus Law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	672	401	191	282
Asmara	-	127	129	125	278	170	120	166	125	114	206
Debre-Zeit	-	54	50	40	40	61	434*	59	27	26	64
Dire Dawa	-	-	-	15	35	60	-	-	-	-	-
Harar	-	-	206	111	71	75	102	102	91	40	89
Jimma Ext. Law Centers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43	-	-
Total	1026	1457	1458	1523	1535	1750	1800	2562	2304	2221	1784

* Including some high school students.

** From Aklilu Habte, "AAU: The Public Service Role of the University," p. 75, in Thompson, Fogel and Danner.

Source: Addis Ababa University, Office of the University Extension.

that can be done through extension is limited only by the imagination - or lack of it - of university and national policy-makers.[56]

Wastage

As noted earlier in this chapter student wastage, for whatever reason, has been a serious problem since the establishment of the university. Noting the gravity of this particular problem, in 1966 the chancellor's advisory committee noted: "We believe that, with little or no increase in intake of students, the production of graduates can be doubled if, for the next five years the resources which will reduce this wastage of students will also improve the quality of teaching and learning, this, as the University's most urgent educational need, must take priority over expansion in numbers or programs."[57]

The committee suggested that to reduce wastage the university must work closely with the Ministry of Education to raise the quality of secondary education; review the process of student admission, including the nature of the examination system, the competition for students between the university and technical and teacher-training colleges and "the possible adoption of a system of university entrance based on school recommendation. One cause - perhaps the chief cause - of student failure is the conditions under which they live and work. Elsewhere in Africa it has been found essential for universities to provide living accommodations for students. It is also essential in Ethiopia... We know that student life in an African university presents the administration with many problems. We are sure these problems can be tackled with more hope of success if students are living under reasonable conditions, preferably supervised by faculty members, and if their energies and enthusiasms can be directed to University affairs rather than to politics. The proposals we make in this section would certainly offer the best prospect of training students to be good citizens as well as capable graduates." The committee was deeply concerned with the extraordinary high rate of failure of students. The failure rate coupled with the insufficient supply of qualified university entrants, poses problems of great magnitude and complexity. The wastage of human and fiscal resources is tragic. The university must meet this problem.

> Most of the failure occurs during the freshman year. The figures are shocking. The causes are many and complex but there are four to which we direct attention now. First is the inadequate University community facilities including facilities for students to live and study under proper conditions... Second is the great need for intensive instruction during the long vacation periods for incoming freshmen and for students of other class levels found deficient in certain skills,... Third is the great need for the strengthening of secondary education. The University has this obligation because secondary education is the feeder to the University... Fourth is the need to establish the University as a source of future teachers and educational leaders. We believe that a substantial segment of the better students must be encouraged to enter teaching careers... this is not now the case.[58]

An examination of student wastage in all faculties of colleges of HSIU from 1964-65 to 1972-73 shows that the wastage rate varied from faculty to faculty and from one year to the next. But on the whole the wastage rate was higher in the science-technology areas (up to 60 percent or more) than in the social sciences and greater during the first two years than the last two or three. The wastage was too much to ignore, and HSIU took steps in an attempt to rectify the intolerable situation - it inaugurated the Freshman Program.

Initiated in 1969 the Freshman Program was designed to deal systematically with problems of freshman instruction, including:

> i. the poor preparation which most freshmen have received in language and reading skills, problem-solving and analytical ability;
>
> ii. the high rate of attrition among freshmen;
>
> iii. the lack of sustained attention which we give to the academic problems of these students as a group;
>
> iv. the failure of the University to provide aptitude-testing, counseling and career guidance before students elect faculties and thus careers;
>
> v. The apparent low motivation of many freshmen;
>
> vi. the need for the University to present a more stimulating programme to freshmen;
>
> vii. the need to encourage those particular teachers ... who have the most contact with freshmen to work more consistently and continuously with each other to develop more appropriate courses and teaching methods, to experiment in order to challenge both students and staff to new levels of performance.[59]

The program was put under a single director, with the powers of a dean, assisted by associate or assistant deans, a Freshman Committee similar to the academic commissions of other faculties, and students of its own, the freshmen in the university. Students were enrolled in three broad 'streams' namely, arts, physical science, and life science. At the end of the freshman year they join the appropriate faculties.[60]

At the time of writing the freshman program is in its fourth year. It is too early to pass a final judgment on its effectiveness in reducing wastage. But there are signs that wastage is decreasing in the freshman year and is substantially reduced in years two to four.

Graduation

Over a period of twelve years, from 1961-62 to 1972-73, the thirteen faculties or colleges (including extension) have graduated different numbers of degree and diploma/certificate holders. Over seven hundred young people have graduated with a degree from the Faculty of Arts. The Faculty of Education graduated 246 people with degrees and 2,324 with diplomas or certificates. The Extension Department has graduated the largest number of people, but most of them were from sub-degree programs. A total of 9,280 people have graduated from various kinds of university programs during the twelve year period. From the degree program, nearly 3,400 people have graduated. This makes the number of degree holders, including UCAA graduates but excluding those who studied abroad, 3,800 for the whole country since the inception of higher education in Ethiopia in 1950.

Most of the graduates are male, and Ethiopians by nationality. But there were foreign students, and in both groups there were females. But on the whole the number of female graduates was very small because attrition was higher among the female students. Ethiopian graduates returned from foreign colleges as shown in Table 169.

TABLE 169

ETHIOPIAN STUDENTS RETURNED FROM STUDIES ABROAD 1961-69

	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69
America	83	76	33	-	74	65	100	153	150
Africa	7	6	6	-	4	3	8	9	6
Asia	61	27	11	-	39	5	11	11	5
Europe	50	34	50	-	35	36	61	102	112
Australia	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	5	2

Sources:
1. 1960-61, "School Census" (Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, 1960-61), p. 40.
2. 1961-62, "Statistical Abstract, Imperial Ethiopian Government" (Central Statistical Office, 1964), p. 151. Only students reported to the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts.
3. 1967-68, "School Census for Ethiopia" (Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, 1967-68), p. 59.
4. 1964-65, "School Census for Ethiopia," p. 48.
5. 1966-67, "School Census for Ethiopia," p. 106.

Student Life and Characteristics

Haile Selassie I University is located in a country with deep-rooted traditions and customs, a country inhabited by groups with different linguistic, religious and ethnic backgrounds and a country most of whose citizens make their living by cultivating the land or raising cattle. These differences in cultural and economic background, were reflected in the characteristic composition of the student body. A brief resume of the characteristics of HSIU students, their life at the university and the impact they have made (or the lack of it) on the national scene, follows.

On the whole, the socioeconomic background, and the educational and career aspirations of HSIU students remain unstudied. Much needs to be done in this area in the future if the university is to be effective in educating and leading youth. As we have repeatedly stressed in the past the educational process in Ethiopia will improve only when the psychology and sociology of the Ethiopian student are better understood.[61]

One study, carried out by R. Giel and J. N. Van Luyk of HSIU, was a follow-up study of 1,066 freshmen who had entered HSIU in 1966. According to their findings, the student body at HSIU was primarily male. Some 60 percent of the students entering the university were under twenty years old and 90 percent under twenty-five. The largest single group of the students (38 percent) came from farms; about 16 percent had fathers who were merchants or clerks; 10 percent had fathers who were soldiers or police officers and only 7 percent said they had fathers who were in high governmental or judicial positions. As far as ethnic background was concerned 45 percent were Amharas, 26 percent Tigre, 10 percent Galla, 4 percent Gurage, and 7 percent came from the other ethnic groups. Approximately 66 percent said that Amaharic was their first language. Regarding religion, 83 percent of them were Orthodox Christian, 10 percent Protestants or Roman Catholics, and 7 percent were Muslim. Of the freshmen studied, 20 percent came from Addis Ababa, 4 percent from Asmara, 10 percent from provincial capitals; and 66 percent came from towns and villages, but the students reported that they had moved to larger cities for their secondary education. Thus, 53 percent attended high school in Addis Ababa, 80 percent in Asmara, and 21 percent in other provincial capitals. A large proportion of the students (72%) received no support of any type from home.

A third of the students stated that they now considered Addis Ababa their family place of residence, while about 50 percent reported that their family place of residence involved more than one day's travel from the capital. Two-thirds of the students indicated that they had not been living with their families prior to joining the university. However, the majority of the students said that, in spite of the distance involved, they visited their families 'often' or occasionally. An added fact: 50 percent of the students said that they came from broken homes and a third said that they were half orphans.

Regarding medical treatment at HSIU, 60 percent had sought medical treatment in the twelve months prior to entering the university. The most common complaints: 24 percent were disease of eyes, 13 percent were nosebleeds, 11 percent intestinal parasites, 8 percent gastric complaints, 8 percent dysentery, and 7 percent gonhorhea. About a third of the students complained of some degree of emotional stress.

At that time 63 percent lived in university hostels, 14 percent in rented houses or rooms off-campus, 12 percent with their families, and 11 percent with relatives or teachers.

As far as academic performance was concerned, during the first year 29 percent failed or dropped out. However, whether the students entered the university through the ESLCE or not, did not affect their performances. "In general, family and ethnic background factors were not related to academic performance in the first year."[62]

In summarizing the findings of Giel and Van Luyk, it was noted that the two investigators "are impressed by the endurance of the Ethiopian student and his willingness to pursue his education at all levels without significant material and immediate emotional support from his closest relatives. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that a third of the freshmen indicated that they had symptoms of psychological distress before entering the University and that more than a third visited the student health clinic with minor complaints during their first semester at the University."[63]

The above investigation was a limited one and was carried out over seven years ago. The characteristics and some of the problems of the university may have changed since, but the pattern was significant and it is possible that it is still operating.

Along with student characteristics we need to review student life including the student union, and club activities. In September 1969 the president of HSIU reported that "student unrest - a world-wide problem - has been of deep concern here. We have had our share of 'crisis' over the past five years; and today, with finance and planning, the sector of student affairs presents a most difficult and urgent challenge to our institution."[64]

This was an appropriate assessment of the situation as it is still the same today. Perhaps the problem of student unrest and of the measures taken by the police have their roots in the nature of Ethiopian society and the national university.

To begin with, the students are the first generation to attend university. Their relatives, most of them illiterate, are by definition unable to understand or communicate with their offspring. In turn, young people tend to spurn or reject the ideas and values held by the older generation, since these values and beliefs came into being to meet the prescientific needs of a traditional, conservative society. This rejection of values and beliefs has been extended to include most authorities, including traditional institutions and the personalities now holding high offices in these institutions. The generation gap, coupled with the tremendous educational gap that came into being in 1950, has tended to accelerate the alienation between university students and their elders.

At the same time, HSIU is a state institution deriving financial support from the state. University youth, regardless of the circumstances, has challenged the status quo in the social and political arena. The government, basing its argument on traditional values - obedience to ones elders, and willingness to be guided by them - though at times patient, has dealt with student demands unyieldingly. Clashes between the police and students took place with the result that classes were interrupted and students suspended from the university. Many hours of intruction and much university property has been lost in this way through the last nine years.

On campus, as the years went by, the university has become a vast, impersonal community. Close touch between staff and students has become limited and formal. "It has become harder and harder for students to secure an identity within the institution, and to identify with it."[65]

Attrition was another problem, as we indicated earlier in the present chapter. The causes of attrition were many and varied, but its existence has influenced the feelings and attitudes of the students. The president noted that this "can affect morals and attitudes; it produces an economic and social waste of human resources."[66] He continued:

> Students in Ethiopia,...desire to participate in the political process, to articulate their concerns, indeed the 'demands' for reform felt by many younger citizens. Student leaders at Haile Selassie I University... have become increasingly organized and a few have become increasingly militant in carrying on this political activity. This year (1969) confrontation with the government produced a temporary disruption of the University, the withdrawl of about two-thirds of the full-time student body, the arrest of some students and a waste of no less than Eth. $4 million of the taxpayer's money... The additional social and psychological costs of this disruption are immeasurable, but plainly serious."[67]

Since 1964 a number of reports have been submitted to the Faculty Council. These included the special student-staff presidential commission of 1964; the Award-Strauss Report of 1967; the Student Affairs Committee Report of September 1968. These documents covered a lot of ground and influenced Faculty Council policies. There have been a series of Student Affairs Committee Reports on housing, feeding, sports, discipline, and student health. In 1969, the present author, then Dean of Students, submitted a comprehensive annual report, reviewing much of the material and adding his own observations and proposals for action. The University Testing Center has conducted a series of studies which have been reported to the university community.

These studies and reports pointed out the need for dialogue through many channels, with university administration, faculty members, members of parliament, cabinet ministers and community leaders. Respect for reason, law, the human person, and property must be preserved; and there is a need for new intellectual challenges. The reports and studies indicated the following reservations about most of the university students. These were:

a. they do not read very much, have read comparatively little beyond required texts during their past educational experience;

b. they have not yet developed skills of individual research and investigation, problem analysis, logical argument and concise reasoning;

c. they have not been given counselling which helps them to relate their career goals more effectively to their academic study, and thus are often less motivated in pursuing a particular field of study;

d. they have not much of an idea as to what a university is - or should be - what distinguishes it from a school and other educational institutions;

e. they do not often feel challenged by much of what is presented to them in the classroom, particularly in the lower classes; the better students seldom meet with stimulus or encouragement to move at a faster, individual pace and to attempt a broader scope of studies; rather, all students are seemingly encouraged to move 'lockstep' through a highly structured sometimes boring curriculum;

f. they are often not given enough opportunity to treat realistically with Ethiopian situations and the real problems at issue here and now in the classroom; are sometimes encouraged to think that 'flabby generalizations' and 'slogan solutions' are valid answers to hard problems;

g. they do not, in many cases, work very hard outside the classroom on individual projects calling for individual initiative in research, including field-work, analysis of data, responsible and realistic proposals for action.[68]

These appraisals were made before the Freshman Program was initiated in 1969. But in the absence of a comprehensive study on the subject since then, there is no evidence that these problems have been solved, and observation indicates that most of them are in fact still unresolved. The forces that were working against an effective learning-teaching process are still operating.

Much could have been written on student publications, student unions, and the rules and regulations governing them. These had, to all intents and purposes become political, and as a result, at this writing, all student publications and unions on all campuses have been banned by the Board of Governors. The underlying reason for the banning is contained in 1966-67 report by the Dean of Students. He said:

> It is my opinion that the problem of student unions in Addis Ababa is directly related to the political awareness of the University students and that the University, as a University, does not have the necessary mechanism to control this force nor should. This problem is a problem that will last; the Dean of Students, SAC (Student Affairs Committee) and the University must determine what their attitude should be and what decisions must be taken in view of such a problem (emphasis added).
>
> The question of a student newspaper is closely related to the question of student unions. The newspaper is one way for the union of contacting its members, of communicating its ideas. This question has been studied throughout the year by SAC and Dean of Students; unfortunately no satisfactory solution has been found.[69]

In the circumstances prevailing in Ethiopian society today, and as long as the student body insists on being involved in politics, it is doubtful whether a satisfactory solution will be found for the continued unrest, for the alienation of the old from the young, in and for the contrast between daily reality and what the university students want to see. In the meantime HSIU has to be prudent and patient in dealing with student 'crises.'

Teaching Staff

The fortunes of a university rise or fall with the quality of its academic staff. HSIU has been aware of this fact, as indicated by the pains it has been taking in the recruitment and appointment of academic staff. HSIU has drawn its academic staff from two sources, from overseas and from within Ethiopia.

Until the middle 1950s there were no Ethiopians teaching at college level. During those years, and down to this time teachers were recruited from abroad either through an agency or directly by the university itself. The reliance on expatriate staff had brought some problems, and some advantages. On the positive side, expatriate teachers brought valuable international teaching and research experience, and fresh insight into the problems of Ethiopia. On the minus side may be included factors such as the stiff competition HSIU had to face for quality faculty, the high turnover, and the high salary and transportation expenses involved in bringing expatriates over and maintaining them. The long range solution to rectify this dependence on expatriates was to recruit and train competent Ethiopians to assume teaching, research and academic administrative positions. Commenting on this plan in the early 1960s Trudeau rightly pointed out, "The qualifications of the Ethiopian staff should be of the highest possible order. In an attempt to Ethiopianize, the University Authorities should commit themselves to academic excellence and high professional standards. Competence, human qualities, merit and interest in teaching should be the most important factors in the appointment of the staff. This should apply also to the academic administrative staff, who have much to contribute in developing educational policies. There is no place in a University for a purely political appointment."[70]

Emphasizing the same point of view, but at the same time aware of the continuing need to recruit teachers from abroad for African universities, the 1962 Unesco Conference reiterated: "African Universities should be strengthened in expatriate staff and equipment in order to accelerate the training of African staff on all levels during the next five to ten years."[71]

Commenting on the Ethiopianization of the HSIU faculty, early in the 1960s Trudeau noted that "There is a definite need for an overall plan for the Ethiopianization of the staff of Haile Sellassie I University. The policy is established, but no plan has been designed to implement the policy. The actual statistics show that in 1963 between 25% and 30% of the staff of Haile Sellassie I University were Ethiopians."[72] Since that time progress has been made towards the Ethiopianization of the staff. On the following pages are presented a series of tables containing an analysis of the composition, nationality, rank and degrees of the academic staff.

Table 170 shows faculty by nationality, rank and degree for 1969-70. At that time only forty-seven percent were Ethiopians, the rest were expatriates. There were no Ethiopian full professors, while thirty expatriates had achieved the highest rank. There were also fewer Ethiopians at the associate and assistant professor levels. At the lecturer and assistant level the number of Ethiopians was higher.

TABLE 170

HSIU FACULTY BY NATIONALITY, RANK AND DEGREE
1969-70

		Doct.	M.A.	Prof.	B.A.
Professor:	Ethiopian	-	-	-	-
	Expatriate	31	4	5	1
Associate Professor:	Ethiopian	11	-	-	-
	Expatriate	20	9	4	1
Lecturer/ Assistant Lecturer:	Ethiopian	10	31	12	41
	Expatriate	9	35	11	18
Graduate Assistants:	Ethiopian	-	-	-	-
Academic Admin.:	Ethiopian	4	10	-	20
	Expatriate	5	8	5	-
Sub-Totals:		144	138	46	109
Part-Time:	Ethiopian	5	1	4	2
	Expatriate	6	-	7	3
Secondary Teachers:	Ethiopian	-	23	-	-
	Expatriate	13	4	17	-

Totals: Of 520 faculty, 242 or 46.5% are Ethiopian; 278 or 53.5% are expatriates.

Source: John Summerskill, Blueprint for Development, p.26.

The pattern was similar regarding degrees. There were more expatriates with terminal and master's degrees than there were nationals.

By 1972-73 significant changes had taken place in favor of Ethiopianization of the academic staff, as depicted in Table 171. The total number of Ethiopians has reached the 277 mark and out of this total thirty had their terminal degrees. The number of academic staff as well as the proportion of terminal degree holders of varying rank differed from one faculty or college to the next. Most of the terminal degree holders were in the Faculty of Arts (16) followed by Medicine (10), Agriculture (10), and Science (10).

The characteristics of the foreign staff are presented in Tables 172 and 173 for the years 1969 and 1973 respectively. In 1969 there were about 244 of them representing over thirteen different nationalities. The largest single contingent was from the USA, followed by Britain and Sweden. By 1973 however, Britain led with 33 percent, followed by the USA, France, and Sweden, in that order.

Of course, to the extent that recruitments were made with meticulous care, it was fortunate that HSIU attracted so many foreigners with different backgrounds and experience. There were, however, problems in imposing uniformity in grading, curricula and credits. To the credit of the majority, most of the problems arising from divergent points of view were resolved amicably.

The latest figures for academic staff are presented in Table 174 and Chart 11. There were no Ethiopian full professors as late as 1973-74. Except at the full professorial level, Ethiopians outnumbered expatriates in all categories and faculties or colleges. In fact the Ethiopian academic staff represented nearly seventy percent of the total. As far as numbers were concerned the Ethiopianization policy had been carried out vigorously, as the figures indicate. But, if there was any disadvantage in this very real achievement it was that most of the staff were young, inexperienced and most of them of similar age. Unless care is taken, this situation may create some conflicts that in turn may interfere with continued institutional development. Otherwise the observations made by Trudeau in 1963 hold true. He said:

> The formal studies of these Ethiopians may be considered completed. They may be considered as more or less permanently acquired by the University. Since they are young, wastage from death or retirement should be negligible. Sound personnel policies about salaries, tenure, promotion, fringe benefits, pension, sabbatical studies, facilities for research and travel, and contact with other African universities, will help them maintain interest, proficiency and growth in their profession... The present Ethiopian academic staff may be considered an 'elite', devoted and courageous. They are conscious of their position of responsibility and they wish to serve.[73]

TABLE 171

HSIU ETHIOPIAN FACULTY BY DEGREE AND RANK
1972-73*

College/Faculty	Degree					Academic Rank									% of Terminal Degree Holders
	Ph.D MD	MA M.Sc.	BA B.Sc.	Dipl. Cert.	Total	Assoc. Prof.	Asst. Prof.	Lect.	Asst. Lect.	Grad. Asst.	Tech. Asst.	Instr.	Tech.	Total	
Agriculture	10	14	12	1	37	1	9	14	1	7	5	-	-	37	21.6
Arts	16	10	9	2	37	6	11	12	3	3	-	-	2	37	43.2
Business	1	11	1	-	13	-	1	12	-	-	-	-	-	13	7.7
Education (excl. Lab. Sch.)	9	7	4	3	24	3	10	5	-	1	5	-	-	24	37.5
Law	-	5	4	-	9	-	-	6	3	-	-	-	-	9	-
Medicine	13	3	1	12	29	4	6	6	-	1	-	-	12	29	44.8
Public Health	6	5	7	15	33	-	2	6	8	2	-	15	-	33	18.2
Science	10	9	7	3	29	2	6	10	1	2	3	-	4	28	39.1
Social Work	-	3	2	-	5	-	1	3	-	1	-	-	-	5	-
Technology (N. & S. campuses)	6	19	4	-	29	3	10	17	-	-	-	-	-	29	20.7
Theology	-	5	-	2	8	-	1	4	-	-	-	2	-	7	-
University Extension	1	2	1	-	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	50.0
Freshman	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inst. of Eth. Studies	1	1	1	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	3	33.3
Inst. of Pathobiology	3	-	1	3	7	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	6	50.0
Inst. of Development Res.	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100.0
Total	77	95	55	42	269	20	61	96	16	17	14	17	22	263	25.5
Academic Administration**	5	13	11	10	39	2	2	2	-	-	-	8	-	14	35.7
Grand Total	82	108	66	52	308	22	63	98	16	17	14	25	22	277	29.6

* Includes Academic Deans, Associate and Assistant Deans.
** Includes Library, Dean of Students, Registrar, Testing, ESLCE, EUS, University Press, etc.

Source: HSIU, Office of the Associate Vice President for Staff.

TABLE 172

AN APPROXIMATE ANALYSIS OF HSIU EXPATRIATE ACADEMIC STAFF
JUNE 1969

Faculty/ College	U.S.	British	Swedish	Belgian	Indian	Israeli	Canadian	Bulgarian	Dutch	German	French	Italian	Polish	Other	Total
Agriculture	12	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	15
Arts	16	17	4	-	-	-	2	1	-	2	2	1	1	10	56
Business	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
Education	8	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	4	20
Engineering	2	1	12	1	1	1	-	-	3	6	-	-	-	8	35
Law	11	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	16
Medicine	1	19	3	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5	31
Public Health	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	11
Science	12	8	4	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	11	41
Social Work	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	4
Theology	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Total	83	53	23	4	7	1	4	1	8	10	4	1	2	43	244
Percentages	34.0	21.7	9.0	1.6	2.9	0.4	1.6	0.4	3.3	4.1	1.6	0.4	0.8	17.6	

Source: John Summerskill, Blueprint for Development, p. 118.

TABLE 173
HSIU, EXPATRIATE STAFF BY FACULTY AND NATIONALITY
JULY 1973

	American	British	Nigerian	Indian	Dutch	Swedish	Indonesian	Canadian	Egyptian	French	W. German	Italian	Polish	Sudanese	Belgian
Agriculture	12	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arts	15	20	-	-	-	3	1	4	1	2	1	1	-	-	-
Business Adm.	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Education	10	13	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Law	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	1	1	1
Medicine	-	10	-	4	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Public Health	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Science	8	11	-	2	-	4	-	2	1	1	2	-	-	-	-
Social Work	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Technology	1	4	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-
Theology	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inst. of Devel. Research	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inst. of Ethiopian Studies	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Pathobiology	5	8	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Freshman Program	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Library	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HSIU Press	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Registrar's Office	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Testing Centre	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Central Administration	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	70	76	1	13	3	12	1	6	2	5	16	1	2	3	1
Percentage	30.2	32.8	0.4	5.6	1.3	5.2	0.4	2.6	0.9	2.2	7.3	0.4	0.9	1.3	0.4

Source: Computed from data obtained from HSIU, Office of the Associate Academic Vice President for Staff.

TABLE 174
TOTAL HSIU ACADEMIC STAFF
1973-74*

Faculty	RANK															
	Professor		Asso. Prof.		Asst. Prof.		Lecturer		Asst. Lect.		Grad. Asst.		Tech. Asst.		Inst-ructors	
	Eth.	Exp.	Eth.	Exp.	Eth.	Exp.	Eth.	Exp.	Eth.	Exp.	Eth.	Exp.	Eth.	Exp.	Eth.	Exp.
College of Agriculture	-	2	2	3	14	2	15	6	2	-	8	-	14	-	1	-
Faculty of Arts	-	3	5	-	14	12	11	20	3	8	5	-	-	-	-	-
College of Business	-	2	-	-	4	-	8	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Education	-	2	3	1	12	4	4	1	6	-	2	-	4	-	14	13
Freshman Program	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Law	-	3	-	1	2	1	6	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Medicine	-	8	4	2	8	3	5	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Public Health	-	1	-	-	2	1	9	-	9	-	2	-	-	-	2	-
Science	-	5	3	6	5	13	14	3	5	-	11	-	4	-	-	-
School of Social Work	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Technology	-	3	3	5	11	1	16	4	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Theological College	-	1	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Inst. of Dev. Research	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inst. of Eth. Studies	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pathobiology	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dean of Students	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-
Academic Administration	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
University Library	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	-	31	23	20	82	37	95	36	33	8	33	-	22	-	26	14
%	-	100	55	45	69	31	73	27	80	20	100	-	100	-	65	35

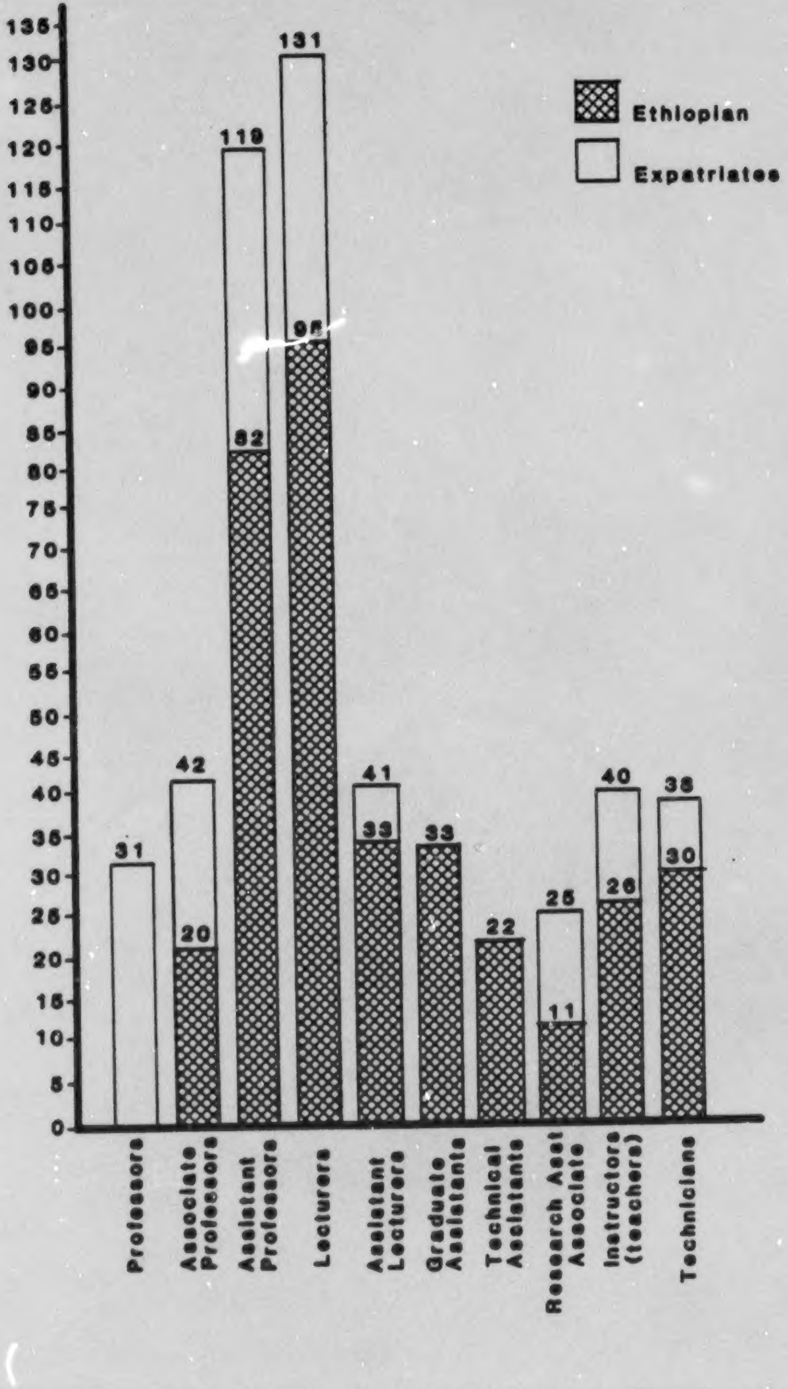
* Includes those with no academic rank.

** Excludes staff on study leave.

Source: HSIU Office of Associate Academic Vice President for Staff

Chart 11

HSIU Academic Staff–Ethiopian and Expatriate, 1973–74



Source: HSIU, Office of the Associate Academic Vice-President for Staff.

Finance

An attempt to analyze the finances of HSIU are hampered by the lack of organized data for the period covered. A brief analysis will be attempted of the sources and the means of financing the university's operations.

Ever since its inception, HSIU has benefited from financial assistance extended to it from private and international sources. External assistance might be divided into seven broad categories: 1) program development, 2) capital grants, 3) loans for capital purposes, 4) cultural representation, 5) technical assistance, 6) faculty development, and 7) student scholarships.[74] External assistance has played a significant role, and possibly it will continue to do so for some time to come, but the largest financial burden has been born by the Ethiopian taxpayers.

Ethiopian students receive free tuition, board and lodging. Some pay a small health fee and some deposit against loss of university property. Otherwise, virtually everything is provided free to the student. (Free university education for all, regardless of scholarship, has been frequently criticized, but is still operational.) The money to make this possible has been obtained from the central government treasury.

Recurrent Expenditure

Tables 175 and 176 show the composition of the recurrent budget, and a comparison between government appropriations for education in general, and HSIU's share of the total appropriation. Out of the 397 million dollars appropriated for the total government budget (representing a growth rate of twenty percent over the previous year), the education sector received 52 million dollars; from this HSIU received 10 million dollars, or twenty percent of the total operating budget allocated for education. Over the years, while there has been a noticeable decline in the rate of growth of total government operating budget, HSIU's share has stayed more or less constant. This indicates that, while there was no significant growth in the appropriation, HSIU received a fair share of the financial resources of the government.

Table 177 shows yet another comparison, this time between the total government operating budget and the government appropriation for HSIU, as well as the rate of increase over a ten-year period. Throughout the period the government operating budget and HSIU's have remained constant (even stagnant) or have decreased. For instance, HSIU's share of the government operating budget in 1964-65 was just over two percent and ten years later in 1973-74 it was only three percent. But, when a comparison is made between the rate of increase of the national operating budget and that of HSIU, the university is better off.

Out of the total operating budget received, the allocations to the various programs are shown in Table 178. Over two-thirds of the money went to instructional activities, while the rest was spent on educational services. Within the faculties and colleges, over forty percent of the money went to the science-technology areas, about thirteen percent to the social sciences; the rest was divided among the other academic programs. This pattern of expenditure, perhaps with the exception of the teacher training program, was in accordance with major university policies. Considering the need for school teachers, the expenditure in this area was unimpressive.

TABLE 175

ESTIMATES OF ACTUAL REVENUE AND RECURRENT EXPENDITURE BY HSIU
1964-65 TO 1973-74
(BIRR MILLION)

Fiscal Year	Total Govt. Operating Budget	Growth Rate	Government Appropriation For Education	HSIU's Share of Gov. Education appropriation	HSIU's Share in % of Gov. Education Appropriation
1964-65	330.4	-	48,143	8,454	17.56
1965-66	397.4	20.27	51,616	10,247	19.85
1966-67	425.8	7.1	62,560	10,247	16.37
1967-68	453.2	6.4	50,269	10,847	21.56
1968-69	497.1	9.68	60,400	12,148	20.11
1969-70	501.4	0.86	70,462	12,539	17.79
1970-71	516.2	2.99	75,383	13,150	17.44
1971-72	538.3	4.28	85,519	14,150	16.54
1972-73	583.2	8.3	99,056	15,150	15.29
1973-74	-	-	113,694	16,901	14.86

Source: 1. HSIU, Office of the Vice President for Business and Development, Dec. 22, 1973.

2. HSIU, Planning Office, "Haile Selassie I University Assessment of Accomplishments 1961-1965 E.C.," p. 23.

TABLE 176

HSIU'S SHARE OF THE TOTAL GOVERNMENT OPERATING BUDGET APPROPRIATION FOR EDUCATION (BIRR MILLION)

1964-65 TO 1973-74

	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67(a)	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72
Eth Gov Appropriation	8.55	10.25	10.25	10.85	12.15	12.54	13.15	14.15
HSIU Internal Revenue	-	-	-	0.58	0.61	0.55	0.62	0.71
External Assistance	7.70	7.70	10.71	10.21	9.00	13.23	8.60	8.60(b
Total Operating Budget	16.25	17.95	20.96	21.64	21.76	26.33	22.37	23.46

(a) Opening year of Medical Faculty

(b) Estimate

Note: There appear to be slight discrepancies between this table and the others in this category due to the sources, but they are not significant enough to change the meaning.

Source: Fassil G. Kiros, et. al., Education Sector Review Final Report: Financing Education (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education, July 8, 1972), Annex III-I.

TABLE 177

RELATION OF GOVERNMENT OPERATING BUDGET APPROPRIATION FOR HSIU TO TOTAL GOVERNMENT OPERATING BUDGET (MILLION BIRR)
1964-65 TO 1973-74

Fiscal Year	Total Govt. Operating Budget	Govt. Appropriation For HSIU	% of Govt. Operating Budget	Percent of Increase: Government Operating Budget	Percent of Increase: HSIU Appropriation
1964-65	356.4	8.5	2.38	-	-
1965-66	397.7	10.2	2.56	11.59	20.0
1966-67	425.8	10.2	2.39	7.06	-
1967-68	453.2	10.8	2.38	6.43	5.9
1968-69	497.1	12.1	2.43	6.69	12.0
1969-70	501.4	12.6	2.39	0.87	3.2
1970-71	516.2	13.2	2.56	2.99	4.9
1971-72	538.3	14.2	2.64	4.28	7.6
1972-73	584.2	15.2	2.60	8.53	7.04
1973-74	620.9	16.9	2.72	6.28	11.5

Note: Differences between this Table and the previous one were in the sources.

Source: HSIU, Office of the Vice-President for Business and Development, December 22, 1973.

TABLE 178

ALLOCATION OF REGULAR OPERATING BUDGET BY MAJOR PROGRAM DIVISION (1)
1970-71 TO 1973-74

Program Divisions	1970-71		1971-72		1972-73		1973-74	
	$ Amount	% of Total Budget	$ Amount	% of Total Budget	$ Amount	% of Total Budget	$ Amount	% of Total Budget
A. Faculties & Colleges								
1. Science & Technology	6,191,034	41.4	6,830,129	42.08	7,144,744	41.5	7,719,964	40.4
2. Teacher Training	980,202	6.5	1,003,277	6.18	1,101,654	6.4	1,189,048	6.2
3. Social Sciences	2,178,982	14.6	2,277,842	14.03	2,367,433	13.8	2,383,166	12.4
Other Academic Programs - Freshman EUS Extension	598,039	4.0	597,791	3.68	640,782	3.7	731,673	3.8
B. Educational Services	1,032,176	6.9	1,146,067	7.06	1,377,906	8.0	1,661,393	8.7
C. Student Services	1,446,068	9.9	1,685,699	10.38	1,685,699	9.8	2,173,981	11.4
D. Administrative: such as utilities physical plant and maintenance	2,412,137	16.1	*2,602,263	16.03	*2,688,853	15.6	**3,087,963	16.2
E. Special allocation provision for salary adjustment	***100,000	0.6	***90,320	0.56	***210,000	1.2	***175,000	0.9
Total	14,938,638	100.0	16,233,388	100.0	17,217,071	100.0	19,122,188	100.0

(1) Does not include external assistance.

* Includes $50,000 for university-wide research

** Includes $100,000 for university-wide research

*** The salary adjustment provisions for 1970-71 and 1971-72 were mainly for non-academic personnel, whereas the 1972-73 and 1973-74 figures contained all provisions for both academic and non-academic personnel.

Source: HSIU, Office of the Vice President for Business and Development, December 22, 1973.

The percentages paid out in salaries and in non-salary costs over a three year period may be glanced at in Table 179. In 1971-72, seventy percent of the operating budget went on salaries and only thirty percent on non-salary costs. But for the last two years shown, salary costs have been decreasing while non-salary costs have increased. The trend is a healthy one, assuming the savings from salary costs were not realized at the expense of a sound personnel policy.

Table 179

Percentage of Financial Resources Allocated for Salaries, 1971-72 to 1973-74

	1971-72		1972-73		1973-74	
Programs	Salaries	Non-Salary Costs	Salaries	Non-Salary Costs	Salaries	Non-Salary Costs
Faculties & Colleges	87.0	13.0	86.0	14.0	87.0	13.28
Educational Services	65.0	35.0	70.0	30.0	72.0	28.0
Student Services	18.0	82.0	18.0	82.0	16.0	84.0
Administrative Services	57.0	43.0	60.0	40.0	57.0	43.0
Total University	70.19	29.81	69.84	30.16	68.53	31.47

Source: HSIU, Office of the Vice President for Business and Development, December 22, 1973.

Capital Investment

Most of the funds for capital development were obtained from external sources. Table 180 indicates the proportion of capital allocated from Ethiopian and external sources, (data showing capital investments, by categories, for the later years are not available). Out of over fifteen million dollars invested, only one million came from internal sources. The rest was obtained either as loans or grants. It should also be noted that capital expansion has been hampered by lack of funds. As a result the university has been unable to accommodate the growing number of qualified candidates.

Table 181 and the accompanying Chart 12 illustrate the discrepencies between HSIU's capital needs and the government's ability to meet them. In 1971-72 the university requested about nine million dollars, half from each major source. The actual appropriation was for half the amount requested, although eventually the university managed to spend nearly five million dollars or fifty-one percent of the requested amount. During the subsequent three years, HSIU managed to get an average of fifty-five percent of what it requested. This was unsatisfactory but, for reasons which will be discussed later, there was not much that could be done to alter the situation. At any rate, the question of capital investment for construction, equipment, library, and textbooks looms large, and no doubt will continue to plague

Table 180

Capital Investment Program, 1964-65 to 1969-70
(in Eth.$)

Year	Project	Source of Money	Amount	Total Investment
1965-66	New Classroom Building	Ethiopia	871,240	
		Loan from Contractor	1,000,000	1,871,240
1968-69	Utilities	Ethiopia	37,000	
		Federal Republic of Germany	8,750,000	8,787,000
1968-69	Law Students' Dormitory	Ethiopia	121,000*	121,000
1969-70	Technical Education Building	Construction Loan From IDA	479,000	
		Equipment Loan from IDA	500,000	
		Small Equipment USAID Grant	125,000	1,104,000
1969-70		Kennedy Memorial Library Construction-USAID Grant	2,473,885	
		Furniture - USAID Grant	1,091,950	3,565,835

Total Ethiopian Contribution 1,029,240

Total External Assistance 14,419,835

Grand Total . . . . Birr 15,449,075

* Includes contribution from Ethiopian citizens and foreign residents.

Source: AAU Planning Office.

TABLE 181

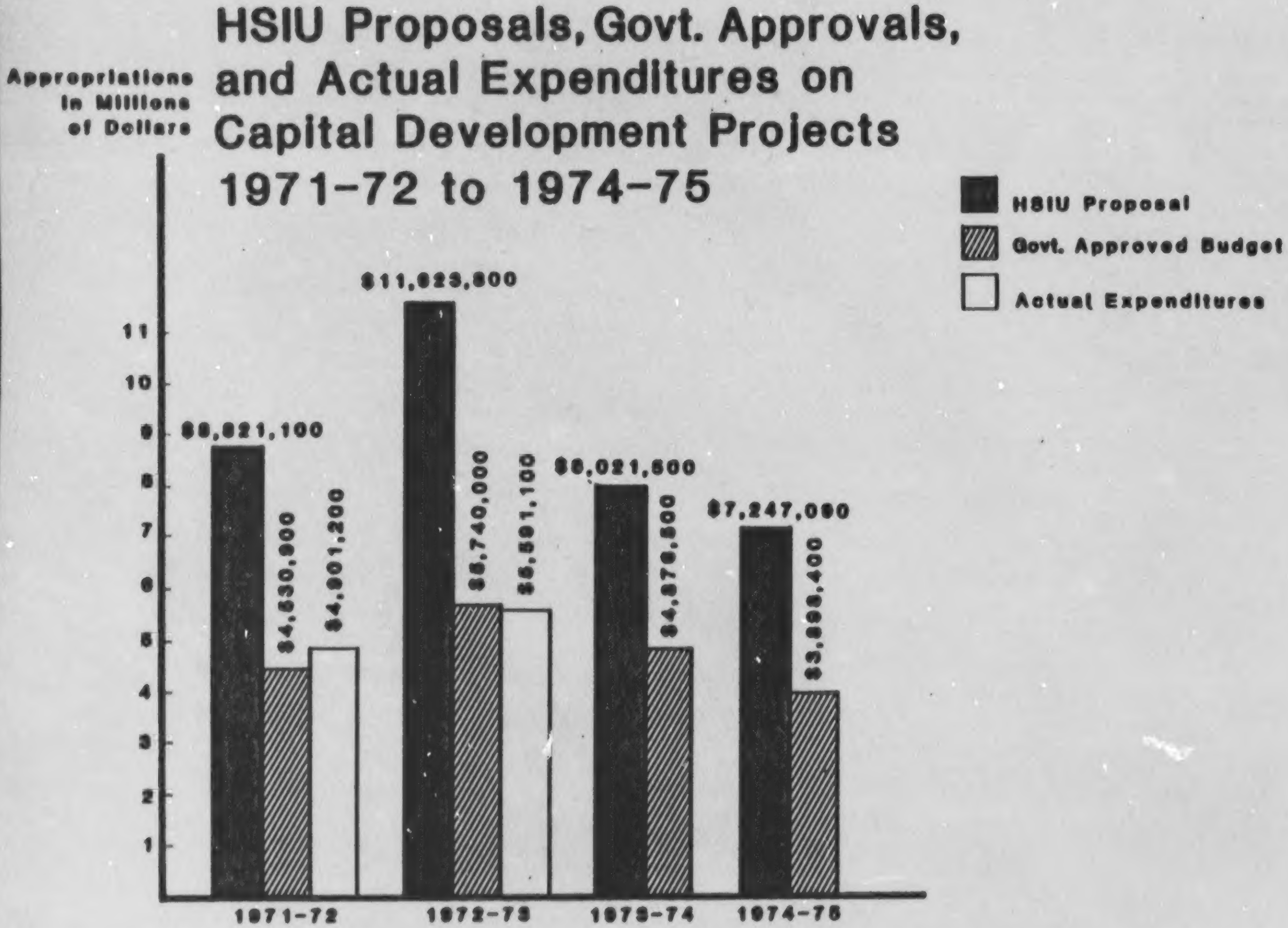
HSIU BUDGETARY APPROPRIATIONS AND ACTUAL EXPENDITURES ON CAPITAL PROJECTS
1971-72 TO 1974-75
(BIRR: 000)

FISCAL	UNIVERSITY'S PROPOSAL			GOVERNMENT APPROPRIATIONS			ACTUAL EXPENDITURES			Ratio of Approved Budget to Request
YEAR	Eth. Govt.	LOAN	TOTAL	Eth. Govt.	LOAN	TOTAL	Eth. Govt	LOAN	TOTAL	
1971-72	4,211.5	4,609.6	8,821.1	933.5	3,597.4	4,530.9	887.6	4,013.6	4,901.2	0.51
1972-73	5,912.6	5,711.2	11,623.8	2,690.0	3,050.0	5,740.0	2,541.1	3,050.0	5,591.1	0.49
1973-74	4,318.7	3,702.8	8,021.5	1,173.6	3,702.8	4,876.5	-	-	-	0.61
1974-75	5,791.7*	1,455.3	7,247.0	2,093.0	1,805.4	3,898.4	-	-	-	0.54

* The budget for 1974-75 is still in the approval process. The figure indicated under the approved column is, therefore, the figure recommended by the Planning Commission for approval by the Government Budget Committee.

Source: HSIU, Office of the Vice President for Business & Development.

Chart 12



HSIU Proposals, Govt. Approvals, and Actual Expenditures on Capital Development Projects 1971-72 to 1974-75

Source: HSIU, Office of the Vice-President for Business and Development, Fall, 1973.

university policymakers and administrators in the future, unless, of course, part of the cost of student maintenance is shifted to the students themselves, releasing funds for capital development.

Financial Constraints

The lack of adequate financial support has always been a major problem. This has been reflected in the backlog of physical plant and equipment maintenance, building programs, and the rate of expenditure for tuition and student support.

To help one to appreciate fully the significance of recurrent expenditure, Table 182 sets out detailed analysis of expenditure, by faculty and for programs for the year 1969-70. Even at that date agriculture led the rest of the faculties, claiming the largest single share ($1,470,000) followed by public health, arts, and science in that order. Out of a recurrent budget of $14 million, approximately ten million was spent on direct instructional activities. The rest was used to meet expenses for the various supporting units of HSIU.

Within the university, instructional costs per student vary among the several faculties or colleges. In Chart 13 are presented the cost differentials among the twelve faculties, the amount of money provided by the Ethiopian government, aid or loans obtained from external sources and the mean instructional cost per student, by source. For the year shown the Faculty of Medicine was the most expensive, as might be expected ($11,300 per student per year), followed by theology, social work, law, building (engineering), public health, education, science, business and finally arts. In the case of theology and social work the reason for the high cost may be that these colleges were not functioning at full capacity, and so the cost per student was high. In the subsequent years, when enrollment reached optimum size, the per student instructional cost was to decrease.

The amount of money obtained from external sources also varied. For instance, in the case of medicine some $3, 600 came from foreign sources (primarily from the U.K.), while all the others except theology received amounts from several external sources. The Faculty of Law was another high foreign assistance recipient from the U.S. The average instructional cost per student per year, for all faculties, was $3,500. Out of this total, $3,000 came from Ethiopia, $500 from abroad.

Chart 14 shows the total cost per student by purpose and source of funding for 1968-69. Of the total amount of money expended, eighty percent was provided by the Ethiopian government and twenty percent was from outside sources.

Chart 15 depicts annual appropriations from Ethiopia per student over an eight year period. In 1962 approximately $6,000 was spent per student per year. This amount progressively decreased, and in 1969 the per student per year instructional cost was only $3,000. This change might have occurred as a result of optimum usage of university personnel and utilities or because enrollment was increased, but one wonders whether, in the absence of a proportionate growth in government appropriation, there may not have been a decline in the quality of instruction, research and services.

The next chart, 16, dramatically illustrates that, as the number of students increased, the amount of the Ethiopian government's appropriation has decreased significantly. The reasons for the apparent inability of the government to increase

TABLE 182

HSIU RECURRENT BUDGET
1969-70*

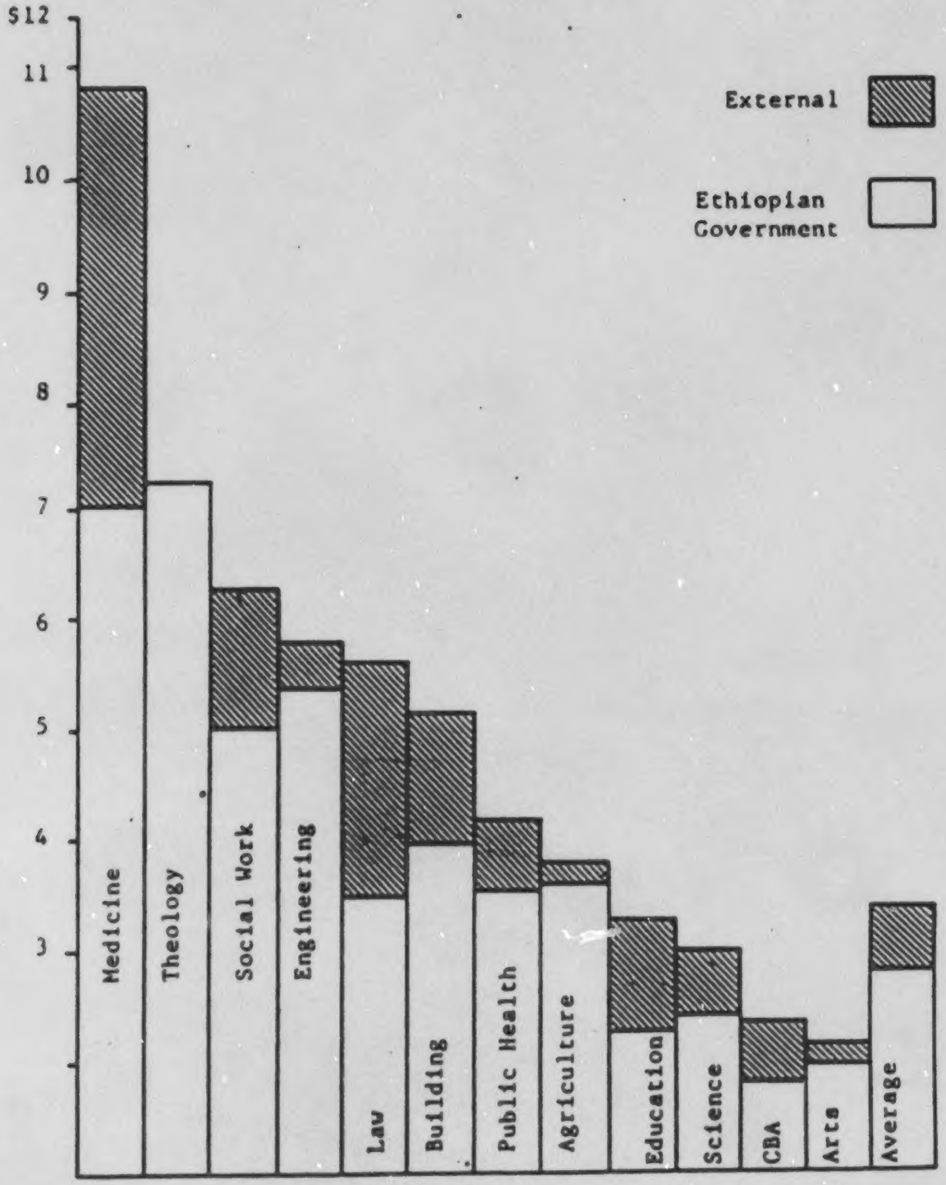
Faculties/Departments	F.Y. 1969-70 Approved Budget
COLLEGES/FACULTIES	
Agriculture	Eth.$1,470,000
Building	396,000
Arts	1,324,556
Business	298,776
Education	934,865
Engineering	672,780
Law	353,802
Medicine	799,231
Public Health	1,425,000
Science	1,030,331
Social Work	67,538
Theology	148,154
Freshman Program	112,180
Extension	413,860
Ethiopian University Service	108,113
	9,555,206
EDUCATION CENTERS	
Creative Arts Center	17,100
Institute of Ethiopian Studies	144,138
Library	764,398
P.T.W. School	60,000
HSIU Press	40,960
	1,026,596
STUDENT SERVICES	1,430,530
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE	
Office of the President	77,139
Office of the Asst. Vice President	188,933
Office of Business Vice President	250,356
Public Relations	56,213
Registrar	170,228
Campus Police	101,839
General Service	345,620
Physical Plant	369,612
Personnel	52,856
Purchasing and Stores	241,528
Cash and Property Control	115,184
Financial Information Center	50,102
Workshop	98,156
	2,117,766
Grand Total	Eth.$14,130,098

*Does not include foreign assistance. Does include income-producing services of some $1.5 million so that the IEG appropriation to HSIU in 1969-70 was approximately $12.6 million.

Source: J. Summerskill, A Blueprint for Development, pp. 130-131.

CHART 13

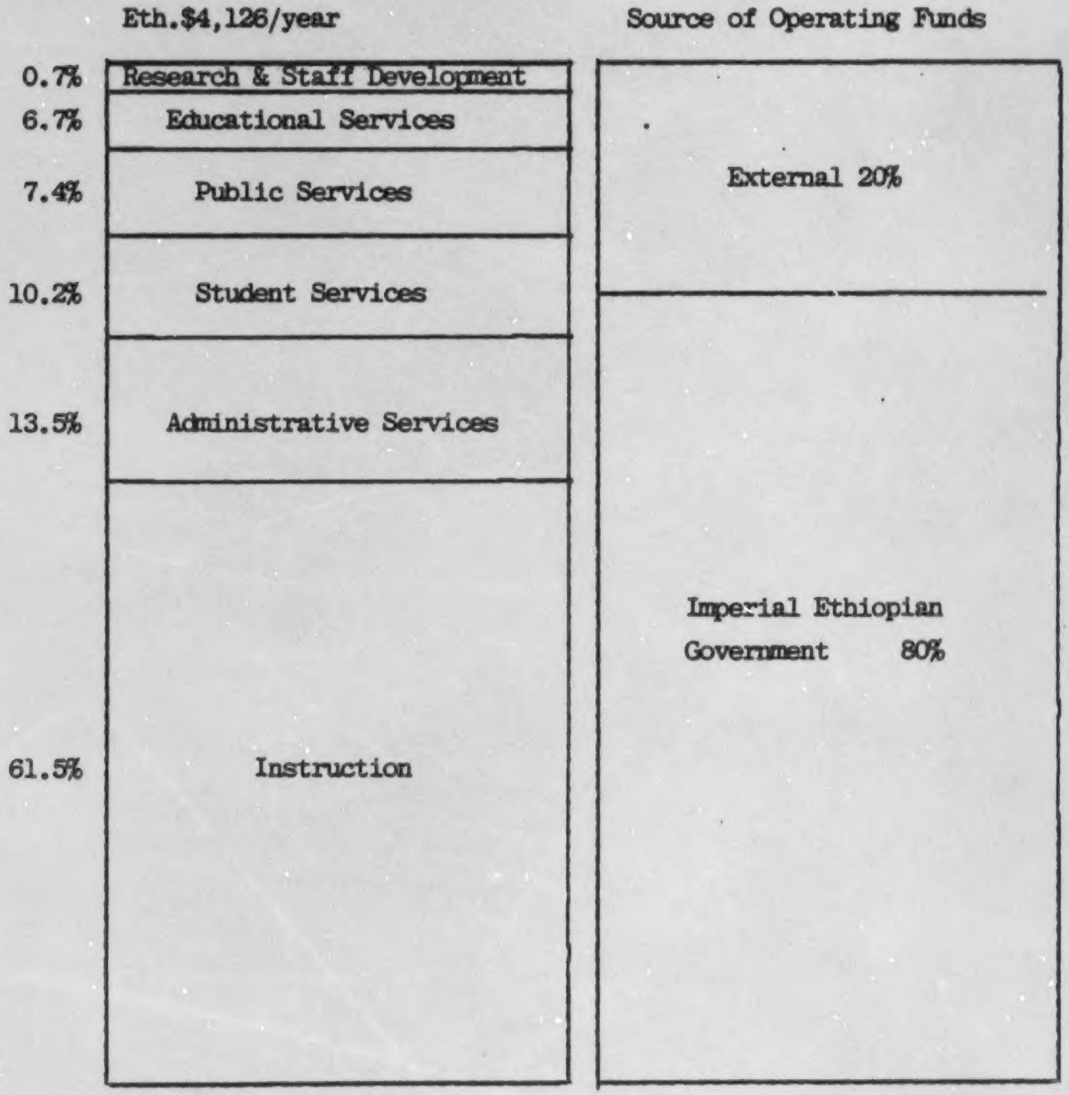
PER STUDENT INSTRUCTIONAL COSTS BY FACULTY AND SOURCE OF FUNDING
1968-69
(BIRR: 000)



Source: J. Summerskill, A Blueprint for Development, p. 136.

CHART 14

TOTAL COSTS PER STUDENT BY PURPOSE AND SOURCE OF FUNDING
1968-69



Source: J. Summerskill, Blueprint for Development, p. 135.

Chart 15

Annual Appropriations from the Govt. per Student 1962-69 (Eth. $)

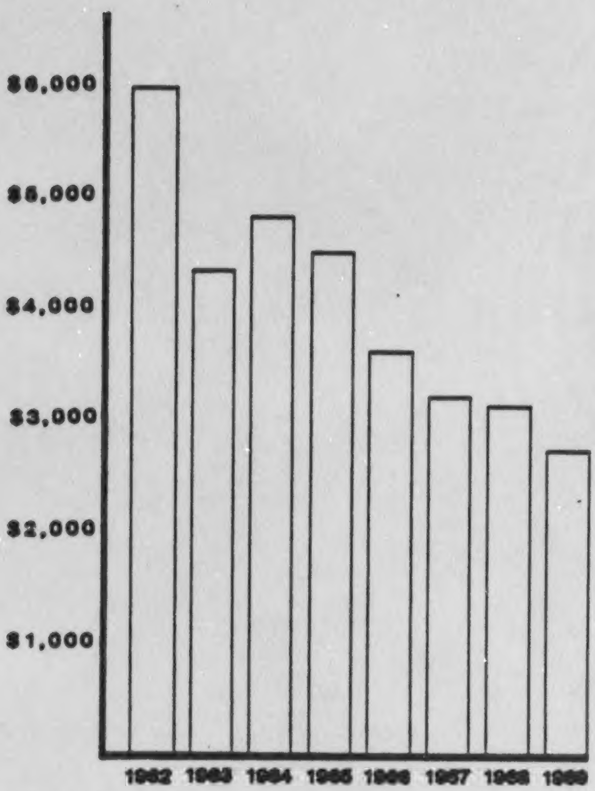
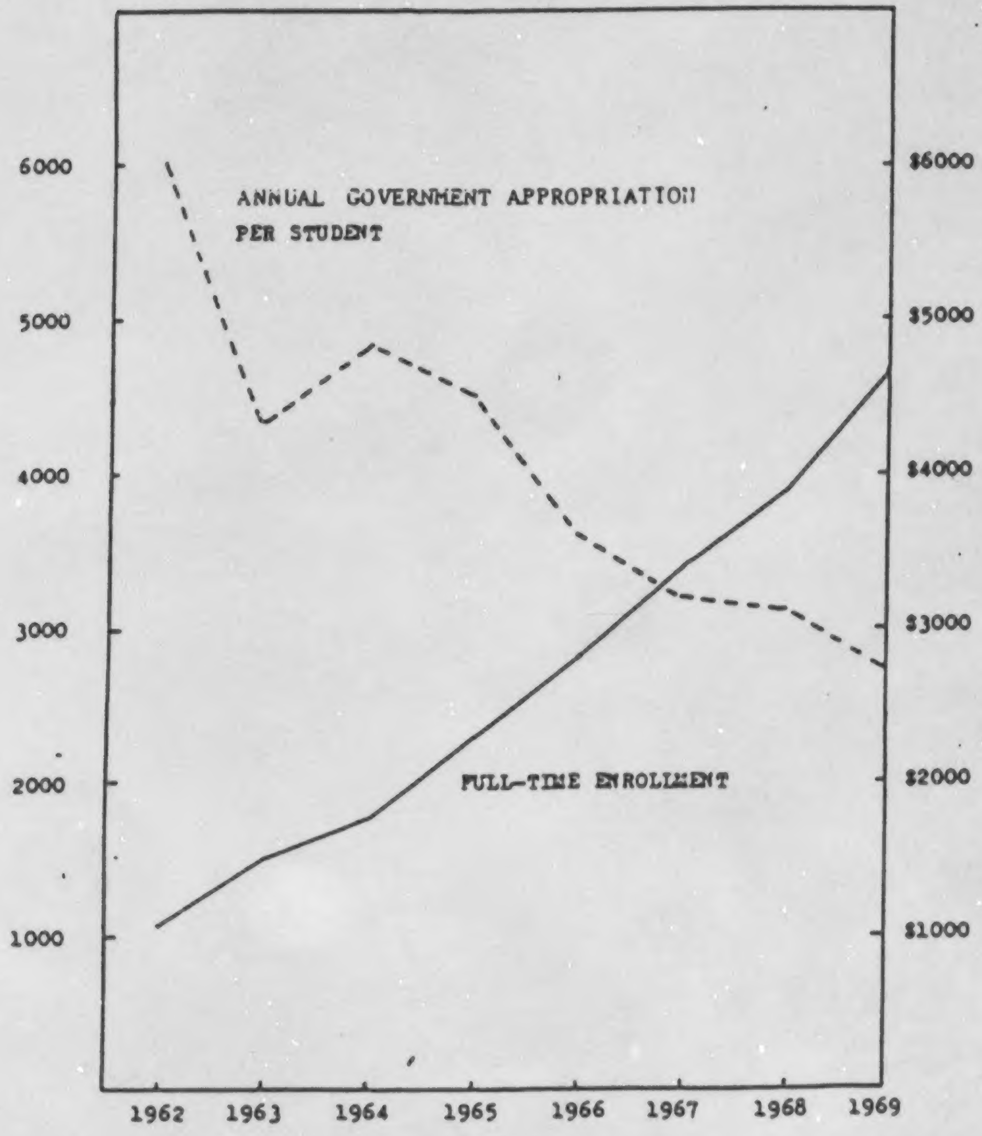


CHART 16

ENROLLMENT AND ANNUAL GOVERNMENT APPROPRIATION PER STUDENT FOR OPERATING EXPENSES 1962-1969



Source: J. Summerskill, A Blueprint for Development, p. 122.

its appropriation may be the slow growth of national revenue, the lack of growth of land-based taxes in relation to the actual growth of land income; the fundamental stagnation in import duties due to the changing composition of national imports; and in general the lack of progressive income tax to compensate for stagnation. There has been a failure to tax the total aggregate income of individuals, "but rather each individual portion of his income as if it was his only means of living."[75] The relative decline in the government appropriation was due to the shortage of national revenue rather than to a lack of will to appropriate adequate funds in support of university programs. This trend will continue, no doubt, unless, among other measures, the government is willing or able to shift some of the cost of student support to the students themselves or to their parents through a loan scheme. This policy has been accepted in principle by the Board of Governors, the Faculty Council and the university administration. But so far it remains unimplemented, in spite of the apparent advantages that might be derived from it.[76]

The budgeting processes have been a subject of study and comment by a number of individuals and committees representing the university or donor agencies. Two of the most important assessments were the two reports of the Chancellor's Advisory Committee of Higher Education. The first report came in 1966. The committee was convinced that HSIU budgeting and planning left much to be desired:

> A firm base for university planning must be established. This brings us to a comment which is central to our whole report. We were dismayed to find that those who have to determine policy in the University are unable to make forward plans because the University's income is not assured for more than a few months ahead.
>
> A University's commitment is to the future. Every student admitted is a financial obligation for four years to come. Every faculty member engaged... involves similar financial obligations. A decision to erect a building commits the University to expenditures five or more years ahead, and to higher operating costs. These decisions must be controled by plans.[77]

"A University's budget is the translation of an academic plan into financial terms. As such it is essential for both planning and operation."[78] The committee recommended three types of budgetary procedures: annual basic salary, assuming no innovation or expansion of faculty or enrollment, additional expenditure which would be incurred if innovation or expansion was undertaken, and capital costs estimated for buildings, major equipment and facilities.[79]

The Advisory Committee returned to HSIU in 1971. The committee commended the government for "its substantial and growing support of the University." It also noted that foreign agencies and foundations have provided significant support to the university. However, as nongovernmental funds and foreign aid become a smaller proportion of university income, the "government must give high priority to further support for higher education."[80]

The committee identified the following additional sources of university income:

a) payment by parents of all or part of the cost of higher education for their children (with provisions for scholarship for those who were unable to pay).

b) the earning by students of part of the cost of their education by working for the University or elsewhere;

c) foundation support for special programmes as well as general support;

d) local support where possible;

e) support from business corporations for scholarships or special programmes;

f) student loan or a pay-as-you-earn system "in view of the fact that University graduates owe their higher earning capacity in part to education received through Government support, it is wholly just to expect them to repay at least part of the cost of the education that enabled them to earn more. This appears in Ethiopia to be not only just but necessary.[81]

Cooperation with other African universities for scholarship purposes was recommended as an additional means to reduce cost. As the university continuously expands in response to increased pressure for admission by more qualified candidates, and as the external sources dry up, HSIU needs to discover and tap other sources for financial support.

Research and Graduate Programs

Up to the present, HSIU has remained an undergraduate university. But for the last three years there have been plans to start graduate studies in selected departments and faculties. The Presidential Committee appointed over two years ago had come up with a similar suggestion. The proposed College of Social Sciences and Development Administration (which was temporarily shelved) was supposed to have been a launching pad for the beginning of a graduate program and a means to encourage interdisciplinary research by faculty members.

The 1966 report of the Advisory Committee, noted that research and teaching are the basis of a university's reputation:

> A modern university has a dual responsibility: to the community it serves and to the international fraternity of universities. If the first is weak, the university does not deserve the support of the people. If the second is weak, the university's degrees are not on the gold standard of learning - and its graduates do not have full access to other universities of the world and to the opportunities they offer.
>
> The way to fulfill the first responsibility is for the university to teach and to conduct research on subjects relevant to the country's needs. The way to observe the second loyalty is to perform this teaching and research under world standards of accuracy and integrity. These standards are known and accepted by scholars everywhere. They are measured by quality of work, not by amount of knowledge; between the great universities of the world there are differences in requirements for admission and for the award of degrees, but-these differences are unimportant. What makes these universities great is the quality of their teaching and research.[82]

But, while advocating research in areas of university and national priority, the committee cautioned against too much research at the expense of teaching in the university.[83]

The 1971 report of the committee saw research and graduate training as going hand-in-hand. This report began, "Haile Sellassie I University has reached the stage of development at which graduate studies and research programmes should begin."[84] Noting that shortage of money will be the biggest obstacle towards realization of those objectives, the committee nevertheless recommended that research in 'smaller' problems, with emphasis on regional environmental research as related to agriculture, sociology, and related areas, should be undertaken and that the graduate program could be tied in with research. Further, "the development of graduate study and research in Ethiopia should utilize all possible forms of assistance from and coordination with universities in other nations."[85]

The institutions that can serve as a means of encouraging cooperative research within the departments and faculties and between them, and serve as bases for graduate programs have been established over the last few years. These include the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, the Institute of Development Research, the Institute for Scientific and Technological Research and Development and the Debre Zeit Agricultural Experiment Station. Some of these institutes have their own publication programs, others to inaugurate them soon. Most of the institutes have already justified their establishment, and are vehicles for the development of research and graduate programs.

We bring this chapter on HSIU to a conclusion. There were a number of institutions of higher learning, operated by government and nongovernment agencies in Ethiopia, two of them degree-granting and the rest aspiring to grant degrees. But, for lack of space and adequate information they are not included in this study. So far HSIU has met many problems, as a factor of growth, and some of these have been resolved while others remain. To the extent that the university enjoys the full support of the different groups within the community, the government and the nation, it will continue to grow in response to the present and future needs of Ethiopia.

Notes

1. Ministry of Information, Selected Speeches of His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Information, 1967), pp. 1-3.

2. Edouard Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1964), p. 44.

3. Ibid., pp. 99-100.

4. Ibid., p. 101.

5. Ibid., pp. 101-102.

6. Ibid., p. 102.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p. 103.

9. The University of Utah Survey Team, "Higher Education in Ethiopia, Survey Report and Recommendations" (The University of Utah, 1959-60), p. 10.

10. Ibid., p. 9.

11. Ibid., pp. 25-28.

12. Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazetta, General Notice No. 284 of 1961, Haile Selassie I University Charter.

13. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 106. See also The Ethiopia Herald, 17 December 1961, p. 1.

14. Haile Selassie I University, Convocation Celebrating the Founding of Haile Sellassie I University (Addis Ababa: HSIU, 18 December 1961), n.p.

15. Haile Selassie I University, "Bulletin: Recent Activities and Events," (March 1962), p. 1. See also Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 106.

16. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 107.

17. The Ethiopian Herald, 20 December 1961, p. 3.

18. Ministry of Information, Selected Speeches of His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I, pp. 19-27.

19. UNESCO, The Development of Higher Education in Africa (Paris: UNESCO, 1963), pp. 75-76.

20. Haile Fida, "Do We Need a University?," Educational Journal II (Addis Ababa: University College Education Students Association, 1963-64), p. 18; Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 110.

21. UNESCO-ECA, *Final Report: Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, Addis Ababa 15-25 May 1961* (UNESCO: ED/18, 1961), p. 10.

22. Ministry of Pen, *Negarit Gazetta*, No. 284 of 1961, Haile Selassie I University Charter, Article 17 (a), (b) and (c); Article 18.

23. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

24. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

25. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

26. Aklilu Habte, *A Forward Look: A Special Report from the President* (Addis Ababa: HSIU, September 1969), pp. 11-17.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 118.

30. Ibid., pp. 118-119.

31. Ibid., p. 120.

32. HSIU, *Consolidated Legislation of the Faculty Council* (HSIU, 17 September 1973), p. 56. Note for the section dealing with admission requirements for graduation and curriculum the main sorce for this is Council Legislation, pp. 55-74.

33. Ibid., p. 57.

34. HSIU, *First Report of the Advisory Committee on Higher Education to His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I, Chancellor of the University* (Addis Ababa: HSIU, 1966), p. 23.

35. HSIU, "Assessment of Accomplishment 1961-65 E.C.," (Addis Ababa, Fall 1973), p. 18.

36. HSIU, *General Catalogue 1973-75* (Addis Ababa: Office of the Registrar, 1973), p. 102.

37. Ibid, p. 276.

38. Ibid., pp. 232-236.

39. Ibid., p. 154.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid, pp. 36, 172.

42. Ibid., p. 190.

43. Ibid., pp. 226-228.

44. Ibid., p. 266.

45. HSIU, *First Report of the Advisory Committee on Higher Education to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Chancellor of the University*, p. 22.

46. HSIU, *Consolidated Legislation of the Faculty Council* (September 17, 1973), pp. 51-54; HSIU, *General Catalogue 1973-75*, pp. 38-42.

47. HSIU, *General Catalogue* 1973-75, p. 12.

48. HSIU, *Consolidated Legislation of the Faculty Council* (September 17, 1973), p. 90.

49. HSIU, *Catalogue 1973-75*, pp. 12-13.

50. HSIU, *Consolidated Legislation of the Faculty Council*, p. 96.

51. HSIU, *Catalogue 1973-75*, p. 13.

52. Ibid., p. 15.

53. Teshome G. Wagaw, "Access to Haile Selassie I University," *Ethiopia Observer*, vol. 14, no. 1 (Addis Ababa, 1971), p. 36.

54. Ibid., pp. 36-37; Reginald L. Jones, "The Prediction of Academic Performance at HSIU: A Summary of Studies," Technical Report (Addis Ababa: Haile Selassie I University Testing Center, May 1973), pp. 1-12.

55. HSIU, *Consolidated Legislation of the Faculty Council*, p. 118.

56. HSIU, *First Report of the Advisory Committee on Higher Education to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Chancellor of the University*, p. 22.

57. Ibid., pp. 22, 28.

58. Aklilu Habte, *A Forward Look: A Special Report from the President*, pp. III-1.

59. Ibid., pp. III-2 to III-3.

60. HSIU, *First Report of the Advisory Committee on Higher Education to His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I, Chancellor of the University*, p. 21.

61. For proposals along this line see Teshome Wagaw, *Report on Student Support* (Addis Ababa: HSIU Office of the Dean of Students, 9 May 1969), pp. 30-48; John Summerskill, *A Blueprint for Development* (Addis Ababa: HSIU, August 1970), p. 107.

62. Summerskill, *A Blueprint for Development*, pp. 107-110.

63. Ibid., p. 110.

64. Aklilu Habte, A Forward Look: A Special Report from the President, p. I-7.

65. Ibid., p. II-18.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid., p. II-19.

68. Ibid.

69. Giles Pion, "Annual Report, 1966-67" (Addis Ababa: HSIU, Office of the Dean of Students; n.d.), p. 5.

70. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," pp. 169-170.

71. UNESCO, The Development of Higher Education in Africa, p. 34.

72. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 169.

73. Ibid., p. 170.

74. Summerskill, A Blueprint for Development, pp. 137-159.

75. Fassil G. Kiros, et al, "Education Sector Review Final Report: Financing Education" (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, August 1972), p. 20.

76. Summerskill, A Blueprint for Development, pp. 132-133.

77. HSIU, First Report of the Advisory Committee on Higher Education to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Chancellor of the University, p. 19.

78. Ibid., p. 20.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid., pp. 24-25.

81. HSIU, Second Report of the Advisory Committee on Higher Education to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Chancellor of the University (Addis Ababa: HSIU, 1971), p. 25.

82. HSIU, First Report of the Advisory Committee on Higher Education to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Chancellor of the University, p. 18.

83. Ibid., p. 19.

84. HSIU, Second Report of the Advisory Committee on Higher Education, p. 37.

85. Ibid., p. 38.

Chapter XVI

The Next Twenty Years

Introduction

The first chapter of this volume briefly reviewed how Ethiopia became a nation centuries ago. Education in Ethiopia was shown to date back to the sixth century B.C., when the Sabean alphabet was used for learning purposes. From about the fourth century A.D. the Ethiopian Orthodox Church developed school systems which in subsequent centuries served as centers of learning and prepared the secular and religious leadership of the country. The Qur'nic schools which started in the seventeenth century contributed to the strengthening of the education system. Education by religious organizations aimed primarily at producing teachers and clergymen who manned the many centers of learning, as well as churches and mosques. This type of school is still functioning, but is reoriented along secular or "modern" lines.

The first secular school was started at the beginning of the present century. By 1935 several such schools were operating in provincial cities. When the country was overrun by the Fascist aggressors in 1936, education came to a standstill. In 1941 when Ethiopia regained independence it was necessary to start from scratch and to develop the system of education that has been working up to the present. Of course, there were many problems encountered during these years—problems of teachers, teaching materials, the quality and quantity and the objectives of education.

But, on the whole, achievements in education over the past thirty-two years have been remarkable considering the starting point. The system of education, in the face of tremendous odds, has not met most of our needs for trained manpower at all levels in all sectors. All the provinces have at least one senior secondary school and a few have several; a few years ago several provinces offered no education beyond the primary grade.

In the primary schools, enrollment has grown from an insignificant fraction to a participation rate of 17 percent. Over the last fifteen years this amounts to a sustained rate of growth of 11 percent a year. During the same period enrollment in secondary schools and in higher education has expanded at rates of 19 percent and 20 percent respectively. Statistics indicate that for the school year 1971-72 enrollment was as follows: 767,157 in elementary, 162,463 in secondary and over 15,080 (including 3,000 students known to be studying abroad) in higher education or a grand total of 944,700 students.[1]

Nongovernmental schools, with annual budgets totaling approximately $15 million comprise some 27 percent of primary school enrollment and 12 percent of secondary school enrollment. There have been other notable achievements. Amharic has replaced English as the medium of instruction at the elementary school level. Most of the textbooks for grades 1-6 are produced in Amharic. The teaching staff in elementary schools, which formerly consisted of expatriates, is more than 99 percent Ethiopian. At the senior secondary level the proportion of Ethiopian teaching staff has risen from 29 percent to approximately 70 percent, and at the university level it is about two-thirds. In the primary schools the number of TTI graduates has risen from less than 4,000 to more than 6,000 in the past three years. Elementary school teachers with less than secondary school training comprise only 4 percent of the teaching force, and at the secondary level, 71 percent of the Ethiopian teachers have had some university training and most of the others are graduates of the TTI's.

Retention rates have improved in the last few years, through the increased allocation of state funds for education. In 1970-71, for instance, more than $92 million was provided for education of all kinds by the Ministry of Finance. In addition, $39 million of foreign resources and $10 million of private resources were marshalled by the Ministry of Education, the Haile Selassie I University, and nongovernmental school sponsors to augment the financial resources applied to education. As a result, "Today the product of Post-War Ethiopian education constitute the nation's leaders and technocrats in government, business and industry, national defense and culture."[2] Yet one distinguished panel of experts reported that "Ethiopia, Education-Wise, has been running hard, but still not closing the gap."[3]

During the past thirty-two years the Ethiopian education system has been subjected to close scrutiny and evaluation. In 1953 a long-term planning committee was established to review the system and to make recommendations for improvement, taking into consideration the Ethiopian realities. The recommendations of the committee were far sighted, although most of them remained unimplemented. In 1966 another committee was appointed by the Council of Ministers to study the operation of the education system, and similar committees have been appointed from time to time to review and evaluate in whole or in part the education system.

Yet with all the progress made in education, the running proved to be uphill. Most children were unable to find places in the school system. The curriculum continued to be unrelated to Ethiopian needs and realities. The system placed emphasis on learning by rote, which was impractical and not market oriented. Learning was equated with promotion from grade to grade or with passing a series of national examinations. Each grade level was considered as a step towards the next, and so on. The whole system of education seemed unrealistic and unresponsive to the needs of national development. As a recent report has pointed out, "Dissatisfaction with the educational system continued, focusing largely on its inability to satisfy the aspirations of the majority of the people, and on the inadequacy of the preparation of those passing through its pipeline."[4]

In an attempt to cope with growing criticism and to bring about a positive change, the government appointed a National Commission for Education in 1969. The commission was charged with the tasks of formulating the aims, purposes and objectives of Ethiopian education, devising means for equitable distribution of educational opportunity, and ensuring coordination of educational activities at all levels.

For one year the commission conducted hearings on educational issues and assessed views and suggestions expressed by students, parents, teachers, school directors, private individuals and government officials. It then appointed four teams of experts to evaluate the major areas of concern identified during the hearings. These were the objectives of education, the expansion of educational opportunities, the coordination of education and the role of education in fostering national development.

The Education Sector Review

Under many pressures, the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts was thinking of a review of the entire education sector.* In May 1971 an agreement was signed between the Ethiopian government and the International Development Association (IDA, an affiliate of the International Development Association, IBRD). Under the agreement, IDA provided a total of thirty-seven man-months to carry out a comprehensive analysis of educational needs. In October 1971 the Education Sector Review was launched with the following responsibilities:

1. to analyze the education and training system of Ethiopia, and its capability for promoting economic, social and cultural development;

2. to suggest, wherever necessary, ways to improve and expand the education and training system in order that it might achieve aims relevant both to the society and the overall development of the country.

3. to suggest ways in which education could best be utilized to promote national integration; and

4. to identify priority studies and investments in education and training.[5]

* In 1971 a team of University instructors under the auspices of the Education Faculty of HSIU and the chairmanship of the present author submitted proposals to make a thorough review of the senior secondary school system. Although enough money was made avaliable by a donor agency, the Ministry of Education, for their own reasons, squashed the idea.

Arrangements were made to ensure effective coordination between the National Commission and the Education Sector Review so no duplication of work should occur. Fourteen task forces, four of which had been appointed by the National Commission, and five small working groups, constituted the core of participants in the review. Membership of these groups totaled eighty-one, fifty-one of whom were Ethiopians drawn from Haile Selassie I University, the Ministries of Education, Agriculture, and Community Development, the Planning Commission and other agencies of the government. Foreign members of the task forces included representatives of UNESCO, ILO, the Ford Foundation, Harvard University Development Advisory Service, and the like. Other Ethiopians and foreigners participated in the review in various capacities.

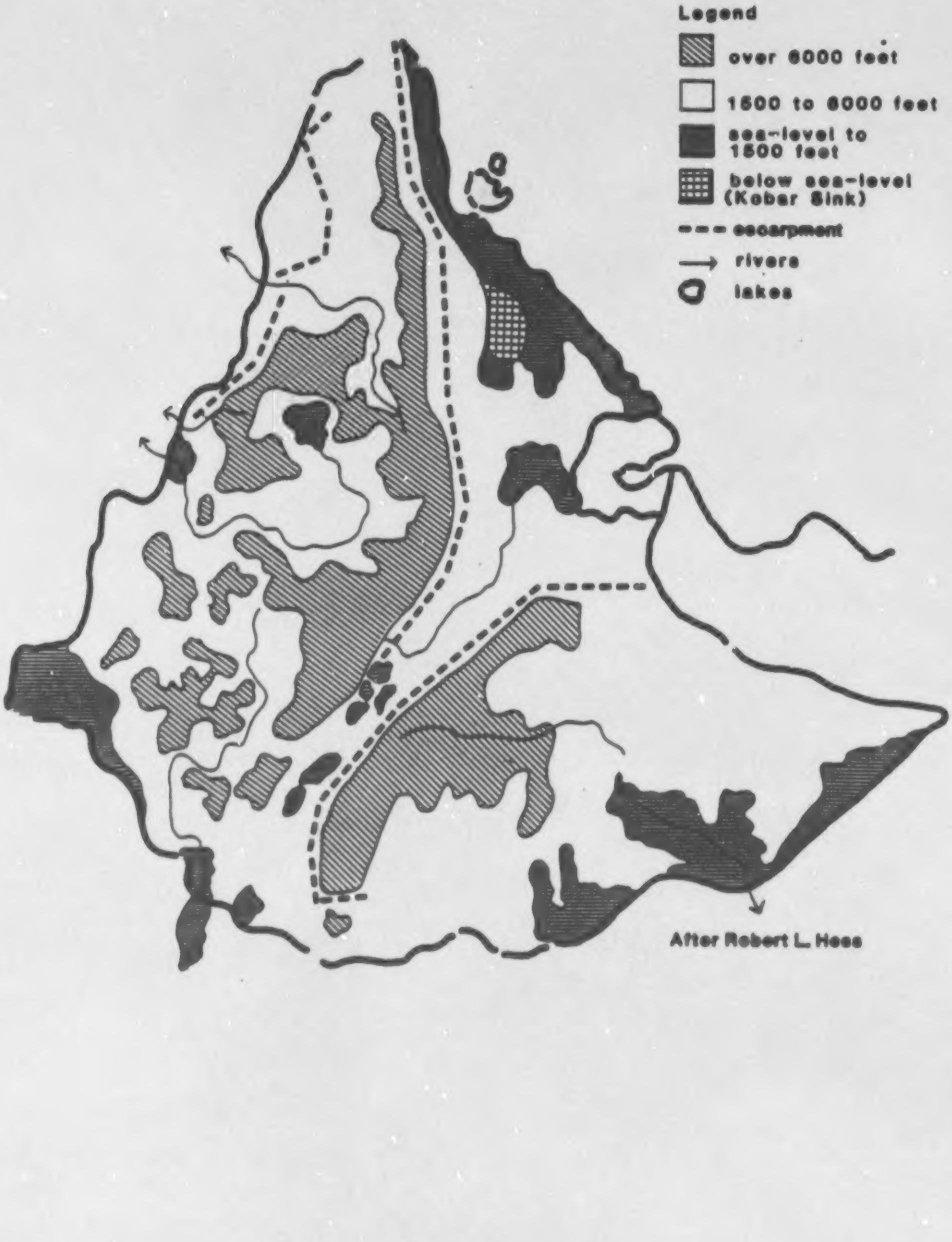
In the drawing up of the terms of references, the various Ethiopian government agencies were consulted, and donor agencies were closely informed of the steps being taken. After the launching of the review, a symposium was held in January 1972 and a conference in July in order to assess the progress made and to discuss the draft report. As the report was to note: "The debates over fundamental concerns have shaped the nature of the ultimate recommendations and proposals of the Sector Review. At the same time, they have evidenced a renewed faith in the future that portends well for the Ethiopian people. Every individual who has taken part in the Sector Review must be aware that Ethiopia is at threshold of a decade of major changes in all facets of national endeavor."[6]

The Nation

The Sector Review took brief note of demographic factors—the characteristics, composition and nature of Ethiopia and its society. As the maps show, Ethiopia is a large country, as large as Spain and France together. The terrain, which has served the nation as a natural fortress against external enemies, is beautiful but rugged. It contains mountain ranges rising to 14,000 feet, vast fertile highlands, hot desert country, and tropical rain forests.

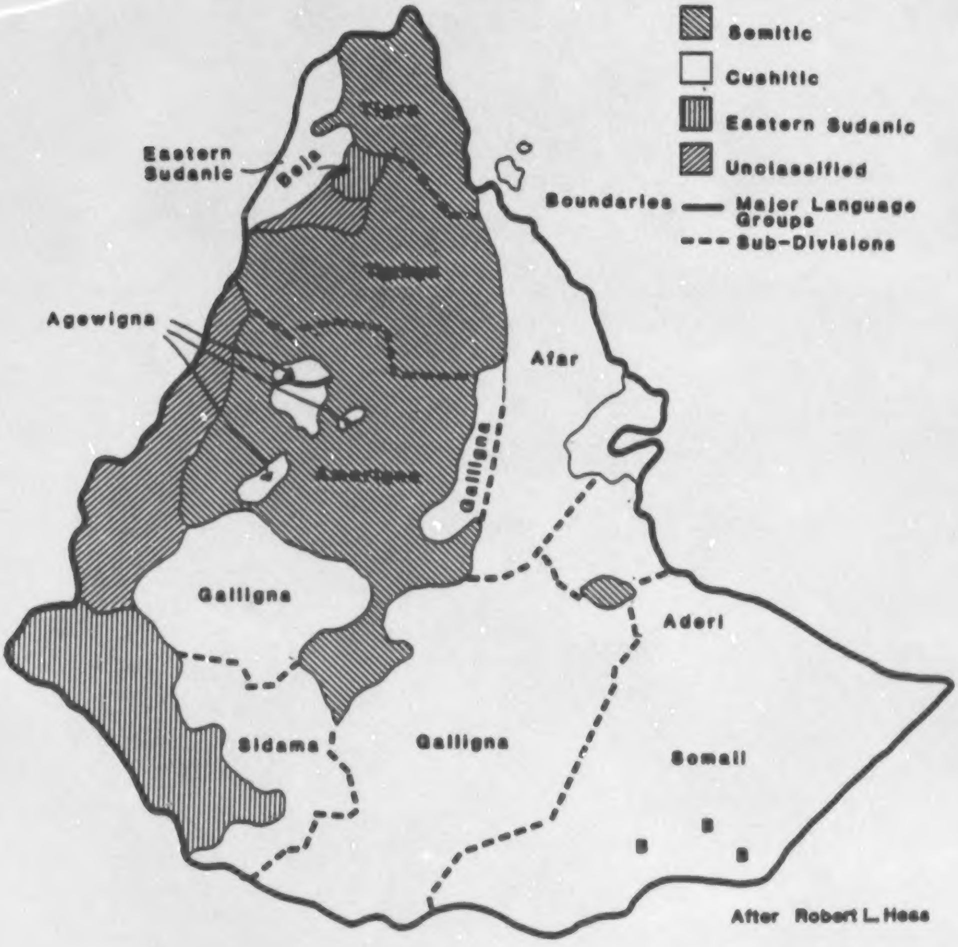
This varied countryside is inhabited by Ethiopians of many ethnic groups and traditions. There are three major religions in the country and a great many languages are spoken. A road system linking the different regions of Ethiopia is a relatively recent phenomenon. The capitals and urban centers in each province are now connected with Addis Ababa by Ethiopian Airlines. Nevertheless, easy communication from one region of the Empire to another does not exist.

Sketch Map to Show the Natural Features of Ethiopia


Legend
▨ over 6000 feet
☐ 1500 to 6000 feet
■ sea-level to 1500 feet
▦ below sea-level (Kobar Sink)
--- escarpment
→ rivers
lakes

After Robert L. Hess

Sketch Map to Show the Major Language Areas of Ethiopia


▨ Semitic
☐ Cushitic
▥ Eastern Sudanic
▨ Unclassified
Boundaries
— Major Language Groups
--- Sub-Divisions
Tigre
Eastern Sudanic
Beja
Tigrigna
Agewigna
Afar
Galligna
Amarigna
Galligna
Aderi
Sidama
Galligna
Somali
S
S
S

After Robert L. Hess

This diversity in language, religion, and culture provides Ethiopia's rich and unique characteristics, which have tended to challenge national unity. In the past, national unity had been maintained by the two most important institutions in the country, the church and the monarchy. In recent years national integration has been encouraged by the growing use of the offical national language, Amharic. Amharic is taught as a subject at all levels of education, and is the medium of instruction in the primary schools. It is being further developed for communication in science, technology, and commerce. English is being taught as a second language and is the medium of instruction in secondary and higher level schools.

Ethiopia was a nation of approximately 25 million people* as of January 1972, and growing at the rate of 2.5 percent per annum. An estimated 90 percent lived in rural areas, and 10 percent in urban areas.

Urban population was increasing at the rate of 6.6 percent annually, with rural population growing each year by only 2.1 percent. If the estimated trends continue, by the year 2000 the total population will be more than 52 million, with approximately two-thirds in rural areas, and one-third in towns and cities. Table 183 presents total population as well as the school age group, 7-12, and secondary school group, 13-18, for selected years. These figures are based on Central Statistical Office estimates, and were used by the Education Sector Review to project educational system requirements and costs.

In the words of the Education Sector Review:

> The difficulty and complexity related to economic and social development in Ethiopia should not be understated. There are great diversities with methods of cultivation and forms of social organization. The population includes farmers in the central highlands using oxen-drawn ploughs and living in scattered dwellings and isolated villages, includes more densely concentrated groups in the Ensete area of the South, pastoralists, desert nomads and, of course, the urban dwellers. These groups differ widely, not in relation to their way of life, religion and language, but in the extent to which they are in touch with the more modern sectors of society and are subject to various forms of administrative control. The proposed steps towards decentralization and rural development referred to later in this report should be seen against this complicated pattern of social life.[7]

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*No accurate or official census has ever been taken. Only estimates as supplied by the Central Statistical Office are given here.

Table 183

Population Estimates and Projection for January 1 of Selected Years

1963-2000 (in millions)

		All Ages			School Ages	
Year G.C.	Total	Urban	Rural	7-12	13-18	Year E.C.
1963	20.7	1.5	19.2	3.3	2.7	1955
1967	22.8	1.9	20.9	3.6	3.0	1959
1969	24.0	2.2	21.8	3.8	3.2	1961
1970	24.6	2.3	22.2	3.9	3.2	1962
1971	25.2	2.5	22.7	4.0	3.3	1963
1972	25.8	2.7	23.1	4.1	3.4	1964
1973	26.4	2.8	23.6	4.3	3.4	1965
1974	27.1	3.0	24.1	4.4	3.5	1966
1975	27.8	3.2	24.6	4.5	3.6	1967
1976	28.6	3.4	25.1	4.6	3.7	1968
1977	29.3	3.7	25.6	4.7	3.8	1969
1978	30.1	3.9	26.2	4.8	3.9	1970
1979	30.9	4.2	26.7	5.0	4.0	1971
1980	31.7	4.4	27.2	5.1	4.1	1972
1985	36.1	6.2	29.9	5.8	4.8	1977
1990	41.1	8.7	32.4	6.7	5.5	1982
1995	46.6	12.2	34.4	7.5	6.2	1987
2000	52.7	17.0	35.6	8.4	7.1	1992

Total may not add because of rounding.

Source: "Education Sector Review", Exhibit II-A-1, p. II-2.

The review also noted Ethiopia's economy and its educational system were vitally and intimately related, since educational growth was dependent on finance, and economic growth and dependent on the skilled personnel produced by the education system. Based on the population estimates, it was calculated that total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita grew at an annual rate of 2.4 percent between 1963 and 1969, rising from $40 to $161 (Table 184). Monetary GDP per capita grew more than twice as fast, rising from $67 in 1963 to $91 in 1969. Income per capita for the rural population in 1969 was estimated at $109, of which only one-third was monetary, while the urban population had a per capita income of $680, of which 95 percent was monetary.

Making a number of assumptions, the Sector Review concluded that total GDP would increase more than fivefold in the thirty-one year period 1969 to 2000, at an average annual compounded rate of 5.4 percent. During the same period monetary GDP would increase faster, at an average annual rate of 6.8 percent. Subsistence agriculture would increase its output very slowly, and by 1977 the dollar volume of the non-agricultural sector would exceed that of the agricultural sector. But by the end of the century, two-thirds of the population would still be living in rural areas and earning their living by agriculture.

In the twenty-one year period from 1969 to 1990, average per capita income would increase from $91 to $198. Total urban income would increase more than four times, and so would urban population, with the result that the average per capita income of the urban population would rise negligibly, from $680 to $713. Rural per capita incomes would go up a little faster from the low base of $109 in 1969 to $135 in 1990.

On these assumptions, the economy would grow much faster than the school age population. This, in turn, would make possible an increase per capita expenditure for education. "The low level of rural incomes would provide a formidable challenge for those concerned with education and development generally."[8]

Table 184

Income Per Capita (P.C.)* in Constant 1969 Dollars

	1969	1990	Average Annual Growth Rate In Percent
All Population			
Total Income P.C.	161	258	2.3
Monetary Income P.C.	91	198	3.8
Urban Population:			
Total Income P.C.	680	713	-
Monetary Income P.C.	649	702	-
Rural Population:			
Total Income P.C.	109	135	-
Monetary Income P.C.	35	63	-

*Estimate for 1969 and projection for 1990. In constant 1969 dollars.

Source: "Report of the Education Sector Review," (Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, August 1972), Appendix II-A-1, p.9.

Objectives of Education

National Goals

The Sector Review then considered educational objectives, noting at the same time that in the absence of a clearly-stated national ideology the tasks of the Sector Review would be difficult, if not impossible. (This absence was a major complaint during the study and the debates).

In spite of these constraints, it was generally agreed that Ethiopia, "a nation richly endowed with national resources and cultural heritage, aspires:

- to strengthen her national unity by promoting the integration of her people and culture;
- to accelerate fast economic growth and development and thereby ensure adequate living conditions for all her citizens;
- to develop a democratic society founded in freedom, equality and justice;
- to foster in all citizens a firm sense of right and responsibility;
- to shape the society appreciative of its heritage, but imbued with a spirit of dynamism and innovation;
- to build a self-reliant nation that constructively participates as a member of the African community of nations, and of the world community.
- Educational objectives must reflect these broad goals.[9]

Objectives of Education

The review enumerated the objectives of Ethiopian education. Some of them had already been articulated in earlier chapters, the rest were new. In summary, the major aims of education in Ethiopia should be:

1. to foster a rational and scientific outlook on life; to cultivate objectivity, intellectual curiosity, tolerance and broadmindedness;
2. to replace the traditional negative attitude towards manual work by a positive one;
3. to increase the earning capacity of the individual by providing relevant skills and knowledge; to make people economically self-reliant;
4. to cultivate the desire for life-long education, when formal schooling has been completed;
5. to provide scientific, technical and vocational education, particularly at the secondary level, in keeping with the needs of the Ethiopian society and economy;
6. to Ethiopianize the content of education as the medium of instruction at the higher levels, and to give practical orientation to instruction at all levels;

7. to create an integrated society by drawing upon the diverse cultural and linguistic elements and creating the conditions for the formation of a truly national culture;

8. to create national consciousness among all the peoples of Ethiopia in the life of the nation;

9. to foster the full participation of all the peoples of Ethiopia in the life of the nation;

10. to reduce the generation gap between the educated young and the traditionally-oriented old; to bridge the gap between school and society;

11. to prepare the nation's youth to live in a world community;

12. to equalize access to education among all parts of the empire;

13. to provide universal access to education as rapidly as possible.[10]

After setting the educational objectives, basic proposals for the development of the educational system were set forth in the form of three viable alternatives.

Basic Proposals and Alternative Strategies

The broad range of proposals and recommendations developed by the Sector Review task forces were consolidated into three major alternative strategies, on which the future development of educational systems could be based. The alternative strategies had some common features. (See Chart 17 for an overview of the three strategies.)

Common Features

Each strategy provided for a three-level educational system and related nonformal programs. In each one major emphasis was placed on the goal of making basic education available to the maximum number of people as fast as possible, and second and third level education available as required by the population and economic growth. The primary, secondary and nonformal programs proposed under each alternative differed.

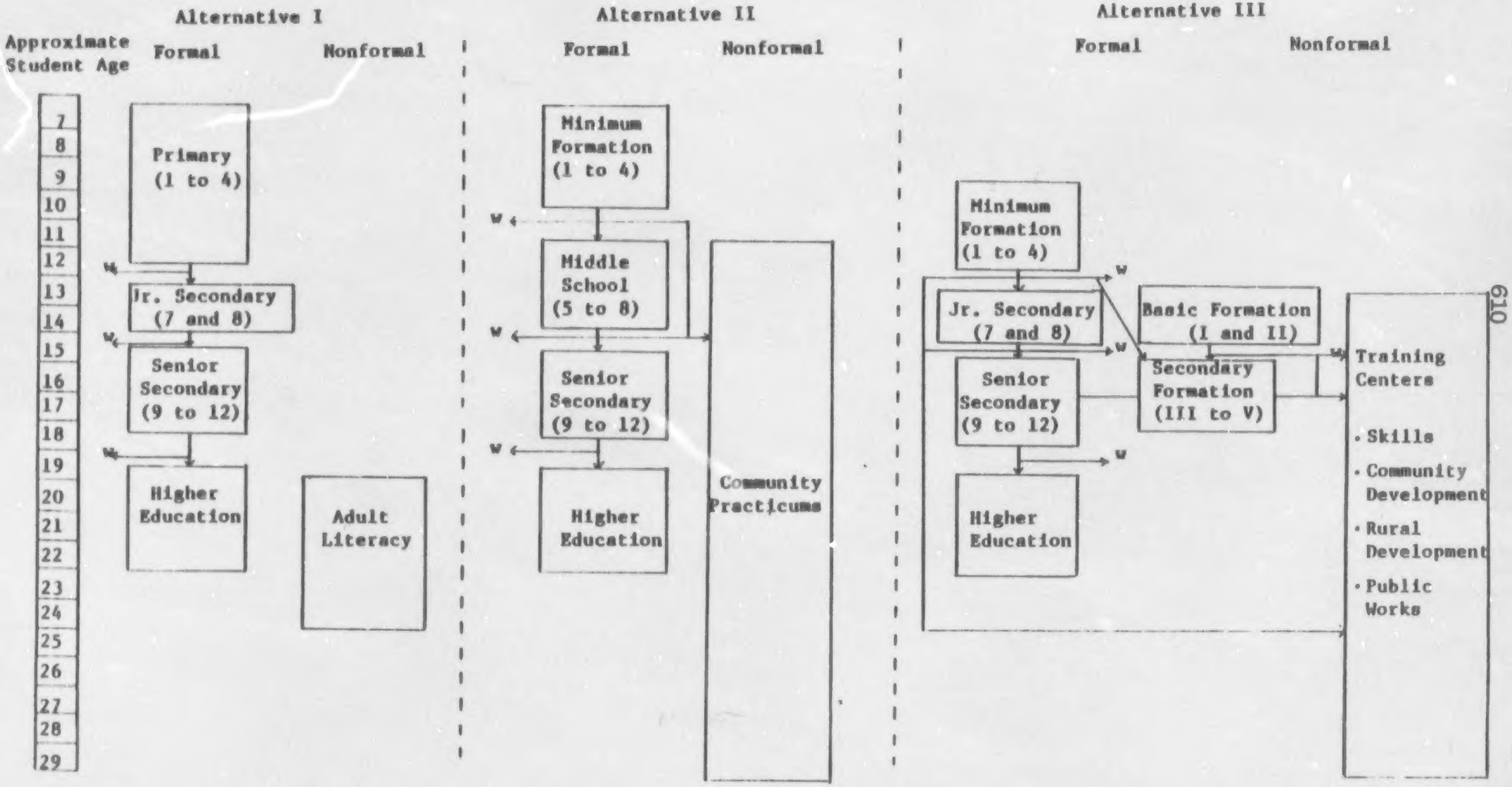
Alternative Strategy I

Alternative Strategy I provided for a continuation of the existing 6-2-4 school system, but with some significant changes.

At primary level, schools would be expanded to achieve the goal of universal education as rapidly as possible. Curricula would be made more practical and relevant by the inclusion of work-oriented and environmental studies. Economies in recurrent and capital costs would be achieved by operating the schools two shifts per day, with teachers teaching classes during a portion of both shifts. About 1.5 teachers would be provided per class per shift, with the result that the overall class-teacher ratio would be 4 to 3. The school day for each shift would be shortened to about three and a half hours, but the school year would be lengthened to 220 days per year. Eventually, about 85 percent of the teachers would have a minimal 8 + 1 years of training. The rest would have more. Other school characteristics would be as shown in Table 185.

CHART 17

ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES FOR EDUCATION IN ETHIOPIA


Alternative I
Approximate Student Age
Formal
Nonformal
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
Primary (1 to 4)
Jr. Secondary (7 and 8)
Senior Secondary (9 to 12)
Higher Education
Adult Literacy
w
Alternative II
Formal
Nonformal
Minimum Formation (1 to 4)
Middle School (5 to 8)
Senior Secondary (9 to 12)
Higher Education
Community Practicums
Alternative III
Formal
Nonformal
Minimum Formation (1 to 4)
Jr. Secondary (7 and 8)
Senior Secondary (9 to 12)
Higher Education
Basic Formation (I and II)
Secondary Formation (III to V)
Training Centers
• Skills
• Community Development
• Rural Development
• Public Works

w Indicates students who leave school at every level to enter workforce.

Source: "Report of the Education Sector Review," Exhibit, V-E-2.

Table 185

Alternative Strategy I - School Operating Characteristics

	Primary	Junior Secondary	Senior Secondary
Grades	1-6	7-8	9-12
Typical Pupil Age Range	7-12	13-14	15-18
School Days Per Year	220	180	180
Shifts Per Day (1)	2	1	1
Pupils Per Class	50	40	35
Dist. of Cert. Teachers			
8 + 1	85%		
12 + 1	15%	100%	
12 + 2			70%
12 + 4			30%
Approximate Percentage of Instruction by:			
Certified Teachers	100%	100%	100%
Community Assistants	-	-	-

(1) Indicates number of shifts worked by teachers. Many secondary schools will have a second shift staffed by a second set of teachers.

Source: "Report of the Education Sector Review," Exhibit V-B-1, p. V-3.

According to this strategy, Teacher Training Institutes would enroll eighth grade leavers, and provide one year of instruction followed by a year of practice teaching and seminar work. Curricula would be revised to emphasize teaching methods. Enrollment would be increased to meet the demand for primary school teachers.

Enrollment at HSIU and other institutions of higher learning would grow at an average annual rate of 5.5 percent, enough to meet anticipated manpower needs. This rate of growth would be periodically assessed to ensure that high-level manpower demand and supply would remain in approximate balance. The number of students enrolled in specialized programs would also reflect national needs for specific skills.

An expanded mass media program would serve both formal and nonformal education systems. Radio transmission and receiving facilities would be increased to reach a high proportion of the population.

Most government-sponsored nonformal education would continue to be in the field of literacy training. Expenditure would be inceased and emphasis would be placed on work-oriented functional literacy programs. Expansion of nongovernment schools would be encouraged, and nominal subsidies would be provided by the government.

The Sector Review task forces worked out detailed calculations that enabled them to project the expenditures for each component of education and enrollment at each level of the educational system. This was done for selected years through 1999/2000 shown in Table 186. It will be noted that the dollar allocations to the primary education rise from less than 40 percent of total expenditure in 1970-71 to 55 percent of the total in 1999-2000. The amount of money spent on primary education increases almost fourteen times.

Government and nongovernment primary school enrollment would increase by a factor of eight, reaching a total of 5.5 million in 1999-2000. By that year nearly two-thirds of the primary school age population would be in school, compared with 16 percent in 1970-71.

Expenditure, enrollment and participation rates in second and third level education would, by design, grow more slowly. Total second-level enrollment would increase nearly three times, but participation rates would increase only slightly, from 4 percent to 5 percent, because of the simultaneous population increase. Third level enrollment would be quintupled, with participation rates more than doubling from the low 1970-71 figure of 0.2 percent to 0.5 percent in 1999-2000.

Expenditure on a nonformal education—which would consist primarily of adult literacy programs—would increase only moderately over the low 1970-71 level. Enrollment in adult literacy courses would be planned to grow with population to 1984-85, and then decline as a higher proportion of the population received formal in-school education. Nonrecurrent expenditure, including capital outlay for school construction and one-time costs for curriculum redesign and teacher retraining, would be about 5 percent of total expenditure through 1984-85. It would then increase to about 7.5 percent to provide for replacement of schools built earlier, and to finance continued construction of new schools needed to accommodate growing enrollment, particularly at the primary level.

Table 186

Alternative Strategy I: Expenditure, Enrollment, and Participation Rates

Year (G.C.)	1970/71	1974/75	1979/80	1984/85	1989/90	1994/95	1999/2000
Total Expenditures (a) (in millions of $)	86.3	136.5	190.3	263.0	387.3	563.9	835.0
Primary Schools (1-6)	33.5	66.5	88.2	124.6	187.1	289.0	454.4
Sec. Schools (7-12) (b)	18.8	25.3	36.5	46.1	60.9	76.1	96.1
Teacher Training Inst.	2.4	2.4	2.3	3.0	4.4	7.8	10.4
Higher Education (c)	19.0	23.2	32.7	47.1	67.4	96.7	138.7
Mass Media	0.2	0.9	3.0	3.8	4.9	6.3	8.1
Nonformal Education	0.5	1.5	1.9	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4
Administration	4.7	6.8	9.5	13.2	19.4	28.2	43.0
Nongovt. Sch. Subsidies	0.8	3.0	6.3	9.6	11.5	14.5	18.0
Nonrecurrent Expenses	6.4	6.8	9.6	13.2	29.3	42.9	63.9
Enrollment (in thousands)							
First Level Total	656	1,137	2,038	2,490	3,275	4,394	5,493
Government	471	867	1,603	1,935	2,567	3,490	4,340
Nongovernment	185	270	435	555	708	904	1,153
Second Level Total (d)	135	157	293	225	264	311	367
Government	115	129	147	166	189	215	245
Nongovernment	20	28	46	59	75	96	122
Third Level Total	6	8	10	13	17	22	28
Nonformal Total	N.A.	122	139	159	156	153	150
Participation Rates (in percent)							
Age 7-12, First Level	16.4	25.4	40.0	42.5	49.2	58.6	65.6
Age 13-18, Second Level	4.1	4.3	4.6	4.7	4.8	5.0	5.1
Age 19-24, Third Level	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5

Source: "Report of the Education Sector Review," Exhibit V-B-2, p. V-4.

Alternative Strategy II

Under Alternative Strategy II the formal school system would be restructured on a 4-4-4 basis, with major changes in curriculum and instructional methods in first and second level schools.

The major features of this alternative were that instruction would be based, as in all proposed alternatives, on inquiry methods of learning rather than rote methods. Course material would be integrated into cohesive areas of study, rather than taught as separate, discrete subjects. The language of instruction in both first and second level schools would be Amharic, with other Ethiopian languages used as necessary in the early grades to teach Amharic.

The first level program would consist of "minimum formation education' (MFE) which would be made available to all children throughout the country as soon as resources permitted. In MFE, emphasis would be placed on meaningful activity and experience, rather than on number of years of attendance in school. The task forces of the Sector Review anticipated that for most pupils four years in MFE would be needed to gain necessary skills and this figure has been assumed for planning purposes. In reality some students would complete MFE in less than four years while others would require more. MFE would use a revised curriculum, arranged in cohesive areas of study, which would include communication and computational skills, physical culture and self-expression, practical arts, and environmental studies.

Minimum formation education school schedules would be similar to the primary school schedules of alternative strategy I: two shifts per day, and 220 school days per year, with teachers instructing during a portion of both shifts. In addition to the certified 8 + 1 and 12 + 1 teachers, the teaching staff would include "community assistants" who would teach practical studies. For planning purposes it was assumed that each pupil would receive one hour of instruction each day from a community assistant, or about 200 hours per year. The other operating characteristics, on which cost and other projections were based, are shown in Table 187.

On completion of minimum formation education, most students would enter the work force and participate in nonformal education programs, with a minority entering second level schools. Grades five through eight would be offered in middle schools, which would be considered second-level schools. Subjects would be integrated into topic areas, as in MFE, but there would be some differentiation into courses like language, composition and mathematics. However, the content and skills taught would still be more practical and applied than academic.

The middle level schools would operate 180 days a year, two shifts a day, with teachers instructing during a portion of both shifts. Mean class size would be forty pupils. Certified teachers (40 percent 8 + 1 and 60 percent 12 + 1 or equivalent) would be supplemented by community assistants for practical subjects, with each pupil receiving about 200 hours of instruction per year.

Some middle school graduates would go on to senior secondary schools, which would function like the senior secondary schools of strategy I, but with more emphasis on practical subjects and a different teacher mix.

Table 187

Alternative Strategy II - School Operations

	Minimum Formation	Middle	Senior Secondary
Grades	1-4	5-8	9-12
Typical Pupil Age Range	7-10	11-14	15-18
School Days per Year	220	180	180
Shifts per Day(1)	2	2	1
Pupils per Class	50	40	35
Distribution of Certified Teachers:			
8 + 1	85%	40%	-
12 + 1	15%	60%	-
12 + 2	-	-	55%
12 + 4	-	-	45%
Approximate Percentage of Instruction by:			
Certified Teachers	70%	75%	90%
Community Assistants	30%	25%	10%

(1) Indicates number of shifts worked by teachers. Many secondary schools will have a second shift staffed by a second set of teachers.

Source: "Report of the Education Sector Review," Exhibit, V-C-1, p. V-6.

Significant changes would be made in examination and evaluation procedures and the tests would be supplemented by other methods of evaluating student performance and capability. Specifically, the functions of tests and examinations would be in remedial work (to determine student needs in specific areas), guidance work (to channel students according to their interests and aptitude), administrative work (to facilitate selection and placement of students).

MFE would be geared to local needs, with curricula varying from place to place, precluding the use of uniform national examinations. Under the proposed topic approach, traditional subject areas would tend to merge, making the administration of examinations at regular intervals difficult. Learned performance would therefore be evaluated on the basis of normal class work and assignments, which would "favor a reasonable degree of competition while not making the whole system examination oriented."

Promotion within a given school would be decided, on the basis of the student's performance in a class, jointly by teachers and school directors. At the end of MFE all students would be awarded graded completion-of-studies certificates. All pupils leaving school at a given stage, whether terminal or not would be given achievement certificates. Promotion to a higher level of education would be based on the results of aptitude tests and pupils' report cards, and decided upon by the teachers and directors. After the completion of the senior secondary school curriculum, students would be awarded graded end-of-studies certificates.

Admission to third-level education was to be by competitive examinations, which would also take account of students' performance at school. The proposed National Examinations Board would assume resonsibility for setting of examinations.

Strategy II would put strong emphasis on nonformal education, which would be institutionalized and programmed under the term "community practicums." Community practicums would serve those graduates of MFE who did not go to the middle school. It would represent a kind of continuing education, combined with some elements of apprenticeship. A higher level of practicums would exist for leavers of second-level schools who did not go on to third-level education.

Different types of community practicums would be offered, to meet local and individual needs. The task forces foresaw that some practicums would offer training in specific skills, and would be associated with potteries, tanneries, blacksmith shops, cement factories, sugar refineries, drafting and surveying agencies, and the like. Participants would spend most of their time in practical on-the-job training, and the rest in related classroom instruction. Participants would include those already employed in a special field, as well as those being prepared for employment.

The task forces anticipated that the director of a given practicum would be a skilled technician, craftsman or extension agent who would provide on-the-job training. Classroom instruction would be given by teachers recruited and trained for the purpose, and might include regular teachers in government schools who would teach in practicums for pay after school hours.

As anticipated, community practicums would not be a part of the formal education system, but would be closely associated with it. School facilities would be made available after regular school hours for classwork. The craftsmen offering on-the-job training might also serve as community assistants, who would offer the practical training in the MFE program. Each school associated with a community practicum would offer guidance to the practicum director in curriculum and programming, and would assist in determining textbook and workbook needs.

Although students would usually enter practicums after completing their formal schooling at the MFE or second level, the system would also provide for a limited amount of reverse flow. A student might complete MFE, then spend eight months in a practicum learning simple mechanics. He might then aspire to become an engineering technician, which would require a greater degree of formal education and would apply to enter middle school. Acceptance would depend on his prior performance in MFE and in the community practicum program; the student might move up to a higher level practicum instead. The particular form of community practicum, their administration, length of program, and relationships with the formal school system, would vary from area to area, and a considerable amount of further planning would be required to work out the structure.

In addition, community practicums would include health education classes and home economics classes for women, public works programs, agricultural development schemes, and cottage industries. These programs would vary in length and would not be limited to young school leavers. Ideally, all participants in practicums would have passed through MFE. But the task forces were cognizant of the fact that it would be some years before a high percentage of the nation's youth had completed MFE, and meanwhile they proposed that some form of practicums be made available to those without prior formal educational experience.

Expenditure, enrollment and participation rates would be as presented in Table 188. The minimum formation educational program would be introduced on a phased basis, and in 1974-75 would account for about one-sixth of first level expenditure. By 1979-80 all traditional primary schools would have been phased out and all first level schools would be offering the minimum formation program.

By 1999-2000 total enrollment in the first level schools would be well over five million, about four-fifths of this in government MFE, and one-fifth in nongovernment primary schools. This enrollment would represent more than 92 percent of the seven to ten year age group. In the same year, enrollment in the second level schools would be a little over 400,000, somewhat more than in alternative strategy I because second level education is defined as including fifth and sixth grades in middle schools.

Alternative strategy II would place much greater emphasis than strategy I on nonformal education. Expenditure would rise from $0.5 million in 1970-71 to $91 million in 1990-2000 (on the assumed per student cost figures cited). In that year, more than 2 million people would participate in organized non-formal programs, representing about 11 percent of the eleven to thirteen year age group and 8 percent of the nineteen to thirty-four year group. In previous years different individuals would have participated, so that in the course of time the cumulative exposure to nonformal education would be appreciable. Over the 10 year period between 1989-90 to 1999-2000 nonformal educational programs would have been made available to more than three-quarters of the 11 to 18 year age group, and more than half of the 19 to 34 age group.

Alternative Strategy III

This would provide for two parallel channels of formal education as follows: (1) a 4-2-4 system which would include four years of MFE followed, for selected students, by two years of junior secondary school and for some by an additional four years of senior secondary education; (2) a 2-3 program which would provide two years of "basic formation" for older students, followed by three years of "secondary formation" for a portion of them. The two channels would be coordinated to enable students to transfer from one to the other.

Table 188

Alternative Strategy II: Expenditure, Enrollment and Participation Rates

Year (G.C.)	1970/71	74/75	79/80	84/85	89/90	94/95	99/2000
Total Expenditures (in millions of $)	86.3	136.5	190.3	263.0	387.3	563.9	835.0
Primary, Trad (1-6)	33.5	51.7	-	-	-	-	-
Min. Formation (1-4)	-	10.3	71.1	97.1	146.9	229.4	366.2
Middle School (5-8)	-	9.5	13.4	18.6	24.6	30.8	39.2
Sr.Secondary (9-12) (a)	18.8	15.9	22.3	28.4	37.9	47.6	60.1
Teacher Training Inst.	2.4	1.4	1.3	2.2	3.4	5.1	6.9
Higher Education	19.0	23.2	32.7	47.1	67.4	96.7	138.7
Mass Media	0.2	0.9	3.0	3.8	4.9	6.3	8.1
Nonformal Education	0.5	7.0	21.1	29.1	42.1	62.4	90.9
Administration	4.7	6.8	9.5	13.2	19.4	28.2	43.0
Nongovt. Sch. Subsidies	0.8	3.0	6.3	9.6	11.5	14.5	18.0
Nonrecurrent Expenses	6.4	6.8	9.6	13.2	29.3	42.9	63.9
Enrollment (in thousands)							
First Level Total	656	1,086	1,925	2,362	3,088	4,144	5,333
Government	471	816	1,490	1,807	2,380	3,240	4,180
Nongovernment	184	270	435	555	708	904	1,153
Second Level Total (b)	135	156	220	257	301	353	416
Government	115	128	174	198	226	258	294
Nongovernment	20	29	46	59	75	95	122
Third Level Total	6	8	10	13	17	22	28
Nonformal Total	N.A.	182	889	1,092	1,365	1,765	2,075
Participation Rate (in %)							
Age 7-10, First Level (c)	16.4	35.1	54.8	58.6	67.3	80.1	92.4
Age 11-18, Second Level (b)	3.0	3.1	3.7	3.9	4.0	4.1	4.3
Age 19-24, Third Level	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5
Age 11-18, Nonformal	N.A.	1.8	7.7	8.3	9.2	10.4	10.9
Age 19-34, Nonformal	N.A.	1.3	5.7	6.2	6.8	7.7	8.0

(a) Includes second level vocational/technical schools.
(b) Includes middle, secondary, vocational/technical schools and TTI's.
(c) Includes a small number of 5th and 6th grade pupils in non-government schools.

N.A.: Not available or applicable

Source: "Report of the Education Sector Review," Exhibit V-C-2, p. V-10.

Minimum Formation Program

Experience shows that older students require fewer years of education to reach a given level of performance, at least in some skills, than younger students. On this assumption alternative strategy III would call for an entry age of nine to MFE, rather than the seven years envisioned under alternative II. Learners would spend an average of four years in MFE, with a curriculum and program silmiar to that of alternative II. For most of the students, formal education would terminate when they entered the work force, with a few of them also participating in nonformal education programs. The advantage of higher entry age to MFE was that leavers would be thirteen years old, and more ready to enter the work force than they would have been had they entered at seven.

Following MFE selected groups of the most able students would be permitted to enter junior secondary schools, which would have curriculum and programs similar to those of alternative I. Because of the later age of entry to MFE, the brightest students could be prepared for junior secondary school in four years instead of six. Grades five and six could cease to exist.

Upon completion of junior secondary school, some students would continue through senior secondary school, and eventually a few would go into higher education, as described for alternatives I and II. Operating characteristics of MFE junior and secondary schools under alternative III are shown in Table 189.

Basic Formation Program

At present, the school system does not make provision for people over thirteen who did not attend elementary school. Alternative strategy III would provide opportunities for this group. Along with the MFE program for pupils in the nine to twelve age bracket, alternative III would include a "basic formation" program for young adults of thirteen and older.

Under a typical arrangement, basic formation courses would be taught in the late afternoon or early evening for students working during the day. Classes would be held in government school buildings or elsewhere. The program would be structured to run for two years. Curricula would include literacy, numeracy, basic citizenship and health, supplmented by vocationally and environmentally-oriented studies. As a rule, basic formation programs would be established in rural areas, and the programs would be designed to foster an appreciation and understanding of the rural milieu.

Table 189 shows that alternative III classes would be held for an average of 220 days per year, with a daily session of 3 or more hours. Class size would be limited to about 40. Literacy and numeracy would be taught by certified teachers with 8 + 1 or 12 + 1 classification, with about an hour of instruction given each day by community assistants, as in MFE.

Although basic formation would be directed particularly to the thirteen and fourteen year olds in the initial years, it was anticipated that the program would enroll pupils in the thirteen to sixteen age group. Preference would be given to sixteen year olds, for whom basic formation would represent a last chance at formal education. As time progressed, the entry age could be reduced.

On completion of basic formation, a small percentage of very able students would be admitted to junior secondary schools. They would be given a special six-month preparatory course to bring them to the same level as other students who would have come from the four-year MFE program.

Table 189

Alternative Strategy III - School Operations

	Minimum Formation	Junior Secondary	Senior Secondary	Basic Formation	Secondary Formation
Grades	1-4	7-8	9-12	I-II	III-V
Typical Pupil Age Range	9-12	13-14	15-18	13-14	15-18
School Days Per Year	220	180	180	220	220
Shifts Per Day(1)	2	1	1	1	1
Pupils Per Class	50	40	35	40	40
Distribution of Certified Teachers					
8 + 1	85%	37%	-	85%	85
12 + 1	15%	63%	-	15%	15
12 + 2	-	-	55	-	-
12 + 4	-	-	45	-	-
Approximate Percentage of Instruction by:					
Certified Teachers	70%	80%	90	70%	70
Community Assistants	30%	20%	10	30%	30

(1) Indicates number of shifts worked by teachers. Many secondary schools will have a second shift staffed by a second set of teachers.

Sources: "Report of the Education Sector Review," Exhibit V-D-1 , p. V-12.

Secondary Formation

Additional students who completed basic formation would enter the proposed "secondary formation" program of three years' duration. The program would be practical and vocational, with academic subjects kept to a minimum. For example, in contrast with junior and secondary schools, English would not be taught as a subject. Program content would be flexible to allow for regional needs. About 30 percent of the instruction would be given by community assistants, with the rest given mostly by 8 + 1 teachers.

In addition to graduates of basic formation, it was anticipated that the secondary formation schools would attract some MFE graduates not selected to go on to junior secondary schools.

Students in secondary formation would work part time, and on finishing the program would be available for full-time employment. Occasionally an exceptionally brilliant graduate of secondary formation would be selected to enter senior secondary school and would be given a special one-year preparatory program in English and other academic subjects.

The Education Sector Review anticipated that secondary formation education would be predominantly rural and as such would be closely related to rural development and public works programs. Students would be employed on family farms or other private enterprises or would be engaged in government-sponsored public works programs. Because of the long-term nature of rural development programs in Ethiopia, it was thought that secondary formation would be a significant part of the educational structure indefinitely. By contrast, the basic formation program would be phased out as MFE was made available to the whole school-age population.

Non-Formal Education

The strategy III nonformal education program would be similar to that of alternative II, with an emphasis on skills training centers, urban and rural development centers, and rural public works programs. In cost projections, a little larger amount was allocated because the formalized basic and secondary formation program would accomplish part of the task which in alternative II would be done through community practicums.

The Education Sector Review task forces made projections of expenditures and enrollment for alternative III. After deducting allocations for higher education, administration and so on, 15 percent was allocated for nonformal education, the remainder for minimum and basic formation, and a small amount for secondary formation. Table 190 indicates the resulting expenditure levels, enrollment, and participation rates. As far as availability of funds was concerned, alternative strategy III would permit attainment of the goal of universal mass education within a relatively short time. By 1979-80, 39 percent of the nine to twleve age group would be enrolled in school. The rest would be attending basic formation programs a few years later. At that rate, by the year 1983-84 nearly 90 percent of the children would have entered school, nongovernment or minimum formation.

This high proportion would be made possible by the use of the lower cost minimum formation program. The participation rates would continue to climb; by 1989-90 about 57 percent of the nine to twelve age group would be enrolled in minimum formation and nongovernment schools, with most of the other 43 percent headed for basic formation a few years later.

Table 190

Alternative Strategy III: Expenditure, Enrollment and Participation Rates

Year (G.C.)	1970/71	74/75	79/80	84/85	89/90	94/95	99/2000
Total Expenditures (in millions of $)	86.3	136.5	190.3	263.0	387.3	563.9	835.0
Primary Traditional (1-6)	33.5	46.6	-	-	-	-	-
Minimum Formation (1-4)	-	-	52.2	78.0	107.7	192.2	356.6
Secondary (7-12) (a)	18.2	22.2	32.5	41.3	55.1	69.3	87.5
Basic Formation (I-II)	-	20.0	26.6	31.7	41:3	27.3	-
Secondary Formation (III-V)	-	-	2.5	2.8	17.9	36.9	43.2
Teacher Training Institutes	2.4	1.7	1.7	2.6	4.1	5.2	6.2
Higher Education	19.0	23.2	32.7	47.1	67.4	96.7	138.7
Mass Media	0.2	0.9	3.0	3.8	4.9	6.3	8.1
Nonformal education	0.5	5.3	13.5	19.7	28.7	44.9	70.8
Administration	4.7	6.8	9.5	13.2	19.4	28.2	43.0
Nongovernment Schools	0.8	3.0	6.3	9.5	11.5	14.5	18.0
Nonrecurrent and other expenses	6.4	6.8	9.6	13.2	29.3	42.9	63.9
Enrollment (in thousands)							
First level - total	656	1,352	2,168	2,548	3,213	4,126	5,185
Gov't Minimum Formation	471	606	1,086	1,331	1,746	2,777	4,034
Gov't Basic Formation	-	476	647	662	759	445	-
Nongovernment	184	270	435	555	708	904	1,153
Second Level - Total	135	156	250	282	591	910	978
Gov't Secondary (b)	115	127	144	164	188	214	243
Gov't Secondary Form	-	-	60	59	328	601	613
Nongovernment	20	29	46	59	75	95	122
Third Level - Total	6	8	10	13	17	22	28
Nonformal - Total	N.A.	138	560	672	930	1,298	1,602
Participation Rates (in %)							
Age 7-8 Nongovernment	7.4	9.8	13.9	15.5	17.3	19.6	22.4
Age 9-12 MFE and Nongovt.	21.1	24.9	38.6	41.5	47.7	72.0	83.8
Age 13-14 Basic Formation	-	36.9	43.2	39.0	39.0	20.0	-
Age 13-18 Second Level	4.1	4.3	6.0	5.9	10.8	14.6	13.8
Age 19-24 Third Level	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5
Age 11-18 Nonformal	N.A.	1.0	3.4	3.5	4.3	5.2	5.6
Age 19-34 Nonformal	N.A.	1.5	5.4	5.7	6.9	8.5	9.3

(a) Includes junior and senior secondary and second level vocational-technical schools.

(b) Includes junior and senior secondary vocational-technical and teacher training institutes.

N.A.: Not available or applicable.

Source: "Report of the Education Sector Review," Exhibit V-D-2 , p. V-14.

Table 129

Revenue Raised by Means of Taxes Earmarked for Education 1960-61 Through 1971-72, In Current Ethiopian Dollars

Year	Education Tax on Rural Land(a)	Education Tax On Urban Land(b)	Education Tax (b) On Personal Income	Total
1960-61	4,703,828	-	-	4,703,828
1961-62	4,494,137	-	-	4,494,137
1962-63	3,776,496	-	-	3,776,496
1963-64	5,629,287	-	-	5,629,287
1964-65	5,154,229	-	-	5,154,229
1965-66	5,100,000	-	-	5,100,000
1966-67	5,000,000	-	-	5,000,000
1967-68	4,392,678	-	-	4,392,678
1968-69	5,180,427	-	-	5,180,427
1969-70	5,420,641	-	-	5,420,641
1970-71	5,216,161	88,679	6,870,025	12,174,865
1971-72	5,079,501	382,040	8,507,328	13,968,869

(a) The annual rate of growth in current dollars of the rural land tax over the period 1967-68 through 1971-72 has been 3.7%. This compares to a growth of GDP in current dollars of 6.5% over the past nine years.

(b) Instituted for the fiscal year 1970-71, proclaimed in July 1970.

Note: Although earmarked for education, the education tax on personal income is treated as part of general fund by the Ministry of Finance.

Sources:
1. For 1960-61 through 1964-65, Ministry of Education, The Current Operation of the Education System in Ethiopia, p. 30
2. For 1965-66 through 1966-67, Centeral Statistical Office, Statistical Abstract 1967-68, p. 137
3. For 1967-68 through 1971-72, Ministry of Education, Planning and Programming Office, "Financing Education" (Addis Ababa, April 26, 1970), p. 23.

Table 130

Percentage of Education Tax to Total Government Revenue (in Eth.$ million)

Year	Total Government Revenue	Education Tax	Percent of Education Tax to Government Revenue
1961-62	252.8	5.0	1.98
1962-63	283.5	4.3	1.52
1963-64	359.8	4.9	1.36
1964-65	396.4	4.9	1.24
1965-66	473.3	5.1	1.08
1966-67	489.3	5.0	1.02
1967-68	499.3	4.4	0.88
1968-69	505.5	5.0	0.99
1969-70	565.4	5.4	0.96
1970-71	620.1	12.2	1.97

Sources: 1961-62 to 1962-63, Centeral Statistics Office, Statistical Abstract 1965, p. 141; 1963-64 to 1967-68, Statistical Abstract, 1967-68, p. 137; 1968-69 to 1971, Statistical Abstract 1971, p. 131.

Table 131

Education Expenditure as Percentage of Total Government Expenditure (Eth. $ mil)

Year	Central Government Expenditure	Educational Expenditure	% of Expenditure on Education
1961-62	253.1	20.7*	8.18
1962-63	299.5	24.7*	8.25
1963-64	359.3	46.2*	12.86
1964-65	400.8	52.6	13.12
1965-66	477.8	63.2	13.23
1966-67	503.0	68.0	13.52
1967-68	543.3	50.8	9.51
1968-69	530.4	54.9	10.35
1969-70	579.7	69.0	11.90
1970-71	631.4	77.0	12.20

Note: *It includes HSIU.

1. After the fiscal year 1965-66 the HSIU is not included under the Ministry of Education.
2. The data available for some years in the sources quoted are not the same and latest issues available are retained.

Sources: Central Statistical Office.

1. For the years 1961/62 to 1963/64 see Statistical Abstract 1965, pp. 141,143.
2. For the years 1964/65 to 1967/68 see Statistical Abstract 1967-68, pp. 136-138.
3. For the years 1968/69 to 1970/71 see Statistical Abstract 1971, pp. 130,132.

Table 132 shows the Ministry of Education recurrent expenditure government revenue; government expenditure, gross domestic product (GDP) and the population of Ethiopia over a period of 12 years. It also shows recurrent education expenditure as a percentage of each of the other variables. First, note can be made of the annual percentage growth rate for each of the variables. Ministry of Education recurrent expenditure excluding external assistance was at an average of 15.2 percent that of government current domestic revenue 8 percent; government recurrent expenditure 8 percent, GDP 7 percent and the population growth rate 2.4 percent.

The table also shows that the growth of the Ministry of Education's recurrent expenditure has been more rapid than the growth of current government domestic revenue, than government recurrent expenditure, than GDP, and than the growth of population. Moreover, the Ministry of Education's recurrent expenditure expressed as a fraction of each of the country's revenue, expenditure, GDP and population has grown at a rate of from 6 percent to 10 percent. For example, Ministry of Education expenditure per capita has grown in current dollars from $1.10 to $2.70 over the period from fiscal 1963-64 to fiscal 1971-72. "In real terms, this represents a growth of $1.10 to $2.20...or an annual rate of growth of 9.3 %."[57]

As a percent of current government domestic revenue, the Ministry of Education's recurrent expenditure has grown from 8.3 percent in 1963-64 to 14.4 percent in 1971-72. Thus as a percentage of government revenue and expenditure the money allocated to education for each of the 12 years shown was perhaps what would be expected. The real problems lay in levying and collecting the taxes of the GDP, problems which we shall touch upon later in the present chapter. At this juncture it is sufficient to say that whatever the efforts made, funds from internal sources alone were insufficient to carry out the educational programs of the country.

TABLE 132

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION SPENDING, GOVERNMENT REVENUE, GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE, GDP AND POPULATION IN ETHIOPIA DURING EACH OF THE PAST TWELVE YEARS. EDUCATIONAL SPENDING EXPRESSED AS A FRACTION OF EACH OF THE OTHER INDICES (FISCAL YEARS 1960-1961 THROUGH 1971-1972, IN CURRENT ETH. $)

	1960-1961	1961-1962	1962-1963	1963-1964	1964-1965	1965-1966	1966-1967	1967-1968	1968-1969	1969-1970	1970-1971	1971-1972	Annual Growth Rate (b) 63/64-71/72
A. Ministry of Education Recurrent Expenditures (a) (millions of Eth.$)	19.1	18.4	18.2	22.8	24.9	30.9	34.9	39.6	43.1	55.3	62.5	70.8	15.2%
B. Government Current Domestic Revenue (millions of Eth.$)	184	199	204	273	296	327	364	368	396	429	466	490	7.5%
C. Government Recurrent Expenditure (a) (millions of Eth.$)	177	190	209	235	265	286	314	248	362	384	406	434	8.0%
D. GDP (millions of Eth.$)	n.a.	2370	2460	2660	3000	3280	3370	3490	3730	3980	4200	4420	6.5%
E. Population (millions)	20.0	20.5	21.0	21.5	22.0	22.5	23.1	23.7	24.3	24.9	25.5	26.1	2.4%
F. A/B	10.4%	9.2%	8.9%	8.3%	8.4%	9.5%	9.6%	10.8%	10.9%	12.9%	13.4%	14.4%	7.2%
G. A/C	10.8%	9.7%	8.7%	9.7%	9.4%	10.8%	11.1%	11.3%	11.9%	14.4%	15.4%	16.3%	6.7%
H. A/D	n.a.	0.8%	0.7%	0.9%	0.8%	0.9%	1.0%	1.1%	1.2%	1.4%	1.5%	1.0%	7.5%
I. A/E	$1.00	$0.90	$0.90	$1.10	$1.10	$1.40	$1.50	$1.70	$1.80	$2.20	$2.40	$2.70	11.9%

Note: During the years 1960-1961, 1961-1962, and 1962-1963, Eritrea province accounts were not included as part of Ethiopian national accounts. Hence, expenditures and GDP figures during these years omit all or part of the figures for Eritrea. Population estimates do include Eritrea.

(a) Excludes international assistance.

(b) The annual rate of growth of the first four entries and the last entry in this column include components of growth for both inflation and real growth. The implicit price index over the period 1963 to 1971 increased from 100 to 120. (See Statistical Abstract, 1970, page 119.)

The annual rate of growth of the first four entries in the column, in real terms, is thus 12.6%, 5.1%, 5.5% and 4.1% respectively. The last entry, 11.9% deflates to a real growth of 9.3%. The other entries in the column represent real rates of growth as they stand. It is to be noted that the time period over which annual growth is estimated is from 1963/64 through 1971/72. The reason for this is implicit in the note above; namely figures for earlier years are incompatible with those of later years as the former exclude information on Eritrea.

n.a. Indicates that information is not available.

Source: Ministry of Education, Planning and Programming Office, "Financing Education" (April 1973), p. 13.

External Assistance for Education

Since the Restoration in 1941 external assistance has been sought and obtained for development by Ethiopia from bilateral and international sources. The education sector has benefited from such assistance. For instance during 1970-71 total funds available to the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts came to $77 million. Out of which $67 million was raised by the Ministry of Finance through taxes and other fees. Community contributions for the building of primary schools came to approximately $1 million, and foreign grants and loans provided $9 million. Out of the $9 million, $1.5 million consisted of loans, and $7.5 of grants in the form of either technical assistance or material assistance.[58]

Table 133 indicates the amount of financial assistance rendered to Ethiopia from external sources for each of the five-year periods. Of all the development, department of the Government, the Ministry of Education has received forty-nine percent or some $29 million during 1968-69 alone from these sources. This pattern had prevailed even during the earlier years for which we have reliable data. There is no worked out philosophy regarding external assistance and donor's whims and attitudes continue to fluctuate with time and the political wind, in all plan periods external assistance has been counted upon and it is hoped the trend will continue in the future. Commenting on the need for thinking about foreign assistance, and speaking from the donor's point of view, Paul Streeten expressed the opinion that: "...motives and criteria in giving aid are mixed and the particular brand of mixture varies from one donor to another. One of the main reasons for the disappointment with the aid policies in the fifties and sixties must be sought in this fusion and confusion of sometimes contradictory aims and motives. This confusion explains partly the difficulties of effective coordination of donor's policies."[59]

Another added: "The task of donors is made more difficult by the lack as yet of a consistent theory and practice of aid, with an adequate disciplinary basis."

As far as Ethiopia was concerned continued foreign assistance depended, in the opinion of IBRD, on: "The concept of absorptive capacity is intricate, involved and wide ranging. The proposed study would determine the precise nature of the administrative, legislative, legal technical, managerial, supervisory and other barriers to the more rapid and efficient identification, preparation, execution and operation of projects both in the Public and the private sector of the economy."[61]

Table 133

Bilateral and Multilateral Technical Assistance (1964-65 - 1968-69)
(million Eth.$)

	1964-65		1965-66		1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	
	B	M	B	M	B	M	B	M	B	M
Education	18.145	0.355	20.990	0.910	25.034	0.866	29.900	2.300	27.956	1.01
	(29.5)	(0.6)	(28.6)	(1.2)	(32.9)	(1.1)	(40.5)	(3.1)	(47.3)	(1.7)
Public Health	5.205	2.395	5.749	1.051	8.837	1.163	11.800	1.500	6.289	1.09
	(8.5)	(3.9)	(7.8)	(1.4)	(11.6)	(1.5)	(16.0)	(2.0)	(10.6)	(1.8)
Agriculture, Commerce & Industry and Natural Resources*	1.165	1.535	2.131	2.469	14.546	2.754	9.000	5.200	9.283	2.917
	(1.9)	(2.5)	(2.9)	(3.5)	(19.1)	(3.6)	(12.2)	(7.0)	(15.7)	(4.9)
Transport and Communication	3.921	0.279	0.333	0.267	0.114	0.186	0.750	0.150	1.169	0.801
	(6.4)	(0.4)	(0.5)	(0.4)	(0.2)	(0.2)	(1.0)	(0.2)	(2.0)	(1.4)
Community Development	0.225	0.075	1.076	0.224	0.494	0.206	0.200	0.300	0.502	0.132
	(0.4)	(0.1)	(1.5)	(0.3)	(0.6)	(0.3)	(0.2)	(0.4)	(0.9)	(0.2)
Mapping	24.200	-	24.200	-	20.000	-	10.000	0.100	0.262	-
	(39.3)	-	(33.0)	-	(26.4)	-	(13.6)	(0.1)	(0.5)	-
Other Fields**	3.301	0.699	13.404	0.496	1.900	-	2.200	0.500	7.112	0.611
	(5.4)	(1.1)	(18.3)	(0.6)	(2.5)	-	(3.0)	(0.7)	(12.0)	(1.0)
Sub-Total	56.162	5.338	67.883	5.417	70.925	5.175	63.850	10.050	52.573	6.671
		8.6%	7.4%	7.4%		6.7%		13.5%		11.0%
Grand Total	61.600		73.300		76.100		73.900		59.244	

B: Bilateral

M: Multilateral

* Includes Mining, Water Resources, Wildlife and Land Reform

** Planning, Statistics, Technical Agency, Financial Intermediaries, Finance Information, Public Administration and Miscellaneous.

Source: Planning Commission Office

As far as Ethiopia was concerned, external assistance for education has played important roles in the past. As Table 134 indicates, the proportion of external assistance in relation to domestic resources has continued to increase along the years; from about ten percent in fiscal year 1961-62 to thirty-two percent in 1965-66. The 1970-71 data shows the percentage to be even higher.[62] This indicates heavy reliance on this source by the Ministry of Education, which, unless appropriate precautions are taken, might lead to a dangerous situation.

Further, foreign aid has been offered in many forms as fellowships, technical assistance, capital investment, loans and such (see Table 135). Usually strings are attached to these aids which sometimes tend to be costly and disadvantageous to the recipient, in this case Ethiopia. As the ministerial committee pointed out: "...frequently aid is offered on terms which do not represent any real advantage to Ethiopia and such aid must be refused. For example, countries sometimes stipulate in proposed loan agreements that equipment and constructional materials must come from the aid-giving country. The high cost of such arrangements gives little benefit to Ethiopia from loans contracted on this basis."[63]

Table 134

External Assistance in Relation to the Budget of the Ministry of Education, 1961-62 to 1965-66 (Eth. $)

Year	Ministry Budget	External Assistance	Total	External Assistance As Percent
1961-62	22,795,033	2,617,600	25,412,633	10.2
1962-63	24,224,509	10,540,225	34,764,734	30.3
1963-64	26,713,590	13,621,843	40,335,433	33.7
1964-65	27,233,061	12,533,425	39,766,486	31.5
1965-66	31,162,144	14,392,340	45,554,484	31.5
Total	132,128,337	53,705,433	185,833,770	28.9

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, The Current Operation of Education in Ethiopia (1966), p. 38.

Table 135

External Assistance to Education by Category, 1970-71 (Eth. $)

Category	Total Amount	Percentage
Fellowship	7,415,000	19.0
Technical Assistance	20,720,000	53.1
Capital Investment	3,235,000	8.3
Loans	3,963,000	10.2
Other	3,662,000	9.4
Total	38,995,000	100.0

Sources: 1. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, "External Assistance for Education" (May 29, 1973), Appendix II, p. 2.

2. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, The Current Operation of The Education System in Ethiopia, p. 38.

Thus, whether foreign assistance to education will continue or not depends on the donor-recipient relations and these have not always been predictable. But as of now, it seems that some reliance on this source for the support of education will continue for the future.

The efforts of the Ministry of Education in the development of learning have been augumented by other agencies of government, parastatal organizations, foreign mission societies, private people and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. When the activities of these units are added to that of the Ministry of Education's which we have been considering up to now, both the general magnitude of the education system and the financial investments represent considerable investments in this sector.

Table 136 sets forth the pattern of expenditures for formal and nonformal education by the administrating agencies. Total funds available to the Ministry of Education during 1970-71 came to $77 million. Of this amount $67 million was raised by the Ministry of Finance through taxes and other fees. Community contribution for the building of primary schools came to approximately $1 million and foreign grants to $9 million.

Haile Selassie I University's total estimated resources for the same year came to $25 million, of this $14 million was provided by the Ministry of Finance from taxes and fees. An additional $2.5 million was provided in external assistance. Most of the external assistance consisted of salaries of expatriate staff and scholarships for the staff development program of the university.

The other government agencies together spent $22 million on education. Over $21 million of this money was absorbed by the Ethiopian government ministries such as the Ministries of Community Development, Commerce and Industry, Agriculture and Defense.

Of the rest, the private organizations raised most of their money from tuition and fees. The mission societies raised most of their required money from external sources. The total expenditure on education during 1970-71 by all agencies and organizations came to $141.1 million.[64] This represented expenditure for formal and nonformal education at all levels and by all agencies.

Table 136

Expenditures for Education in Ethiopia by Administering Agencies, indicating the Portion Allocated by the Ministry of Finance, including both Capital and Recurrent Expenditures, 1970-71
(in millions of current Eth. $)

	Ministry of Fin. Allocation	Other Revenue Sources	Total Expenditures
Government	$91.2	$32.2	$123.3
Ministry of Education	66.9	10.4	77.3
HSI University	14.2	11.2	25.4
Min. of Community Development	1.2	2.9	4.1
Min. of Commerce, Ind., Tourism	3.2	0.2	3.3
Ministry of Agriculture	1.0	1.3	2.3
Ministry of Defense	2.3	0.0	2.3
Ministry of Health	1.3	0.8	2.1
Other	1.1	5.4	6.5
Parastatal	0.5	0.7	1.2
Private	0.4	16.2	16.6
Mission Schools	0.0	6.4	6.4
Private Schools	0.0	3.7	3.7
Ethiopian Orthodox Church	0.0	2.3	2.3
Other	0.4	3.8	4.2
Total	92.1	49.1	141.1

Source: Kiros, Fassil; ter Weele; Thome; et al., Education Sector Review Final Report, Financing Education, 1972, p. 33.

To summarize this section, it can be noted the Ministry of Education controls $77.3 million, or approximately one-half of all expenditures on education in Ethiopia. The Haile Selassie I University controls $25.4 million, almost one-fifth of the country's expenditure on education. The two together account for $102.7 million or 73 percent of all education expenditure. In addition, a number of other agencies play an important, even if minor, role in the development of education in Ethiopia.[65]

But the problems confronting the Ministry of Education, which bears the largest responsibility in the development of education in the empire, were more than getting and spending budgetary allocations. The ministerial committee referred to above identified the following crucial problems faced by the ministry in arranging adequate financing of the school system. These included (1) budget estimates prepared by the Ministry of Education have never been approved in full; (2) the Ministry of Education had never received the total budget as published in the official Negarit Gazeta; (3) due to delay in the processes for approval of purchasing or approval for increments of staff salaries and due to the delay in the receipt of funds from the central treasury, it was often difficult for the Ministry of Education to make use of specific funds approved in the budget; (4) the provincial tax earmarked for education had remained static; (5) there was always a big gap between approved budget and actual expenditure, and large funds were returned annually to the Ministry of Finance which was used as an argument against increases in the Ministry of Education's budget.[66]

In a 1967 publication Mulugeta Wodajo summing up the problems, reiterated the findings already cited, adding: "The consequences of this acute shortage of funds had been that the unit expenditure (excluding foreign aid) has been on the decline during the past ten years—from about Eth. $145 per child to about Eth. $86 in 1957 (Eth.C.). This is quite a sharp drop, especially in view of the fact that the Government now spends very little for elementary school construction as most of this is now done by the communities themselves with matching funds from the Swedish Government."[67] Then, aptly, he concluded: "Whatever the future of Ethiopian education may be, the nation should not be led to believe that at present everything is fine with the schools, for in the final analysis, it is how much the Government is devoting from its own resources that is the real measure of the national effort and commitment to education."[68]

The Educational Profile of Ethiopia Compared With Other African Countries

Another way of evaluating Ethiopia's commitment to education is to compare her educational investment efforts with that of other African countries. For, after all, this is the "decade of Africa" and we have began the last chapter with the 1961 conference of African States on the Development of Education, and the present one is a continuation.

But there are complicated problems involved when one tries to make such comparisons. For one thing, methods and extent of government budgeting vary from country to country. For another, they do not describe the situation with the same exactness. However, the committee cited above, basing their findings on the percentage of total government expenditure on education from domestic sources, arrived at the following conclusions. (1) Ethiopia's expenditure on education from domestic sources had not risen above 12.1 percent during 1957-58 to 1964-65. When expenditure from all sources was taken into consideration, the percentage was even lower. The committee further noted that a United Nations Economic Commission for Africa in a review of public finance in African countries revealed that in the 18 countries considered, the percentage of government expenditure on education rose from 10 percent to 15 percent between 1957-58 and 1965-66. The target figure for the proportion of public expenditure on education to gross national product agreed to at the Addis Ababa Conference in May 1961 was 3.2 percent. A 1964 survey of 38 African countries by UNESCO had revealed the average figure for these analyses rose from 1.6 percent in 1957 to 3.0 percent in 1962. The available figures for Ethiopia, on the other hand, were as follows: 1961-62, 0.9 percent; 1962-63, 1.2 percent; 1963-64, 1.2 percent.[69] The committee further noted that if the standard rates of recurrent expenditure for different levels and types of education established for African countries at the 1961 Addis Ababa Conference on African education were applied to the 1965 figures for enrollment in government schools, "it appeared that the recurrent budget allocated to the Ministry of Education in 1958 (1965-66) was at least $5 million short of requirements..."[70]

The committee then concluded that as far as Ethiopia was concerned, the comparative analysis led it "to the conclusion that inadequate resources are being devoted to education and that the quality of instruction and consequently of output has been affected by this factor."[71]

More recently further attempts have been made to establish Ethiopia's relative position in Africa vis-a-vis other middle African countries. To establish the basis for such comparisons, determinants such as the relationship between public expenditure on education (PEE) and gross national product (GNP) as well as the relationship between PEE per capita and GNP per capita have been used, as shown in Tables 137 and 138. Other important expenditures on education were the school enrollment ratio, the tax effort, and the degree of urbanization. These determinants have been used to measure the education efforts of African countries and they are considered to be valuable indicators of effort.[72]

Table 139 shows how Ethiopia fared in respect of the determinants discussed above for African countries in general. The number of selected African countries presented in the table might not be strictly compared with Ethiopia since they all differ in size of population, area, geographic setting, history, culture, religion or in the stage of economic development reached. Most of them have a higher per capita GNP and thus more resources to spend on education. Except in the case of Ghana and Zambia, the per capita income of the countries selected was at most three times as high as the Ethiopian.[73] Of the total population, the amount spent on education per capita was US $1.60 (value before the devaluation of the dollar) in Ethiopia in 1968. The range of the amounts spent on education per capita by the other countries, excluding Ghana and Zambia, was from US $1.45 to $8.00. "Thus, Ethiopia is surpassed by all other countries, even those who seem to have had the same per capita income at the time of the data given."[74]

As far as school enrollment was concerned, the ratio was well below the average for Africa in 1967-68, which was 40 percent of the elementary school age population and 15 percent of the secondary school age population. The corresponding figures for Ethiopia were 13 percent and 3 percent in elementary and secondary respectively or a continued 8 percent. On this basis, only three other areas in Africa, namely Ifni, Niger, and Somalia, had figures comparable to those of Ethiopia for elementary school enrollment.[75]

Table 137

Ratio of Education Expenditure to GNP and to Public Budget Expenditure and Ratio of Tax Revenue to GDP

Country	PEE/ GDP or GNP %		PEE/ Total Public Exp. %		Tax Revenue/ National Income or GDP %		GDP %	
	1957-59	1965-68	1962-63	1966-68	1951-60	1961-67	1968	1969
C.A.R.	2.1	3.3	10.6	17.0	-	15.6	19.6	(-67)
Ethiopia	-	1.4	7.9	10.0	-	8.1	8.7	8.9
Ghana	2.5	(3.9)	19.5	18.7	-	13.3	12.7	-
Kenya	3.0	4.5	22.9	18.4	13.4	12.1	13.8	-
Morocco	3.2	4.0	15.2	17.1	-	13.5	14.4	-
Nigeria	-	2.5	14.0	-	8.8	9.8	-	-
Sierra Leone	-	3.3	18.7	18.8	-	15.2	18.9	-
Sudan	-	5.4	29.1	20.3	9.0	10.9	-	-
Tanzania	2.7	2.8	-	-	-	11.6	14.8	(-67)
Uganda	4.0	2.8	19.5	12.5	-	12.1	13.9	13.8
Zambia	1.6	6.2	20.1	12.9	24.9	31.2	49.9	-
Average Africa	2.5	4.0	16.3	16.9	-	-	-	-

Source: Kiros, Fassil; ter Weele; Thome; et al., Education Sector Review Final Report, Financing Education, 1972, p. 52.

Table 138

Public and Private Expenditures as a Percentage of GNP

Country		1960	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
ETHIOPIA:	Public	-	1.4	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.4
	Private	-	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	-
KENYA:	Public	4.6	4.8	4.8	5.6	-	-
	Private	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	-	-
MALAWI:	Public	3.6	-	4.6	4.9	5.4	5.0
	Private	(0.0)	-	0.7	0.1	-	0.2
SUDAN:	Public	2.5	1.9	2.2	2.8	4.5	5.4
	Private	-	0.4	0.4	0.2	-	0.0
ZAMBIA:	Public	1.8	3.6	4.3	6.0	6.2	-
	Private	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.4	-	-
CANADA:	Public	-	5.5	5.5	6.3	7.2	8.1
	Private	-	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1
ARGENTINA:							
	Public	2.0	2.9	2.6	3.3	3.6	-
	Private	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.4	0.5	-
KOREA REP. OF:							
	Public	-	-	2.5	1.8	2.0	2.4
	Private	-	-	0.8	1.1	1.2	0.9
AUSTRALIA:							
	Public	1.4	3.2	3.3	3.6	4.1	4.0
	Private	-	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	1.1

Source: Kiros, Fassil; ter Weele; Thome; et al., Education Sector Review Final Report, Financing Education, 1972, p. 53.

Table 139

GNP, Education Expenditure, and Recurrent Education Expenditure (per capita)

Country	1970 Population Million	GNP Per Capita US.$ (Year)	Education Exp./Capita US.$ (Year)	Recurrent Ed. Exp./Pupil US.$ 1965-68
Central Africa Republic	1.5	127	T 2.08(1958)	1st 26
			T 4.30(1968)	2nd 96*
Congo Kinshasa	17.4	83(-60)	R 3.94(-59)	- -
Dem. Republic		80(-68)	R 4.20(-67)	- -
Ethiopia	25.0	42(-64)	T 0.39(-60)	1st 21
Ghana	9.0	220(-60)	T 6.19(-60)	- -
		215(-68)	T 9.07(-68)	- -
Kenya	10.9	130	T 3.27(-60)	1st 22
			T 5.35(-67)	2nd 288
Nigeria	55.1	66(-60)	R 1.45(-60)	- -
		71(-68)	R 2.15(-65)	2nd 254
Morocco	15.7	190	T 5.08(-61)	1st 50
			T 8.00(-68)	2nd 160
Sierra Leone	2.6	127(-64)	T 2.86(-59)	1st 21
		170(-69)	T 3.81(-67)	2nd 122
Sudan	15.8	88(-64)	T 2.15(-60)	1st 60
		110(-69)	T 4.14(-67)	2nd 304
Uganda	8.6		T 2.06(-60)	- -
		110(-69)	T 2.51(-67)	- -
Tanzania	13.2	64(-64)	R 1.57(-60)	1st -
		400(-39)	R 2.34(-60)	2nd 232
Zambia	4.3	173(-64)	T 2.74(-60)	1st -
			T 15.50(-60)	2nd 129

Source: Kiros, Fassil; ter Weele; Thome; et al., Education Sector Review Final Report, Financing Education, 1972, p. 51.

*1968: 96 1965: 314

The tax effort of a country is another indicator of its ability to spend on education. As Table 139 indicated, in terms of the proportion of tax revenue spent on education or the tax effort, Ethiopia lagged behind other countries as shown.

A group of economists who assessed the tax effort and tax proportion spent on education by Ethiopia concluded as follows:
"...Ethiopia suffers from a lower GNP per capita than most countries in Africa. This creates a low tax base. But taxes collected are also a smaller proportion of the low GNP than in most other countries. And finally out of the low tax revenue a smaller proportion than in most other African countries is set aside to be spent on education, thus expenditure on education as a percentage of GNP (or GDP) was only 1.4 percent in 1968 against 2.5 to 6 percent in other African countries...It is, of course, this fact that also explains why the Ethiopian enrollment ratio is lower than other African countries."[76]

It also happened that Ethiopia managed to get more students enrolled for the same amount of money than most other countries. In doing so, the unit costs of education for secondary schools are low by international standards.

A common problem to all selected African countries was the rising recurrent costs of education, and particularly in respect to teachers' salaries. This leaves less money for equipment and supplies and might also explain the reason in Table 140. As given in this table, the Ethiopian teachers' salary ration was comparatively high by African standards during the sixties. The 1967 figure of 70 percent was exceeded only by Morocco and Niger. The Ethiopian figure has since risen even higher—up to 88 percent in the 1971-72 budget.[77]

The education profile of Ethiopia as seen against the "diffuse" and statistically unclear background of African developing countries was summed up by a group of experts commissioned to make a study of the problem in 1972:

> "Ethiopia has one of the lowest enrollment ratios in Africa, which, coupled with high pupil-teacher ratios and comparatively low teacher salaries, gives Ethiopia the position of one of the countries falling far short of its potential as compared with other African countries, as estimated in terms of money and in relation to its financial resources. The means available are spent on a comparatively low proportion (in) primary education than in many other countries. There has been progress in Ethiopian education as measured by expenditure on education; percentage wise it might be even faster than in many other countries. But due to the low base, the gap seems to have widened during 1960s...However, the fact is that other countries which have had as low a GNP per capita as Ethiopia only 10 or 20 years ago now manage to spend a much higher amount and larger proportion on education than in the past, spells out hope for Ethiopia."[78]

And so it was; as the committee established to study the implications for Ethiopia of the May 1961 Addis Ababa Conference on African education urged, Ethiopia must run to stand still. For the last decade at least intentions and public pronouncements to speed up the development of education in Ethiopia have not been matched by concrete actions. Meanwhile, during the decade of Africa, the education gap between Ethiopia and other African countries widened—Ethiopia falling further and further behind. Would the seventies see a change for the better?

Table 140

Teacher Salaries as a Percentage of Recurring Expenditure on Education in Africa

	Country	1962	1963	1965	1966	1967	1968
1.	Botswana	-	-	67.5	67.0	68.7	67.3
2.	Burundi	50.0	-	76.6	63.6	68.8	77.3
3.	Cameroon	-	-	72.6	-	71.9	69.1
4.	C.A.R.	-	-	65.8	72.0	73.4	67.0
5.	Chad	-	-	50.9	65.7	—	—
6.	Congo (B)	-	73.8	77.2	67.3	73.4	74.2
7.	Dahomey	-	-	72.7	67.0	68.4	—
8.	Ethiopia	69.9	-	71.5	77.8	78.8	69.3
9.	Gambia	56.7	-	57.8	-	68.9	62.3
10.	Ghana	-	-	61.6	—	—	—
11.	Guinea	58.7	-	71.7	—	—	—
12.	Kenya	60.6	-	64.5	—	—	—
13.	Liberia	-	-	46.9	41.9	45.9	35.9
14.	Libya	-	-	71.6	79.6	79.5	—
15.	Madagascar	-	-	49.6	72.3	73.0	—
16.	Malawi	-	-	-	-	49.9	—
17.	Mali	-	-	75.5	75.5	72.6	72.6
18.	Morocco	-	80.0	92.4	89.5	88.6	90.4
19.	Niger	-	74.4	58.6	61.4	60.6	63.1
20.	Senegal	65.2	-	65.2	—	—	—
21.	Sudan	49.0	-	66.0	51.3	41.7	—
22.	Togo	-	66.5	-	79.7	74.4	74.5
23.	Tunisia	-	68.1	91.1	89.3	—	—
24.	Uganda	91.2*	-	-	-	—	—
25.	United Arab Rep.	79.2	—	81.0	80.6	67.5	83.1
26.	Tanzania	52.1	-	58.0	54.0	—	—

*1960
— not available

Source: Kiros, Fassil; ter Weele; Thome; et al., Education Sector Review Final Report, Financing Education, 1972, p. 54.

Notes

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31. Ibid., p. 101.

32. Ibid., p. 27.

33. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Report of the Organization of Education in Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa, June 1973), p. 22.

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36. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Annual Report*, 1970-71, pp. 17-18.

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Chapter XIV

THE ROOTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The Foundations of a University

For centuries Ethiopian education, including higher education, was in the hands of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. (See Chapter 3).

In those schools theological and philosophical studies dominated the curriculum, from *kine* in the lower schools through the more advanced discourses including the school of books, in the famous monasteries where primarily religious scholars were educated.[1]

In modern times, beginning during the time of Emperor Tewodros II, even perhaps earlier, some promising young people had gone abroad primarily through missionary scholarship arrangements or individual effort. During the reign of Emperors Yohannes IV and Menelik II studies abroad continued. However, more organized overseas studies took definite form only during the regency of Emperor Haile Selassie I. As early as 1928, when there were no more than two schools (Menelik II and Tafari Makonnen Schools) the Prince-Regent, at the annual prize giving ceremony of Menelik II School declared his future intentions regarding higher education. He said: "Such of these boys as prove to have learnt with diligence and to excel in their studies, it is my full intention to send abroad for a university education. I hope, however, that for future generations of pupils there will be established a university for advanced studies here in their own land of Ethiopia."[2] That hope was shattered for the time being at least by the fascist invasion.

In 1949 the people of Ethiopia proposed to erect, through voluntary contributions, a statue of Emperor Haile Selassie I as a token of their appreciation for his farsighted leadership of Ethiopia. Upon learning of this plan, the emperor expressed his desire that the money should be reserved for the creation of something practical - a university bearing his name. The site originally chosen (the present Duke of Harar Memorial Hospital Ground) for the university proved to be unsuitable for the construction of the large buildings which would be required by a center of higher learning. Then, in 1951 the Vice-Minister of Education, Ato Akale Worq Habte Wold, appointed a committee to make a further study of the general requirements of a national university suited to Ethiopia's needs. Several such committees were appointed to examine the different facets of the proposed university.[3] In the meantime eligible students, graduates of the only secondary school, the Haile Selassie I Secondary School, continued to be sent abroad for university studies.[4] By 1950 two additional secondary schools, Tafari Makonnen School and General Wingate School, were functioning.[5] With the steady increase in the number of secondary school students, the practice of sending a large number of them abroad was proving expensive.[6] In June 1949, twenty-six students had already taken the London Matriculation Examinations. In January and June 1950 there would be an additional sixty to seventy secondary school graduates. Another reason for the early opening of a university was the need for immediate cooperation in planning and operating higher education. Three institutions had already planned to offer college level courses. Haile Selassie I Secondary School had made known its wishes to start a college on its campus; General Wingate Secondary School, under the British Council control, had organized tutorial classes for some of their graduates preparing to sit for advanced level examinations of British universities; Tafari Makonnen School had planned for a postsecondary school on its campus to take care of the thirty or more students who were to graduate in January 1950. Aware of these developments, the Ministry of Education sought a unified plan of action,[7] toward the realization of "Advanced studies here in the land of Ethiopia." As one educator, who was to be one of the first students of the college in Ethiopia, later noted, "the Government took the next logical step of providing higher education here in Ethiopia."[8]

Another committee on the founding of a university was appointed by the Vice-Minister of Education, and between October 1949 and January 1950 the committee considered the various proposals. Eventually that committee, together with the Board of Education, adopted a two-year program for academic pre-university study, while a vocational curriculum would prepare high level technicians, clerks, teachers and administrators.[9]

The two-year junior college was to consist of preparing those secondary school graduates who had passed the London Matriculation for the Intermediate Level Examinations of the University of London, and preparing other students who would follow the vocational program. The successful candidates of the first group would then be sent abroad for further studies, while the second group would receive a professional diploma and join the civil service. This project was officially approved by the Board of Education by the end of December 1949.[10] Then, for some time, silence prevailed over the whole project.

In the mean time the Ministry of Education, anticipating the opening of a college level institution requested that a group of secondary school graduates be given advanced instruction, especially in science, history and philosophy. This program started in January 1950 at the Tafari Makonnen School, under the direction of Dr. Lucien Matte, who had been serving as principal of the school since 1945. Dr. Matte and other Canadian Jesuits were brought from Canada in 1945 at the request of the emperor to staff the Tafari Makonnen School. These Jesuit fathers had come with the understanding that they would not give any sectarian religious instruction, nor wear clerical garb.[11]

The silence was broken on March 20, 1950 when the emperor called Dr. Lucien Matte and asked him to organize a college that could receive the graduates coming from the secondary schools. It was understood that it was going to be a two-year college, and the name chosen was Trinity College. Dr. Matte was appointed president of the new institution. Eight months later the name was changed to "University College of Addis Ababa" (U.C.A.A.). "It was stated that the aim of the U.C.A.A. was to provide the youth of Ethiopia with a sound academic background in the fields of arts and science, leading to further professional studies abroad."[12]

Three weeks after the declaration to open the new college Dr. Matte left for Europe and America to get the required staff to open the college the following fall, for none were available in Ethiopia. While on this trip the president was also to purchase all educational materials needed for teaching and research, including textbooks, library books, equipment and supplies.[13]

On December 11, 1950 classes began at the University College of Addis Ababa. "It was a humble beginning," noted Dr. Trudeau. "There was a staff of nine teachers, the principal included. There were twnety-one students, all men, who had completed high school. The students, all boarders and some of the staff members were living together on campus, in the building that used to be the Commercial School and was still partly occupied by students of this school. Dormitories, dinning hall, library, classrooms and laboratories were accommodated in this one building. It was simple and poor, but sufficient."[14] A student eyewitness of the time, now president of the Haile Selassie I University, added, "University College was then almost a family affair: everybody knew everybody. Staff and students intermingled freely; the same kitchen served all. The same lecturer dealt with many subjects, and the deans and the librarian had a heavy teaching responsibility in addition to their administrative duties."[15]

The educational purpose and programs were explained to the students by the president on the morning of December 11, 1950.[16] The programs of the first two years were to lead students to the Higher School Certificate in Arts and Science. The level of studies will be that of "post matriculation at the University of London." Qualification for entry was, initially, the passing of the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate examinations. "Students having succeeded in the London Matriculation Examinations (or hoping to complete this examination) have of course a better chance for longer higher studies."[17] The courses of studies, methods of examinations, and grading systems were prescribed. From the start UCAA consisted of two faculties: Arts and Science.[18]

On February 27, 1951 the official inauguration of UCAA, with the emperor presiding, took place. In his official opening speech on that day, the Vice-Minister of Education noted: "On this red-letter day, fortunate are the students who have been able to get their names enrolled as the first batch of students of this College. They are lucky to receive their education, board and all they require free of charge... The opening of a college today initiates the first page of a chapter in the history of education in Ethiopia...[19] The emperor responded by saying: "Our endeavour to extend education has passed from planning to achievement."[20]

Independence or Affiliation

Beginning before the opening of the college the question of affiliation with a foreign university or of independence was debated. The fact that the college was an Ethiopian one in name and substance was contrasted with the problem of getting the college recognized by outside institutions of higher learning, for the purpose of getting places for graduates of the two-year programs, and it proved to be problematic. After discussing the issue with the emperor, on May 31, 1951, the emperor suggested that Dr. Matte visit the University of London to discuss the question of affiliation with that institution. In a letter sent on June 29 of the same year to the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies of London, and in anticipation of his own visit, Dr. Matte noted: "We are anxious...to associate the College with the English University system for purpose of examinations, adjustment of syllabuses, recognition of degrees, etc..."[21]

Dr. Matte further wanted to know if it were possible to establish a special relationship with the University of London, as has been done with other colleges of the British colonies, although he was fully aware at the same time that in the case of Ethiopia it would require special procedures. He also wanted to know if the syllabi drawn by the college would be acceptable to them as equivalent with the appropriate syllabi of the London University; adding, "If the above would be technically impossible, we should like to know the procedure for taking external examinations...We realize that the intermediate and final examination for B.A. or B.Sc. will have to adhere as closely as possible to the London University Standards in either case."[22]

The president visited London in Summer 1951 and upon his return he recommended to the Vice-Minister of Education that "a special relationship status" be worked out between the two institutions.[23] Accordingly a letter of invitation was sent to the University of London to send a visiting team to assess UCAA programs. Although the invitation was sent in December 1951, it was only in March 1953 that the visiting team arrived. The visitors stayed nine days in Addis Ababa. By the end of April they sent their report.

The report opened with laudatory remarks and then listed its recommendations. In the words of E. Trudeau, the recommendations were as follows: "the strengthening of the teaching of English, the raising of the standards of admission, the teaching of a more eclectic system of philosophy, the establishment of a system of external examiners for closer control of the final examinations by the British Universities, the establishment of a committee in England that would maintain contact between British universities and the Ethiopian system of higher education."[24]

Obviously the visiting team had thoughts of affiliation analagous to that existing between the British and other African colleges. They saw that active involvement in the UCAA's development was essential. This, if accepted, entailed an additional heavy financial burden for the new college, and even worse an unhealthy dependency on a colonial power which at that time was still feared. At any rate the college officials and the Ethiopian government forthwith abandoned the idea of affiliation in favor of independence.[25]

In the meantime, the UCAA continued to expand in terms of physical size and program diversification. Soon after inauguration the Commercial School left for new premises, leaving the one building (presently known as the Science Building) entirely to the college. At this juncture, anticipating the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia, the college was, in October 1951, instructed to set up a special two-year course in post administration.

In January 1952 a school of law was started. On January 22 of the same year the Board of Education declared that UCAA should become a senior college. Beginning at about the same time the faculty of arts began to provide new courses in administration (internal service; foreign service), and education. While the Faculty of Science program began to prepare students for engineering and biology. The Ministry of Education asked that UCAA take over of the Administration of the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examinations (ESLCE) with the president as director.[26]

In April 1952 construction started on two student residences of 48 rooms each and a dining hall with a capacity of three hundred seats. Leveling of sports fields began in April. In October a former cinema hall (Cinema Cinque Maggio) located at the corner of Miazia 27 Square (Arat Kilo) was turned over to the college. After some repairs and the installation of a new floor, the hall was used as a gymnasium and theater.[27]

As another step towards maturity the college published its first official bulletin in March 1953. In July the first commencement exercise took place. At the commencement one student obtained a certificate in engineering; five received diplomas in engineering, and three diplomas in biology. Most of them went abroad to continue their studies.[28]

In October of 1953 the Faculty of Arts began a fourth year program; UCAA was now a complete four year college. Library facilities and the museum continued to expand.[29] All this took place without any sort of affiliation with an external university, or a civil charter of its own.

UCAA Charter

As the first group of students entered their fourth year in 1953-54, the college asked the government for a civil charter. A draft charter prepared by the college was reviewed by two committees appointed by the Vice-Minister of Education. Apparently there were some disagreements among committee members whether the college should have its own charter or affiliation with a foreign university, or wait until Haile Selassie I University was established as a chartered national university, when UCAA would form one of its constituent colleges. Time was running short; for the first group of young people, having gone through a four-year training program had to be rewarded with the promised degree. Dr. Matte's memorandum addressed to the would-be graduates provided some insight into the acute problems the college faced during the summer months of 1954. In a one page note of July 1954, the President advised students that examinations would terminate on July 13, and commencement would take place on July 27, adding that the College Charter was already published.[30]

Over one month later, in another note, the president stated, "His Imperial Majesty wishes to preside Himself over the conferring of degrees which will take place August 24th or 25th."[31] The President assured the graduates that the charter was at the printers, and the date of the document was known to him so that he could take the necessary steps for the students to enter various foreign universities. Apparently a first degree was not then considered sufficient for one to begin working in a country starving for skilled manpower. In the meanwhile graduates were to begin to acquire the necessary travel documents.[32]

The UCAA charter was published on July 28, 1954.[33] Commencement exercises were held two days earlier on August 26, presided over by the emperor as chancellor and founder of the University College of Addis Ababa. "For the first time in the history of Ethiopia," observed Dr. Trudeau, "Ethiopian students received university degrees granted by an Ethiopian degree granting institution. It was also a milestone in the history of African higher education.[34]

At the graduation ceremony the President of UCAA noted, among other achievements, that after four years of activity the college had now reached maturity. With its four hundred students enrolled in the Faculty of Arts, the Faculty of Science, the Law School, the Arts Faculty Extension Department and the Berhaneh Zarie New Institute recently attached to the Faculty of Arts, the UCAA had become an institution "adapted to the special needs of the country and always open to further development."[35]

The charter granted to the college was liberal, and provided all the usual powers and privileges required for an academic institution of its kind. It was, no doubt, "the cornerstone of higher education in Ethiopia, its first foundations. As of that day, Ethiopia took its place in the academic world of colleges and universities."[36]

The Founding of Other Colleges

Yet the founding of the UCAA was but only one step towards Haile Selassie I University. In June 1951 the Vice-Minister of Education had appointed a committee to "consider certain propositions for the establishment of Haile Selassie I University in Addis Ababa."[37] The committee's terms of reference were defined as: "...advise the Board of Education in regard to the following points:

a) some general principle involved in the development of university education in Ethiopia.

b) the course which it is considered desirable to include when planning the first stage of construction of the Haile Sellassie I University in Addis Ababa.

c) questions of accommodation arising from the above."[38]

The committee held twenty-one meetings between June 19, 1951 and March 11, 1952 and produced a report. In the foreword of the committee report the Vice-Minister rightly expressed special concern regarding technical education. He recorded:

> ...the programme of the Ministry of Education has been carefully planned to provide an integrated training at each stage, and in this training, the development of manual and technical skills is closely associated with instruction in the academic subjects. The aim of all levels is to equip the students for life in Ethiopia. It is clearly understood by the Ministry that any system of schooling which ignored the agricultural background of the majority of the nation's children would be sadly misconcerned. The schools have a great part to play in developing the nation's resources by the dissemination of old skills and the introduction of new ones.[39]

Then, acting on behalf of the Board of Education, the Education Vice-Minister nominated two more committees, including representatives of other ministries and departments of the government, to study the questions of technical and agricultural education. It was these two committees that laid the foundations of technical and professional education at the tertiary level.

The College of Engineering

Previously only technical and vocational schools at the secondary level had prepared the needed workers in the vocational trades (mechanics, carpenters, masons, plumbers, electricians and the like). Some of the graduates of these schools were rendering useful services in the building industry and in other areas, but their qualifications were not high enough to meet the growing needs for engineers in the various spheres of the nation.

Aware of the existing needs for engineers, the Haile Selassie I University Committee recommended "that a College of Technology be founded, teaching a four-year course and providing professional training for students in engineering."[40]

The Director of the leading technical school in Addis Ababa, Mr. Robert L. Lewis, had been the dynamic force in organizing and drafting proposals and reports for the Technical Education Committee set up by the Board of Education. A 1951 proposal, worked out by him, was submitted to the committee, which after careful study and some revision approved and recommended the same to the Board of Education.

The proposal called for the establishment of a College of Technology as a four-year institution with programs as follows:

1. The first two years to be common to all students and planned to prepare the best qualified students for admission, with advanced undergraduate studying, to engineering colleges and universities abroad, as well as furnishing a sound foundation of basic mathematics and science for those students who will continue their training in the College of Technology.
2. The third and fourth years to consist of separate branches in Civil and Industrial Engineering and the course will be qualified to serve as engineering assistants almost at once.[41]

The new institution was considered to be a first step towards the creation of a full fledged College of Engineering withing the proposed Haile Selassie I University. As the committee's report stressed: "In the new University, training in Engineering should be specialized to train a limited number of young men with the best possible preparation in at least four branches of engineering (civil, mechanical and electrical...)[42]

The Board of Education accepted the recommendations of the committee, and approved the establishment of a College of Technology, to be located on the same premises as the Technical School in Addis Ababa and to share some of the facilities of that school as well as that of the UCAA (for the first two-year programs). The director of the Technical School, Mr. Lewis, was appointed dean of the new college. The college began instruction in September 1952. For the time being at least it was conceived as a two-year certificate program which would eventually lead to a Bachelor of Science degree in Engineering. Administratively the college was placed under the Department of Higher Education of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts. It did not receive a charter of its own, unlike UCAA,[43] until it was integrated within the structure of HSIU in 1962.

In summary then, the Engineering College began instruction in 1952 under a two-year certificate program of instruction. In 1954, the curriculum was extended to a four-year program, and at the beginning of 1959, a fifth year was added, so that students would be able to complete the requirements of the B.Sc. degree. The major areas of concentration: civil, mechanical, and electrical engineering. The five-year program adequately covered the areas of engineering instruction needed to train engineers for Ethiopia and admission was on the basis of the Ethiopian School Leaving Examination.[44]

Imperial Ethiopian College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts

The University Committee, at the initiation of the Board of Education through the Vice-Minister of Education, had considered agricultural education at college level. The March 1952 report of the committee recommended as follows:

"At their meeting on 11/3/52, having first carefully reviewed the facts placed before it, the Committee recorded the following resolutions:

i) ...that an Agricultural College, providing training on the university level, should be established in Ethiopia.

ii) ...that it is clearly desirable that the Agricultural College should be located outside Addis Ababa, but that it should be counted as a constituent part of the Haile Sellassie I University."

The Board of Education set up an agricultural education committee soon after the committee presented its general recommendations. The new committee was charged to prepare more detailed plans and recommendations for the Board of Education, "concerning the development of agricultural education at all levels in Ethiopia, and in particular the establishment, equipment, staffing and curricula of an Agricultural College which shall be a constituent part of the Haile Sellassie I University."[46]

At the time the Ministry of Education was taking these steps, the Ministry of Agriculture, was for its part, considering similar steps towards the establishment of a College of Agriculture, with the advisors of the Technical Cooperation Administration and FAO experts of the United Nations. Without waiting for the reports and recommendations of the committee, the governments of Ethiopia and the United States concluded an agreement on May 15, 1959, for a cooperative Agricultural Education Program. From then on the Ministry of Agriculture, in cooperation with the Technical Cooperation Administration of the U.S. took over the development of agricultural education from the Ministry of Education.[47]

In Article II of the Agreement were specified the objectives of the joint venture in the development of agricultural and mechanical arts education in Ethiopia. These were:

1. To promote and strengthen friendship and understanding between the people of Ethiopia and the United States of America and to further their general welfare.
2. To aid the efforts of the people of Ethiopia to develop their agricultural and related resources, to improve their working and living conditions and to further their social and economic progress.
3. To this end, to facilitate the development of agricultural and mechanical arts education activities in Ethiopia through cooperative action, and
4. To stimulate and increase the interchange between the two countries of knowledge, skills and techniques in the field of agricultural and mechanical arts education.[48]

Article III provided for the establishment of an "Imperial Ethiopian Agricultural College Fund" as an independent agency of the Ethiopian government. The person to administer the fund would be appointed by the United States with the approval of the emperor of Ethiopia. The emperor would also appoint a special representative of vice-ministerial rank to consult with the director on all operations of the fund.

Article IV stipulated that the fund should establish, direct and administer the college, which would conduct "instructions, lectures, demonstrations, research, experimentation, extension service and other education activities to promote the development and use of agricultural and mechanical techniques among the people of Ethiopia." The director would serve as president of the college.

The director of the fund, in agreement with the special representative, would determine the general policies and administrative procedures and the direction and activities of the fund. He would have overall authority over the fund's activities, including employees and assets.

The most significant aspect of the agreement as far as the college was concerned was the following stipulation:

The president of the college, after having been appointed in accordance with the provisions set forth above, would "plan, direct and be responsible for all operations and activities of the College, including the admission of students, establishment of curricula, conduct of examinations for the measurement of attainments in learning and conferring of suitable certificates, honors, diplomas and degrees of the college; the disbursement of an accounting for funds, incurrence of obligations, the purchase, use, inventory control and disposition of property of the colleges; the appointment and discharge of personnel of the college and the terms and conditions of their employment, and all other administrative matters..."[49] These provisions invested in the president very powerful authority over the fund's operations and over the college.

According to the Agreement (Article VI, Section 3) the government of Ethiopia was to provide sufficient land on which the college could be built. The U.S. government signed a contract with Oklahoma State University that gave the latter full control over the operation of the college.[50]

College class work began in September 1953, at the Jimma Agriculture Technical School. This arrangement was to continue until 1956 when the students would go to the new campus at Alemaya, in the Teklay Gizat of Hararge. The new campus of eleven gashas (400 hectars) was beautifully located in fertile fields, adjacent to Lake Alemaya. The official dedication of the college took place on January 16, 1958. The first graduates, enrolled in 1953, had completed a four-year program of studies. Now their efforts were rewarded with a B.Sc. in Agriculture.[51]

The 1961-62 bulletin of that institution further defined the tasks of the college as helping to promote overall objectives "by educating young men of Ethiopia so that they will be in a position to guide the agricultural development of their country."[52] The college's obligations were to be carried out through four channels.

> 1. "Resident teaching, directed toward agricultural education, with due consideration given to other studies, so that the student may have both an opportunity to prepare himself for a gainful occupation in the service of his country and an experience of educational enlightenment that will enrich his life.
>
> 2. "Research, directed toward the solution of problems which confront the people of Ethiopia and particularly the farmers of this country.
>
> 3. "Extension services, directed toward the dissemination through the country of the results of research, for the benefit of all.
>
> 4. "Public service, directed toward furnishing technical advice on agricultural problems to the general public."[53]

The establishment of the Imperial Ethiopian College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts, which followed the conceptual framework of American land-grant universities, was another solid foundation towards the development of Haile Selassie I University.

The Public Health College and Training Center

The College of Public Health and Training Center situated at Gondar, was a joint venture of the Ministry of Public Health, the United Nations agencies WHO and UNICEF and the United States Operation Mission. The college began in October 4, 1954 with three types of public health programs, one at the college level, two at the secondary level.[54] Later it added a laboratory technology course as a two-year program.

The four-year program required successful passing of the ESLCE, and prepared health officers, specialists in public health and preventive medicine, who upon successful completion received a B.Sc. degree and were placed by the Ministry of Public Health in charge of provincial health centers. Grade ten graduates, or more advanced ones could join the college for a two-year program which trained them as community sanitarians, or a three-year course which prepared them as community nurses.

The purpose of the Public Health College is to prepare the necessary personnel for the public health centers for the empire. The public health officers, who are college graduates, are in charge of such centers and work with a staff of community nurses, sanitarians and laboratory technicians, who have been "taught to consider health and disease as intimately related to social, educational and economical development in the home, the market place, and the churchyard, as well as in the clinics."[55]

On the college campus is located a 190-bed hospital with surgical, medical, obstetrics, gynecology, and pediatric wards for service and teaching purposes. The Begemider and Semien Provincial Hospital cooperates with the college in service and training activities on the main campus as well as in other centers scattered in that particular province.[56] The college has a number of unique features in the training of public health personnel; at its best it provides an effectively organized public health team which helps out in preventive health education in rural areas. A survey team that visited the college in 1959-60 stated: "It is praiseworthy effort, though a costly one in manpower and in money. Obviously, it has not yet achieved its full potential."[57]

The Ethio-Swedish Institute of Building Technology

Founded in October 13, 1954 by a bilateral agreement between the Ethiopian government and the Swedish government, the Institute of Building Technology's aim was to "assist in the improvement and development of building activities in Ethiopia."[58] The aims of the Institute would be achieved through the following three departments.

The Building College, a post secondary technical college for the training of well-qualified building contractors and engineers, prepared them for work as contractors, foremen, designers, surveyors, supervisors, etc."[59] The first group of students entered the college in October 1955. The initial program was a three-year course leading to a diploma in Building Engineering. In 1958 a fourth year was added for those candidates qualified to receive a Bachelor of Science degree in Building Engineering.[60]

The Building Institute was devoted to the study of Ethiopian traditional housing, and methods of building in Ethiopia, in order to discover improved methods of housing and building in the country. An important aspect of its functions was conducting experiments to discover new techniques for the better utilization of building material available in Ethiopia.

The Building Materials Testing and Research Institute has as its aims "the testing of the quality of local as well as imported building materials to contribute to the raising and maintaining of the levels of quality...Ethiopian constructional work,"[62] and to give advice and information regarding building materials in Ethiopia.

The two research institutes started work in 1956. At the start the departments were mostly manned by Swedish personnel.

The 1959-60 Utah University survey team felt that although instruction was of good quality the existing curriculum was not of a sufficient level to warrant the awarding of a B.Sc. degree to students who successfully completed a four-year program. Therefore the team recommended that for the time being the Building College should remain as it was. However, "In order to standardize basic fundamentals of education leading to the B.Sc. degree in all institutions of higher education, consideration should be given at an early date to integrating the Building College with the Engineering College to strengthening the degree curriculum and extending it to a five year program; and to the development of an Architectural Engineering Curriculum within the college."[63]

Theological College of the Holy Trinity

A school for the instruction of church leaders at the elementary level was founded in 1942 by the emperor out of his personal funds. Its purpose was to provide sound religious instruction and secular education for the clergy and other functionaries of the Ethiopian Church. The elementary school was later expanded to include secondary level instruction, preparing students for a special grade twelve leaving examination equivalent to the Ethiopian School Leaving Examination.

On October 5, 1960 the college division was inaugurated with its present name. As such, the Theological College is a late comer among the six colleges. With the establishment of Haile Selassie I University on December 18, 1961, the elementary section of the institution was discontinued and the Theological College of the Holy Trinity became one of the chartered units of the first national university of the empire. It began to grant a degree, Bachelor of Theology. Diploma programs continued to be carried on.[64]

So far the impact of this college on the modernization processes in the church's administration and spiritual activities has been minimal for lack of active understanding and constructive support by the present leaders of the church.

So far we have considered the establishment, programs and activities of the six state-operated colleges of Ethiopia. We shall now consider the progress made by these institutions through the 1950's.

The Six Colleges: Progress Through 1950-1960

In the rest of this chapter we will review the progress that has been made by the six colleges over a period of one decade (1950-1960). In doing so more emphasis will be laid on the University College for the reasons that (1) it was the mother institution of all the others and it was the only chartered college, (2) relatively more information is available on UCAA than all the others and (3) it contributed more by way of number and variety of programs as well as the number of graduates during our decade. The study of other colleges, however, has not been neglected. We shall briefly consider the organization, administration, academic programs, staff, and students of all the colleges.

Organization and Administration

During the decade 1951-61, (before the establishment of Haile Selassie I University) the administration and organization of higher education varied from one college or faculty to the next depending on how it began and under which government department. As such, all the colleges except UCAA were under one of the ministries of the Ethiopian government or were governed by joint agreement between the Ethiopian government and a friendly foreign government. The major reason was that there was not a single national body charged with guiding and coordinating the establishment and operation of higher education in Ethiopia. True, in 1956 the Ministry of Education had established a special department to coordinate and supervise the functions and development of special schools and institutions of higher learning, but in practice that department was more concerned with the Ethiopian students going abroad for higher studies or returning home and giving some advice to and approving of the general policies and activities of the Engineering College and the Building College, two colleges under the ministry's charge.[65] The department could have served as a coordinating agency of all the colleges, but it did not either by default or design.

Chart 7 shows the organizational structure of the colleges. The colleges were very independent of each other. As the University of Utah survey team was to point out later, "...various, somewhat independent units in the field of higher education had been developing steadily their own individual plans, and had acquired both staff and facilities at separated locations. This resulted in some duplications and some frictions and was therefore more expensive in both efforts and funds than necessary and certainly more expensive than could be afforded in terms of the economy of the nation."[66]

CHART 7

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF THE COLLEGES

	University C. of Addis Ababa	College of Engineering	College of Agriculture	Public Health College	Building College	Theological College
Controlling Agency	Chartered	Education Ministry	Agriculture Ministry	Public Health Ministry	Education Ministry	Church & Education Ministry
Governing Body	UCAA Board of Governors	Education Ministry	Ethio-American Fund	Joint Board of IEG WHO & UNICEF	Education Vice-Minister and Swedish Ambassador	
Chief Executive	President of UCAA	Dean of the College	Director of Fund & President of the College	The President	The Director of the Institute	
Councils	UCAA Council	None	None	None	None	
Executive Officer in charge of the Faculty or College	Dean of Science Dean of Law Dean of Arts Dean of Students	Dean of College	Dean of the College	Dean of the College	Dean of the College	
Academic	Faculty Academic Council for each Faculty	None	Academic	Academic Commission	The Council Commission	

Source: Adapted from Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," 1964, p. 53.

Each of the colleges developed its own programs irrespective of the national need and/or what the other one was doing. "In fact," says Trudeau, "an unhealthy competition for qualified students, for new programs and for financial support from the same Ethiopian Government had been noticed on some occasions."[67] Reporting in 1954, the Public Administration Service of the U.S. Operations Mission to Ethiopia, had sounded the alarm. It noted:

> University College has recently been granted a charter which has the effect of endowing this institution with almost complete autonomy from the Ministry of Education, the only provision made in the charter for coordinating its programme with the programme of the Ministry is one requiring that the annual budget of the College be submitted to the Council of Ministers 'through the Minister of Education.' Fortunately, this will permit the Minister to review and suggest modifications to the budget in the interest of a coordinated educational programme. The granting of the charter to the University College appears to be representative of a general inclination to give an autonomous status to all institutions of higher learning; it is felt that this tendency should be resisted in the future. By placing such institutions outside of the Ministry it will become increasingly difficult to plan and execute a coordinated programme of educational services for the entire nation; there will be not one but two or more agencies of government each proceeding more or less independently. Primary, secondary and higher education are integral parts of a total educational process, each building upon or keyed to the others; means must be devised to effect the needed coordination, especially during the present period in which the educational system is being rapidly developed and expanded. The Ministry of Education is the logical agency in which to centre responsibility for the over-all planning and execution of the nation's total educational programme. At a somewhat later date, when the pattern of the educational system is finally decided and firmly established, consideration might be given to the creation of some such agency as a Board of Higher Education to direct the nation's higher education programme.[68]

This was sound advice and perhaps it would have saved much energy and money had it been followed, but then higher education as later developed might not have been possible. The tradition and foundations of higher education needed to rest on entirely different ground, so that it could build the traditional independence and academic freedom from the start.

The University College of Addis Ababa, in the first three years of its existence, was not sure where it actually belonged administratively. During those first few years the Board of Education of the ministry carried out the functions of broad policy making and provided general direction for the college to follow.[69] Then, with publication of the college charter on July 28, 1954, the administrative position of the college took an entirely different direction. The charter provided for the formation of a College Board of Governors, College Council, and Faculty Council with the emperor as chancellor and the president as a member of the Board of Governors.

The charter provided that "there shall be a 'Board of Governors of the College of Addis Ababa,' consisting of at least six members appointed by Us and of the president of the University College, who shall serve at Our pleasure. When the University College shall have two hundred graduates or more, one additional member of the Board shall be elected by them among the graduates..."[70]

In a letter written on 11 December 1954, the Vice-Minister of Education, Ato Akale Worq Habte Wold informed Dr. Matte that in accordance with the College Charter, the emperor had appointed a chairman and five other people to serve "with you as the Board of Governors of the University College...[71] In view of the historical significance and the role they had played in the life of UCAA, the names of the first Board members are listed below:

Belatta Merse Hazen Wolde Kerkos	chairman
Lt. Colonel Tamrat Yigezu	member
Ato Bellutu Gebre Tsadik	"
Lij Mikael Imru	"
Dejazmach Zewde Gebre Sellassie	"
Ato Ketema Yifru	"
Dr. Lucien Matte (Ex-Officio, as President of the College).[72]	

The powers and responsibilities of the board were defined as follows: "the Board of Governors shall have power and authority to exercise in the name and on behalf of the University College any and all the powers, authorities, and privileges of the University College as a body corporate as enumerated in Article 3."[73]

Most of the first group of people appointed were distinguished Ethiopians. Three were university graduates; two had received some education abroad or at home, (not at university level); one was a distinguished scholar in the traditional schools of Ethiopia, one was an author and a former teacher. The various positions these people held in the government at the time they served on the board were very high. So were the people who replaced them during the ensuing years. Writing in retrospect, Dr. Trudeau states:

"The University College owes a lot to its Board members who took great interest in their institution and, in general, showed a remarkable sense of identification and participation with this young and growing institution of higher learning. In the seven years of its existence, the University College Board of Governors -- as a corporate body -- kept its total independence from any serious political pressure --- It held eighty meetings in seven years, much more than the minimum of two regular meetings a year required by the charter."[74]

After noting that the two most important matters discussed by the board were personnel and budget, Trudeau added that during the last seven years of its life (the entire life-span), "the Board always did appoint the proposed new members of the teaching or administrative staff."[75] Usually the candidate selected by the president and his advisors was presented to the board for appointment. However, resenting the simple rubber-stamping procedure, the board often asked for a list of possible candidates with their complete "curricula vitae." "They might have been afraid of religious influence, or national bias, or just simply wanted to express their deep sense of responsibility. 'de facto', the board always approved the names presented to them, and the relationship between the President and the Board was a very healthy one." Trudeau also related that:

> The Board studied, at its meetings, all the memos presented to it. There were no committees. The Board was its own committee on staff appointment, on budget and on all other business. The President was both the informant of and the intermediary between the administrative or teaching staff and the Board. It was surely an institution where the President, backed by his Board, had tremendous power in the execution of various aspects of the institution's life. There were short comings, but these were compensated for by the efficiency of the whole

> organization, for the good of the institution, the students and the staff. A similar concentration authority would not probably work the same way in a much larger institution. In a small institution, personal leadership and team work are the most important factors of success.[77]

The working relationship of board and president must have been a very pleasant and rewarding one. The board as a corporate body, effectively discharged its responsibility in settling general academic policy matters. It required that general education be given to both arts and science students while insisting the last two years of the four-year program be devoted to fields of specialization which would lead to a B.A. or B.Sc. degree. It also insisted that Ethiopian studies must be taught to all Ethiopian college students and that much research must be carried out on the Ethiopian languages and culture. It approved a graduate faculty, two institutes, a school of social work, an observatory and thirteen departments.

The board also backed the president in his negotiations with USAID (Point IV) regarding the establishment of a department of education. The American side had insisted on helping to initiate and operate the department but they also wanted to run it. The president demanded that it should stay within UCAA and be considered as part and parcel of that institution like any of the twelve or so departments. Backed by the board, the president won.

But the board was not always a supporter of programs initiated by the college. It also wanted to get involved in originating programs and bringing them for study and elucidation to the president, the College Council or to the Faculty Council. Almost always they insisted that the programs and activities of the college must remain faithful to the aspirations of the Ethiopian nation. For instance, at the first meeting of the board, held on December 21, 1954, in the president's office, they elected Dr. Matte to serve as temporary secretary until a permanent secretary who could record the minutes both in Amharic and English, was found. Even as it was, the minutes were to be recorded in the two languages.[78] In reality however, Dr. Matte ended up by being the permanent secretary and there is doubt whether any of the minutes were ever recorded in Amharic. At another meeting the board wanted to channel college students to various fields based on the national needs for high-level manpower. However, the president convinced them that such things were not traditionally decided at a college level.[79] The matter seems to have been dropped there. Yet a decade later and up to the present time programming students according to manpower needs has been the fashion of the era.

There were other occasions when the board asserted its independence of the college administration. As Trudeau elucidates the matter:

> Before deciding on academic matters, the Board always asked for a written report from the University Council. In fact, most of the projects for the opening of a new department, of a new school, or for the establishment of an institute, originated with the University Council and were then presented to the Board. The Board acted upon recommendations sent upwards from the Council. In some instances, though, such as the creation of a faculty of law, the preparation of a new scholarship system for boarders that was to replace the free education system, greater coordination between the existing colleges, the creation of a university or the integration of all other colleges with University College, in these instances and in others the initiative came from the Board. In such cases the Board sent their proposals to the Council for the study and for comments and recommendations.[80]

These were the remarkable qualities that one would expect from an alert, creative and national-minded board. One wishes that the same qualities had characterized the Board of Governors that took over during the first seven years of HSIU's history in the 1960's.

Under the Board of Governors the president was the Executive Officer who saw to the proper management of the college. He was assisted by the University College Council, the vice-president and the College Council. The charter had provided for the University Council to legislate on most important academic matters. The membership of the council was drawn from academic officers and staff representatives.[81] The Faculty Council legislated on academic matters at a lower level, at the particular faculty level.[82] There were also the deans and the department heads in the various faculties, functioning as executive and administrative officers executing academic and administrative programs.[83]

The University College Council represented the academic staff. It was composed of the academic officers and of one member each of the constituted faculty, elected by the full members of the teaching staff of the respective faculties. This council was vested with the necessary right and power, "without any control from the Board of Governors, to establish chairs and courses of instruction, and to grant degrees, diplomas and certificates of proficiency."[84] Consistent with its responsibilities, the University Council jealously guarded the academic growth of its institution. For instance, recommendations for a new school or institute were first discussed and voted upon before they were sent, with a complete report through the president to the Board of Governors. The Faculty Council, on the other hand, operated as the academic commission within each faculty and had full power within that limit. It was under the University College Council and could reach the board only through the University Council.[85]

The College of Engineering

The college was directly under the Ministry of Education. The chief executive was the dean, appointed, like all other staff members of the college, by the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts. All matters pertaining to staff, finance, maintenance of equipment and building as well as serious student problems, had to be brought to the attention of the Director of Higher Education or to the Director General of the Ministry of Education himself. As a result:

> "A large amount of time and efficiency was wasted in meetings with all officials of the Ministry of Education, in endless trips to the Ministry for college equipment and stationary, for monthly allowances, for staff salaries and for many day-to -day administrative affairs. Except for some independence in the programmes and in academic affairs, the College was administrated very much like a secondary school with full control from the Ministry of Education."[86]

The fact that it was sharing the same premises as the Technical School did not help its teatment and lack of independence.

The College of Agriculture

This college was established by the Imperial Ethiopian Agricultural College Fund, jointly administered by the Ethiopian and U.S. governments. The college never received any charter. The directives on how the collge was to be run were, however broadly outlined in the agreement concluded between the two governments.

According to that document the director of the fund (an American) in consultation with the Ethiopian co-director, was vested with almost all the powers that were usually assigned to a board of trustees. Article IV Sections 2 and 3 of the Agreement stipulated that:

> The Director of the Fund, in agreement with the special Representative shall determine the general policies and administrative procedure and the direction of activities and operations of the Fund, the incurrence of obligations, the purchase, inventory, control and disposition of the Fund; the appointment and discharge of officers and other personnel of the fund and the terms and conditions of their employment; and all other administrative matters of the fund.
>
> The President of the College shall be appointed in accordance with the provisions of Article VI hereof, and shall plan, direct and be responsible for all operations and activities of the college, including the admission of students, establishment of curricula, conduct of examinations for the measurement of attainments in learning and conferring of suitable certificates, honors, diplomas and degrees of the college; the disbursement of and accounting for funds, the incurrence of obligations, the purchase, use inventory, control and disposition of property of the college; the appointment and discharge of personnel of the college and the terms and conditions of their employment, and all other administrative matters; such operations and activities to be in accordance with plans of operation approved by the Director of the fund and the Special Representative.[87]

A clause for the establishment of a Board of Trustees was provided in the Agreement. The responsibilities of the board were to consult with and advise the president on matters of general policy and recommend to the president policies which would promote the effectiveness of the college's programs. Members of the board would be appointed by the Emperor of Ethiopia from people with broad experience and the special representative (a high-ranking Ethiopian official) would be the chairman. "The advice and recommendations of the Board shall be given full consideration by the President of the College in directing its curriculum and activities."[88]

Thus most powers were vested in the director and president (which proved to be the same person) and the Board of Trustees had only advisory powers. Noting this unique set-up, Trudeau later observed "This was an unusual type of Ethiopian institution, almost fully controlled by the Director of the Fund, a civil servant of the United States Government, who had powers that...would be found in the hands of a Board of Trustees. The Director of the Fund and the President of the College could appoint their own staff and discharge them...This was a new type of college structure in Ethiopian higher education."[89]

It would be a frightening prospect to think that so much power could be invested in one individual especially in view of the importance of agricultural education for Ethiopia and of the problems the president might encounter in a totally different culture from the United States. But fortunately, as it worked out in practice, the concentration of such power in one man did not hamper the progress of the institution through the decade. Perhaps the fact that the one man was recruited from Oklahoma State University and in turn recruited most of the academic staff from among people he knew and trusted, may have forestalled potentially disruptive problems.

Ethio-Swedish Institute of Building Technology

The last college in our list was the Ethio-Swedish Institute of Building Technology. (The Theological College was a latecomer and did not have a chance to work out administrative structures of its own before being incorporated into the HSIU system.) Established by a bilateral agreement between the Ethiopian and Swedish governments, it was governed by a joint board of two people consisting of one representative each of the two governments. As it worked out, the two board members were the Vice-Minister of Education and the Swedish Ambassador. The director of the institute was also the dean of the college. The two representatives, together with the director, considered and decided "all important matters."[90]

In 1959, after the institute had been operational for about five years, a charter similar to that of the University College was drafted. But by that time Haile Selassie I University was about to be established, and in view of the Institute's eventual incorporation into the University system the idea of implementing a charter of its own was dropped.[91]

Academic Programs

The different Ethiopian Colleges necessarily had different objectives. That of UCAA was, in the words of President Matte, "to give an education on broad lines, that is to say a curriculum providing both cultural and specialized subjects, aiming to give the students not only knowledge but also to develop their intellect." The college bulletin was even more explicit. It stated: "The University College aims at providing Ethiopian youth with a sound academic background in Arts and as well in the fields of science. Its curricula lead to professional studies abroad and eventually at the Haile Sellassie I University now in the course of construction and organization..."[92] In other words, although specialization after the first two years of college work was provided, UCAA was essentially a liberal arts college. Indeed this was one of the principal reasons that gave rise to the establishment of all of the other colleges in the 1950s.

In her desire to prepare as much of the needed manpower as possible within the shortest time, yet at the same time willing to provide different types of opportunities to the students, Ethiopia decided to launch many postsecondary educational institutions under the policy of 'higher education at all cost.' At the same time the policy allowed for much flexibility in standards of admission as well as in academic programs. Such a policy was in marked contrast to most other African countries, which insisted on vigorously selecting students for admission to institutions of higher learning.

Of course, there were problems in securing enough qualified secondary graduates for the various colleges, and the policy makers were severely criticized for trying to establish a top-heavy system of national education. Indeed the national study that was launched around the beginning of 1950 saw as one of the major needs the acceleration of the expansion of secondary level education. The report noted: "The task confronting the academic secondary schools, therefore, is to expand and to make other adjustments as soon as possible so as to produce 525 graduates annually [during 1955-1964]."[93]

The various academic programs of the colleges are given in Table 141. It will be noted that the nature of the programs of the colleges varied. The UCAA assumed that its students should have a complete basic general education course before specializing in a major subject which would lead to further specialization abroad. Accordingly the core curriculum of general education consisted of courses in English, Ethiopian languages, sociology, philosophy, and world history as well as surveys of Ethiopian and African history. This was true of UCAA in general and especially so in the Faculty of Arts.

On the other hand, the other colleges, all of them professional and terminal, emphasized the training of specialists, and the acquisition of technical or professional

Table 141

Development of College Academic Programs 1950-51 to 1960-61

Year	UCAA	Other Colleges
1951-52	Faculty of Arts Faculty of Science a) Mathematics - Physics b) Biology and Chemistry	
1951-52	A Two-year Course in post Administration Law School (non-degree evening or part-time programme).	
1952-53	Arts: Major in Education as of 3 year. Major in Administration.	College of Engineering a Two-year Diploma Programme.
1953-54	School of Law Extension Department Imperial Charter Granted Degrees granted for first time.	College of Agriculture begins at Jimma (1953).
1954-55		Public Health College, 4-year programme begins.
1955-56	Secondary School Teacher Training Pre-Law major offered in Faculty of Arts.	College of Public Health 4-year programme (B.Sc.) approved. Building College 4-year diploma programme set.
1956-57	Advanced course in Law in the School of Law A Pre-Law major offered in Faculty of Arts.	College of Agriculture graduates its first degree students (B.Sc. in Agriculture).
1957-58	Commerce Section opens A Major in Economics and Public Administration offered. Geophysical Observatory begins operation. Department of Engineering in Faculty of Science.	College of Engineering graduates its first degree students (B.Sc. Engineering).
1958-59	First summer session for teachers in-service. Department of Education is set up.	

Source: Adapted from Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (1964), p. 63.

In the meantime UCAA continued to expand and diversify its programs. In 1952-53 a major field in education opened. In 1955 an agreement was signed between the Ethiopian government and the United States Operations Mission in Ethiopia to start a Secondary School Teacher Training Program as a section of the Faculty of Arts. Most of the initial students for this department were graduates of the teacher training schools (Harar T.T.I.), who, in addition to the completion of the equivalent of grade twelve education, had taught for at least two years, and had passed the special College Entrance Examination, set by the Ministry of Education and the United States Mission to Ethiopia. In 1959 the section was reorganized to become a separate department. In 1962 the department was reorganized to become the Faculty of Education, still under the Ethio-United States agreement. The first department head, and later the dean of the college, was Dr. Aklilu Habte who in 1973 became president of Haile Selassie I University. The Faculty of Education remains the only institution in Ethiopia that prepares senior secondary teachers for government secondary schools.[96]

In October 1953 adult education was organized at the University College for the first time, when the Law School was opened to give instruction in law (non-degree) to Ethiopian law practitioners and others who wished to benefit from such courses in basic law. In January 1954, an extension department was opened in the Faculty of Arts which offered evening courses in arts, business and public administration as well as social and political science, to part-time adult students having the equivalent of a high-school education. Those who were not able to present formal school leaving certificates, were required at least to pass an English proficiency examination administered by the college. The Department at first began with courses that led to certificates or diplomas, but later developed a full degree program.[97] It was a wise and timely venture. Many adults who otherwise would not have been able to profit from this second opportunity seized their chance in increasing numbers.

The College of Agriculture, in cooperation with the Ministry of Agriculture, developed its own agricultural extension program. The program aimed at improving agricultural education and the methods of Ethiopian farmers. The teaching personnel were drawn from the graduates of the two agricultural high schools as well as from the graduates of the college. This department rendered invaluable service to the Ethiopian people at the grass roots level.

The College of Engineering and Building Technology aslo initiated their own extension programs for people who wished to learn about engineering and building. They were nondegree programs aiming at the improvement of the skills of the adult population.

All these extension programs carried out by the colleges indicated their interest in promoting education among all strata of people, irrespective of age. The colleges considered these programs as their service to Ethiopian society. As rightly noted by one who had been intimately involved in some of these programs: "Higher education in Ethiopia has not only been oriented towards the education of an elite among the youth of the country, but also towards furthering the education of adults."[90]

The Students

Table 142 and Chart 8 show the total full-time enrollment in the colleges between 1950-51 and 1961-62. The table also shows the index of growth for each college.

The enrollment growth from year to year for all colleges, except the Public Health College, was very fast. This was so in spite of the very limited number of qualified secondary school graduates. Why the Public Health College lagged behind others in this

Table 142

Enrollment of Full-Time Students in Institutions of Higher Learning, 1950-51 to 1961-62

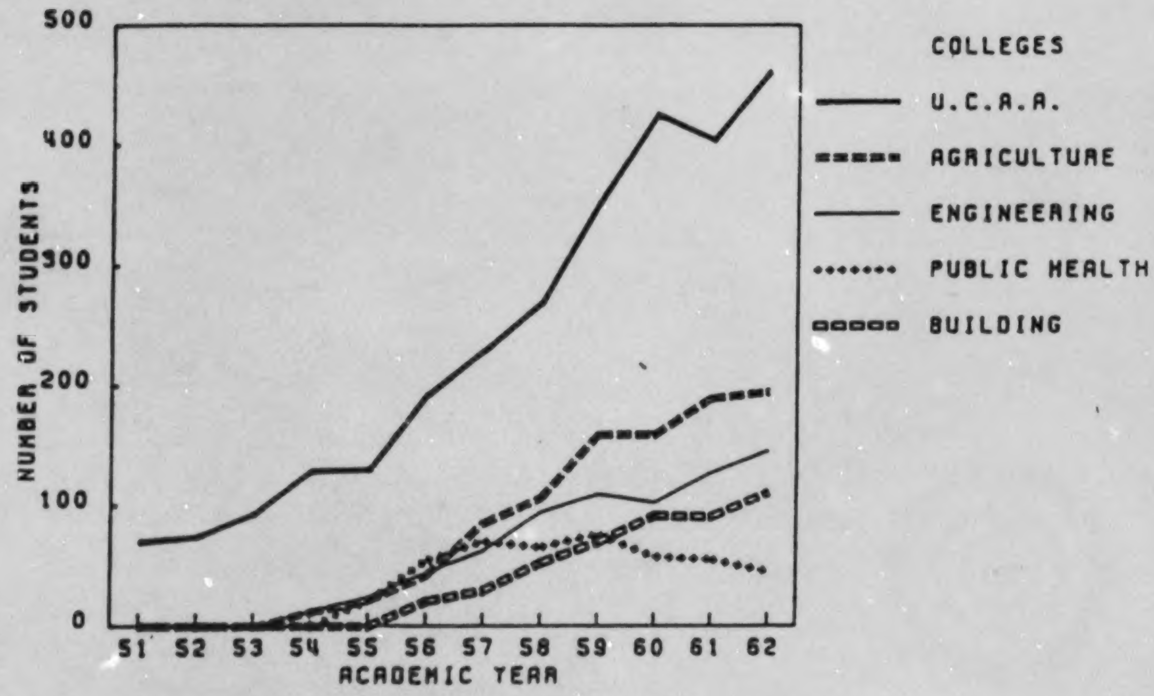
Years	No.	Index	No.	Index	No.	Index	No.	Index	No.	Index	No.	Index	No.*	No.**	Index
1950-51	71	100.0											71	0	100
1951-52	75	105.6											75	1	105
1952-53	94	132.4											100	1	140
1953-54	130	183.1	12	100.0	12	100.0							142	2	200
1954-55	131	184.5	25	208.3	22	183.3	21	100.0					201	2	283
1955-56	193	271.8	45	375.0	43	358.3	55	261.9	21	100.0			345	10	485
1956-57	230	323.9	63	525.0	86	716.7	71	338.1	30	142.9			466	16	656
1957-58	270	380.3	95	791.7	107	891.7	66	314.3	53	252.4			605	27	852
1958-59	353	497.2	110	916.7	160	1333.3	77	366.7	70	333.3			750	44	1070
1959-60	426	600.0	103	858.3	160	1333.3	58	276.2	92	438.1			784	49	1104
1960-61***	405	570.4	128	1066.7	190	1583.3	56	266.7	91	433.3	13	100.0	883	40	1243
1961-62***	462	650.7	146	1216.7	195	1625.0	46	219.0	111	528.6	14	107.7	974	46	1371

*Male
**Female
***Estimate

Source: Adapted from Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," 1964, p. 68.

CHART 8

ENROLLMENT BY COLLEGES
1950-51 TO 1961-62



Source: E. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 69.

respect might be explained by the fact that it was outside the metropolitan city of Addis Ababa, and more important that the college only granted diplomas and certificates after the conclusion of a three- or four-year program of studies. It was also reported that the college was very particular regarding the attitude, aptitude and interests of prospective students for a career of service as provincial public health officers. The College of Agriculture on the other hand, although located some five hundred kilometers east of Addis Ababa, had the advantage of recruiting its candidates from the two agricultural high schools. In addition it also offered a B.Sc. degree at the end of a four-year program.

On the whole during the period shown enrollment in all colleges grew more than ten times. This was an unprecedented phenomena especially when compared to the enrollment growth rate of the total education system. Table 143 and Chart 9 depict comparative enrollment in the school system at all levels. It will be noticed that the elementary sector increased by about three times in the government schools and by four times if we include the nongovernment schools. During the same period the secondary sector increased twice as much as the elementary, or seven and a half times more in government schools and nine times including nongovernment schools. (At that time there was no nongovernment higher education in the country.) Enrollment in higher education had shown the largest and fastest growth of all sectors of the education system, without including enrollment in the Extension Departments of the various colleges as shown in Table 144.

"Programming students" according to priorities of national high-level manpower needs was a concept much debated during the fifties, although some far-sighted board members were thinking aloud as early as 1955. In practice, however, even in the absence of any deliberate effort on the part of the authorities, the distribution between the arts and science-technology areas was in favor of the latter as is shown in Table 145. On the average thirty-nine percent of the students were enrolled in the arts and sixty-one in the science-technology area. Hindsight indicates that this was what the UNESCO Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa recommended for African states to aim at.[99]

Examination, Admission, Attrition and Graduation

The main sources for recruiting candidates for the colleges were the academic secondary schools, the special secondary schools such as the Jimma and Ambo agricultural secondary schools, and the vocational schools of the Ministry of Education. The number of qualified candidates for the colleges had been very restricted and this had been used as a lever to attack the policy of opening colleges before the number and quality of secondary school graduates was sufficient.

Table 146 shows the index of growth in grade twelve for all types of secondary schools. Some of these students, perhaps as many as half, had been registered in technical, commercial, agricultural and other terminal-type programs. Therefore they did not, at least most of them, proceed to seek college admission. The students registered in academic secondary schools were the main source from which the colleges could draw their students. Accordingly these students had to sit for the ESLCE. Column (c) of the same table indicates the number of high school graduates who succeeded in passing the examination and subsquently qualified to register in the arts or science streams of the colleges.

On the other hand, Table 147 shows a study of the number of students who registered as freshman in comparison to the number of successful academic secondary school graduates who obtained the ESL Certificate (the national grade 12 leaving

Table 143

Growth Pattern of Enrollment in All Three Levels of the Education System

	Elementary		Secondary		College	
	No.	Index	No.	Index	No.	Index
1952-53	71,203	100.0	1612	100.0	100	100
1953-54	84,393	118.5	2125(1)	131.8	142	142
1954-55	94,634	132.9	2593	160.9	201	201
1955-56	109,368	153.6	3624	224.8	345	343
1956-57	135,749	190.7	4845	300.6	466	466
1957-58	150,892	211.9	6737	417.9	605	605
1958-59	158,005	221.9	8144	505.2	760	760
1959-60	170,460	239.4	8919	553.3	784	784
1960-61	177,749 239,831(2)	248.2 336.8(2)	9224 9689(2)	572.2 601.0(2)	883	883
1961-62	177,749 255,435(2)	249.6 358.7(2)	10794 11416(2)	669.6 708.1(2)	974	974

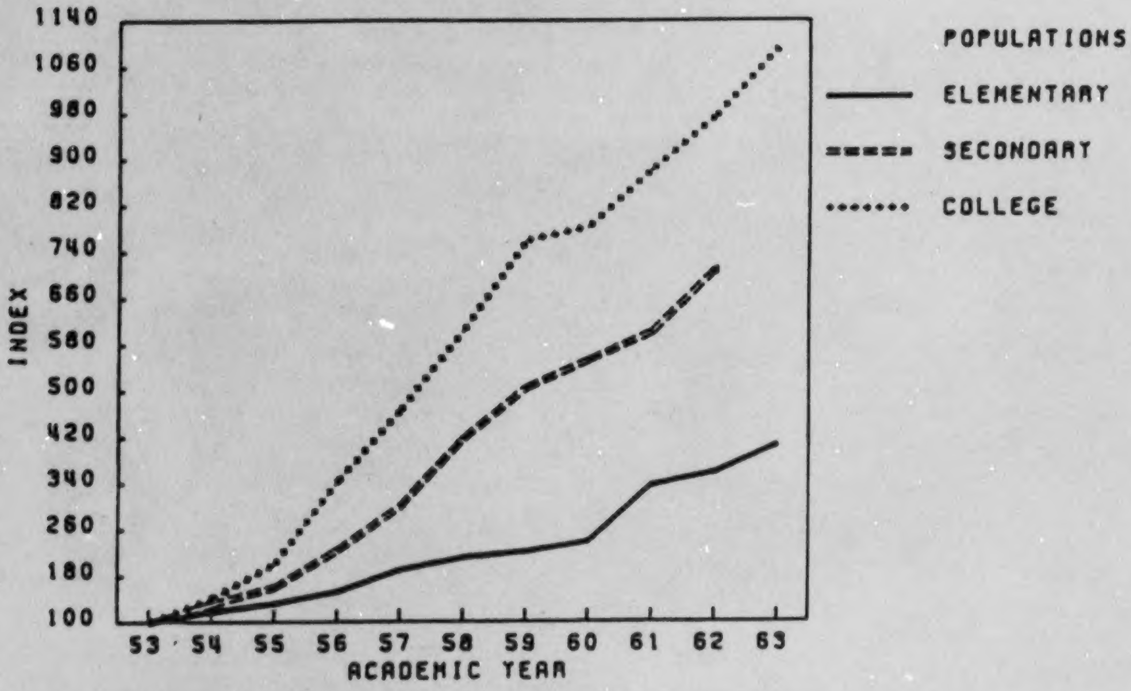
(1) Eritrea is not included

(2) Including all schools - government and nongovernment

Source: E. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p.71.

Chart 9

Index of Growth of Student Population between 1952-53 and 1961-62



Source: E. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 72.

Table 144

Enrollment in Extension Department, UCAA

Year	Number of Students	Index of Growth
1953-54	150	100
1954-55	250	167
1955-56	412	274
1956-57	450	300
1957-58	500	334
1958-59	612	408
1959-60	644	430
1960-61	834	555
1961-62	980	650

Source: E. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (1964), p. 66.

Table 145

Distribution of College Students Between Arts and Science Streams, 1950-51 to 1961-62

	Arts			Sciences		
Year	No.	Index	% of Total	No.	Index	% of Total
1950-51	33	100.0	46.5	38	100.0	53.5
1951-52	42	127.3	56.0	33	86.8	44.0
1952-53	52	157.6	55.3	42	110.5	44.7
1953-54	77	233.3	50.0	77	202.6	50.0
1954-55	89	269.7	44.7	110	289.5	55.3
1955-56	146	442.4	40.9	211	555.3	59.1
1956-57	173	524.2	36.0	307	807.9	64.0
1957-58	211	639.4	35.7	380	1000.0	64.3
1958-59	269	815.2	34.9	501	1318.4	65.1
1959-60	322	975.8	40.9	462	1215.8	59.1
1960-61	311	942.4	35.6	562	1478.9	64.4
1961-62	374	1133.3	38.2	604	1589.5	61.8
	2099		38.7	3327		61.3

Source : Adapted from Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (1964), p.73.

Table 146

Students Registered in Grade 12

Year	Registered in Grade 12 (Academic & Vocational)		Registered Gr.12 Sec. School Students Who Sat for ESLCE		Those Who Sat the ESLCE*	
	No. (a)	Index	No. (b)	Index	No. (c)	Index
1951-52	83**	100.0	83	100.0	63	100.0
1952-53	176	212.0	86	103.6	64	101.6
1953-54	313	377.1	105	126.5	73	115.9
1954-55	278	334.9	159	191.6	88	139.7
1955-56	310	373.5	163	196.4	103	163.5
1956-57	460	563.9	153	184.3	111	176.2
1957-58	606	730.1	317	381.9	197	312.7
1958-59	673	810.8	441	531.3	180	285.7
1959-60	917	1104.8	412	496.4	168	266.7
1960-61	792	954.2	532	641.0	192	304.8
Total	4616		2451		1239	

*ESCLE means Ethiopian School Leaving Examination.

**Academic secondary only.

Source: E. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (1964), p. 74.

Table 147

Freshman Registration, 1951-52 to 1961-62

Years	No. of Freshmen	(a) %	(b) %	(c) %
1951-52	39	83.2	73.6	-
1952-53	57	81.0	61.4	-
1953-54	76	118.8	88.4	43.2
1954-55	96	131.5	91.4	30.7
1955-56	187	212.5	117.6	67.3
1956-57	179	173.8	109.8	57.7
1957-58	254	228.8	166.0	54.3
1958-59	318	161.4	100.3	52.3
1959-60	316	175.6	71.7	47.2
1960-61	325	193.5	78.9	35.4
1961-62	336	175.0	63.2	42.4
Total	2183	169.3	86.9	46.0

(a) The percentage of successful academic secondary school graduates of the previous year, who entered college in the year indicated.

(b) The percentage of the total of academic secondary school leavers of the previous year, who entered college in the year indicated.

(c) The percentage of the total of secondary (academic and vocational) school leavers of the previous year, who entered college in the year indicated.

Source: Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (1964), p. 75.

certificate) and in comparison to the number of students of the academic secondary schools (registered for the ESLCE), and finally the number of students who registered in grade twelve in all types of secondary schools.

As far as the colleges themselves were concerned their admission requirements were not always identical. For instance, while UCAA insisted on accepting students who had obtained ESLCE passes, other colleges had adopted "an open door policy" which made it possible for students to get admission through other means than an ESLCE pass. These practices are reflected in Table 147.

Column (a) of the table shows that, starting in 1953-54, more students entered college than were expected if admission requirements had been restricted to ESLC holders. In Column (b) the table shows that an average of 86.9 percent of the academic secondary school population entered college. This percentage would be less if account were taken of the fact that the College of Agriculture took many of its students from the two agricultural high schools. But this was compensated for by an equal number of academic secondary school students who, after completing grade twelve, joined the military academies and by a few foreign students. This leads us to conclude that between 80 percent and 90 percent of academic secondary school graduates went to college. Noting this phenomenon, Trudeau observed: "In any country, this would be considered quite a miraculous achievement! In a country where 90% of the elementary school age children could not go to school, could not this be considered as over-achievement in higher education. Was this educational policy implemented at the cost of elementary and secondary school education? Should this policy be continued?"[100]

Column (c) of that table shows the percentage of all secondary school grade twelve academic and vocational graduates who succeeded in entering college. An average of forty-six percent of all grade twelve graduates went on to college. This figure is just as phenomenal. The 1961 Addis Ababa plan for African education had set a target of twenty percent for high school graduates going on to college by 1980. Ours was more than twice that number, and it was thirty years earlier than the target date set by the conference.

Students were not always successful in gaining admission to the college of their choice. Yet because of the open door policy, and because college education was free and provided a ticket for admission to the "good life" of the country upon graduation, young people pressed on with their higher education. How they succeeded in college might yield some clues regarding the merits of the open door policy.

There are a number of ways of evaluating the quality of Ethiopian colleges including the quality of the program, the quality of the students, the quality of the staff and the quality of the graduates as compared to graduates of other colleges of international repute. We will examine two of these criteria, namely the quality of the colleges as measured against their holding power and the quality of the graduates who went abroad to do further studies and hence indicate how they compared to the products of international colleges.

Holding Power

In Table 148 is shown the total number of students registered in a given year; (a) column indicates the percentage of students left from the previous year, column (b) the percentage left from the entering freshman class, column (c) shows student wastage year by year, and column (d) the percentage of wastage since the first year of college.

The percentage of dropouts between the first and second years of college for the eleven years shown was twenty-three percent, which is very high. But part of this high

Table 148

Study of Dropouts During College Years for All Colleges, 1950-51 to 1961-62

	First Year	Second Year				Third Year					Fourth Year				
					Drop.				Dropout					Dropout	
	Number	N	a	b	c	N	a	b	c	d	N	a	b	c	d
1950-51	71	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1951-52	39	36	50.7	50.7	49.3										
1952-53	51	21	53.8	53.8	46.2	22	61.1	31.0	38.9	69.0					
1953-54	76	35	68.6	68.6	31.4	18	85.7	46.2	14.3	53.8	13	59.0	18.3	41.0	81.7
1954-55	96	55	72.4	72.4	27.6	39	111.4	76.5	-	23.5	11	61.1	28.2	38.9	71.8
1955-56	187	91	94.8	94.8	52.0	49	89.0	64.5	11.0	35.5	18	46.2	35.3	53.8	64.7
1956-57	179	167	89.3	89.3	10.7	79	86.8	82.5	13.2	17.7	41	83.7	53.9	16.3	46.1
1957-58	254	161	89.9	89.9	10.1	139	83.2	74.3	16.8	25.7	51	64.6	53.1	35.4	46.9
1958-59	318	172	67.7	67.7	32.3	143	88.8	79.9	11.2	20.1	127	91.4	67.9	8.6	32.1
1959-60	316	236	74.2	74.2	25.8	137	79.7	53.9	20.3	46.1	115	80.4	64.2	11.6	35.8
1960-61	325	238	75.3	75.3	24.7	183	77.5	57.5	22.5	42.5	137	100.0	53.9	-	46.1
1961-62	-	266	81.8	81.8	18.2	202	84.9	63.9	15.1	16.1	170	92.9	53.5	7.1	46.5
Total	1912	1478	77.3	77.3	22.7	1011	83.4	63.7	16.6	36.6	683	82.5 93.7*	53.7 58.3*	17.5 6.3*	46.3 41.7

Explanations:
- a) % left from previous year.
- b) % left from the entering freshman class.
- c) % of wastage year by year.
- d) % of wastage since first year of college.

*After correction, taking into account about one hundred students who left for studies abroad, or who completed a diploma course.

Source: Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (1964), p. 77.

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rate of wastage can be explained in terms of the lack of appropriate orientation and counseling programs during the freshman year (which is not a valid excuse in itself), and the departure of some students for nonacademic or college-related reasons, such as the need to support their families through work. Between the second and third year of college a further seventeen percent of the students left college. This is a very high wastage rate, especially since it was known that very few of these students went abroad or left with a certificate or diploma, or joined any other institution of higher learning in the country. It seems valid to conclude that lack of good academic preparation at the secondary school level and the lack of guidance and orientation during the first year were the main reasons.[101]

It is more surprising to see that some 18 percent of the third year students did not reach the fourth one. This is tempered by the fact that after the third year of college about 100 students left after completing a three-year diploma program either at the Public Health College, at the Faculty of Science or at the Engineering College. After making allowances for this, the figure to consider is that of dropouts after the third year. The total dropouts from entrance to the end of the fourth year of college was 42 percent. Out of 683 who had registered in the fourth year, 380 graduated with degrees, and the rest with diplomas.

A comparative study of dropouts from the arts and science faculties is presented in Table 149. It will be noted that about the same number of students had dropped out from each of the two general streams of studies - forty percent in arts and forty-three percent in science. The statistics show the situation after correction has been made for science students who left after completing a three-year program. Even after making allowance for this it actually seems that more science students dropped out than arts students, and that the wastage rate at the College of Agriculture was quite low as compared to the other colleges. The reason for this might have been that the academic standards of that college were lower than the others, or that since most of the students were drawn from agricultural colleges they might have had more interest in agricultural subjects.

Graduation

After surveying the enrollment and holding capacity of the Ethiopian Colleges, let us now consider the graduation statistics. Table 150 shows the list of graduates by institution and by major field of study for all colleges over a period of ten years. During these years a total of 220 B.A. and 200 B.Sc. degrees had been granted. In addition, about one hundred science students had been sent abroad for further studies after completing a two or three year program, mostly in biology, medicine and engineering. It is probable that if these students are included in the number, more science graduates than arts were were produced during the first ten years of higher education.

Liberal arts graduates as such were few. Out of 220 B.A. degrees granted, only 73 were in liberal arts, and the others were distributed as follows: 74 in education, mostly for the secondary schools; 20 in public administration; 27 in economics; 6 in commerce; 14 in prelaw; 6 in the extension department.

Studies Abroad

Most of the graduates of the engineering, public health and agriculture college went directly to work after graduation. Their programs were geared to meet immediate high-level manpower needs for the country, and these young people began to fill the void by serving as skilled engineers or technicians in the various departments of the Ethiopian government. Until 1960 all arts graduates (except six) of UCAA were sent overseas for studies "plus ten students from the Faculty of Science who had obtained their B.Sc. degree in Ethiopia."[102] Then the Ethiopian government decided upon a policy that

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TABLE 149

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF COLLEGE DROPOUTS BY FIELD ARTS, SCIENCE TECHNOLOGY, 1950-51 TO 1961-62

		First Year	Second Year			Third Year			Fourth Year		
Year	College	N	N	a%	b%	N	a%	b%	N	a%	b%
	A	33									
1950-51	Sc	38									
1951-52	A	17	25	24.2	24.2						
	Sc	22	11	71.1	71.1						
1952-53	A	28	11	35.3	35.3	13	48.0	60.6			
	Sc	23	10	54.5	54.5	9	18.2	76.3			
1953-54	A	36	17	39.3	39.3	11	-	35.3	13	-	60.6
	Sc	40	18	21.7	21.7	7	30.0	68.2	(1)	-	-
1954-55	A	33	27	25.0	25.0	18	-	35.7	11	-	35.3
	Sc	63	28	30.0	30.0	21	-	47.5	(1)	-	-
1955-56	A	78	25	24.2	24.2	25	7.4	24.2	18	-	35.7
	Sc	109	66	-	-	24	24.3	61.9	(1)	-	-
1956-57	A	65	60	23.2	23.2	24	4.0	69.2	24	4.0	33.3
	Sc	104	107	1.8	1.8	55	16.7	49.5	17	29.2	57.5
1957-58	A	88	40	38.5	38.5	58	3.3	10.8	25	-	24.2
	Sc	166	121	-	-	81	24.3	25.7	26	52.7	58.7
1958-59	A	120	58	34.1	34.1	45	-	48.9	46	20.7	41.0
	Sc	198	114	31.3	31.3	98	19.0	41.0	81	-	25.7
1959-60	A	131	95	30.8	30.8	45	22.4	62.5	47	-	27.7
	Sc	181	141	28.8	28.8	92	19.3	53.5	68	30.6	34.6
1960-61	A	104	98	37.4	32.7	77	18.9	43.0	42.0	6.9	52.3
	Sc	221	140	22.7	22.7	106	34.8	41.4	95	-	42.8
1961-62	A	-	94	9.6	9.6	76	24.0	26.9	73	5.4	39.2
	Sc	-	172	22.2	22.2	126	10.0	43.0	97	8.5	51.0
Total	A	737	550	25.4	25.4	392	14.0	28.0	299	5.4	40.0
	Sc	1178	928	21.1	21.1	619	18.0	35.1	384	22.1	50.5

NOTE

N Number of students registered

a % of dropouts for previous year

b % of dropouts since first year

1) During 1953-54 to 1955-56 inclusive many third year science students went abroad for studies. This is why no percent of dropout has been calculated for the years indicated.

Source: Adapted from Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (1964), p. 79.

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TABLE 150

GRADUATES OF THE COLLEGES
1952-1961

University College of A.A.	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	Total
B.A. - General	-	-	10	7	13	16	-	12	9	6	73
- Education	-	-	3	2	3	7	6	20	16	17	74
- Administration	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	3	7	20
- Pre-Law	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	8	-	14
- Economics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	10	4	27
- Extension	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	6
- Commerce	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6
Diplomas in Administration	11	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	15
Diplomas in Law	-	-	-	40	-	-	12	8	-	-	60
Certificates - Extension	-	-	-	-	-	12	9	5	4	16	46
Total B.A.	[illegible]	-	13	9	16	23	22	45	48	44	220
Total Diplomas & Cert.	11	-	-	42	1	13	21	13	4	16	121
Science											
Cert. and Diplomas-Biology	-	3	3	9	-	-	3	6	-	-	24
Certificates & Diplomas	-	6	2	4	7	3	6	13	-	-	41
B.Sc. - Biology	-	-	-	-	-	6	2	1	1	5	15
Total B.Sc.	-	-	-	-	-	6	2	1	1	5	15
Total Diplomas and Cert.	-	9	5	13	7	3	9	19	-	-	65
UCAA Grand Total - Degrees	-	-	13	9	16	29	24	46	49	49	235
Dip. & Cert.	11	9	5	55	8	16	30	32	4	16	186
Total No. of Graduates	11	9	18	64	24	45	54	78	53	65	421
College of Engineering											
B.Sc.	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	12	19	19	57
Public Health College											
Diplomas	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	29	17	18	84
Building College											
B.Sc.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Diplomas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	7	12	30
College of Agriculture											
B.Sc.	-	-	-	-	-	11	17	28	24	44	124
GRAND TOTAL FOR ALL											
Degrees	-	-	13	9	16	40	48	86	92	116	420
Diplomas and Certificates	11	9	5	55	8	36	30	72	28	46	300

Source: Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (1964), p. 81.

required graduates to serve at least one year in the country before going abroad for more studies, but in the intervening years between 1952 and 1960 many young graduates had gone abroad to pursue their studies.

As shown in Table 151 out of a total of 186 arts and science graduates from UCAA during the period of 1954-1960 inclusive, 150 students went abroad - 90 percent of them to North America. Out of 150 who went abroad, 138 obtained at least one higher degree reflecting an impressive academic success rate of 92 percent. Among those 138 successful graduates, twelve of them obtained a doctoral degree (Ph.D., M.D., Ed.D., or L.Sc.) and between 15 to 20 were continuing work with a terminal degree in mind. This record speaks well for the quality of programs offered by the University College of Addis Ababa.

The distribution of higher degrees is shown in Table 152. Out of the 138 who had obtained a second degree, 44 were in the business and economics areas and the next largest group, 30 of them, were in education. Six out of twelve of the terminal degree holders were in education. On the whole the distribution pattern of qualifications was good although the nonscience technology fields weighed most heavily. At that time there were so many unmet needs in almost all sectors of the nation's economic life that there could not have been much complaint regarding area of study.

These were the conditions then of Ethiopian colleges regarding programs, holding power and graduation. It was, on the whole, encouraging for the future development of education. But how was this achieved? What were the conditions that guided the selection and admission of Ethiopian youth? In a country where birth and family connections were traditionally determining factors for promotion and reward, it was not so in education in general and higher education in particular. Certainly, educational opportunities were not and still are not open to all Ethiopians who want them. Selection is, however, based primarily on geographical location rather than on anything else. Thus most of the first university graduates and those who now hold many of the key positions in government were drawn from Addis Ababa and Shoa. This happened presumably for the reasons given above, namely geographical opportunity. Aside from this, the selection of a 'meritocracy' was the guiding policy for university admission. As one educator, who had held important academic positions for eight out of the ten years of UCAA's history, pointed out:

"At the foundation of higher education, a national policy of 'equal opportunity for all high school graduates' determined all other policies on admission and standards. To implement such a policy, students were selected according to merit and were all given a full college scholarship that included tuition, board, room and additional fringe benifits, such as: some clothing, free textbooks, free extra-curricular activities. The socio-economic status of the students and of their parents was not considered. De Facto, if it had been considered, less than 20% of the students who went to college would have been able to get a college education. It was seemingly an expensive affair; actually it was a real investment, which aready has been repaid. It is this generation of students of 1950-1960 who with a few who studied abroad between 1940 and 1950, are at present the backbone of the civil service of the country.

"The same policy was in effect for graduate studies. All those who went abroad during those years were sent on full scholarship, either by the Imperial Ethiopian Government or by foreign governments and agencies."[103]

The Ethiopian authorities were convinced that without educated and trained manpower national development objectives could not be realized and they continued to

TABLE 151

RECORD OF GRADUATE STUDIES OVERSEAS OF UCAA GRADUATES
1954-1960

1 Graduation Year	2 No. of Graduates		3 No. Who Went Abroad	4 No. Who Obtained Higher Degree*	5 Earned Ph.D. or Equivalent	6 Failed to Get Higher Degree
	Arts	Science				
1954	13	-	13	12	2	1
1955	9	-	9	9	2	-
1956	16	-	15	15	2	-
1957	23	6	28	26	2	2
1958	22	2	22	21	3	1
1959	45	1	43	39	1	4
1960	48	1	20**	16	-	4
Total	176	10	150	138 (or 92% of 3)	12	12
Grand Total	186		80.6%***	74.2%***		

* Approximately 15 to 20 of these students are still working toward a doctorate degree.

** Not including those who might have gone abroad in 1964, or who might go abroad this summer.

*** % of Column 2.

Source: Adapted from Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," 1964, p. 82.

TABLE 152

DISTRIBUTION OF HIGHER DEGREES EARNED ABROAD BY GRADUATING UCAA

Field of Studies	M.A. or Equivalent	Ph.D. or Equivalent
Business and Economics	44	-
Education	30	-
Public Administration & Political Science	15	6
Law	15	2
Social Sciences	13	-
Humanities	11	1
Medical & Biological Sciences	8	3
Unclassified	2	-
Total	138	12

Source: E. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (1964), p. 82.

invest large sums of money in higher education. The students, knowing that education was the key to the golden door of the good life, seized the opportunities presented. It was all to the good for Ethiopia.

Student Life and Organizations

At the UCAA student life and activities were regulated by the Dean of Students office. The Dean of Students, who was the deputy of the president in matters related to the nonacademic aspects of student life and activities, had his functions defined in the college charter. The document provided that:

> There shall be a prefect of discipline who shall be called the "Dean of Students." His functions include:
>
> a) the regulation and coordination of all extra-curricular activities, after agreement with the Dean of each Faculty and school;
>
> b) the drawing up and enforcement of particular regulations involving the conduct and behavior of the students.
>
> c) the supervision of discipline, on and off the campus;
>
> d) the ordinary exemption of students from disciplinary rules, and the punishment of minor infractions of the same.[104]

Apparently the Dean of Students was considered an important administrative officer, on the same level as the academic deans of each faculty on the Council. The duties of the Dean of Students were clearly outlined including the following;

> He "supervises 'in loco parentis' and is given full authority and responsibility over all the non-academic activities of the students on campus, and even outside campus, when they are acting as students of the University. His task is to supervise the discipline and behavior of the students, the administration of the dormitories and dining halls, the health services necessary to protect and take care of the students' health problems, the occasional financial needs of the students, and finally the athletic, cultural and social extra-curricular activities of the students."

There was also an Assistant Dean of Women, living in residence with the girls. In each man's dormitories lived a housemaster. Usually he was a lecturer. He was responsible for order and discipline in his particular dormitory. If qualified and interested he served as a counselor, and students came to him for help.

This kind of arrangement seems to have been challenged on occasion by students, especially by non-Ethiopian African scholarship students who felt capable of "handling their own problems and affairs outside of the classrooms."[106]

Regulations, especially during the early years, seem to have been very specific and detailed; they governed almost every aspect of the students' life including what time to get up, eat, begin to study and rest and go out for recreation and the like.[107]

Early in the college's history students began to form their own students' government. It started under the guidance of the Dean of Students, but gradually it established its own identity by developing into a strong Students' Union, to all intents and purposes independent of the dean's office.

During its first year of existence the Student Union established its own council. This council was charged with the organization of sports, all social activities of the student body as a group, and clubs; the dramatic club, the glee glub, and the debating society. The students also published their own newspaper. It originated as a newsletter, then became a weekly paper, published by an editorial board either appointed or approved by the Press and Information Office of the Students' Council. Although at the beginning a faculty advisor was included in the board of editors, the college paper operated independent of the college administration. As Trudeau observed:

"The college paper has been, as was expected, the most revolutionary paper in the whole country.

"The marking transition seems to have been the arrival at University College of a group of students from other African countries. These students have been more involved in the policies of their countries than the Ethiopian students; another transitional impetus was the contact with the international world of students..."[108]

The Students' Council, elected by all college students, took charge of extra-curricular activities, pushed out college appointed coaches and expressed its nonalignment policy in international affairs by keeping in touch with both communist and noncommunist international student organizations. Trudeau noted:

> "A 'wind of change', similar to the one felt in the international and national politics of African countries, swept the students' campus. Internally, this brought some temporary clashes and misunderstandings. Students became very sensitive to staff interference and even staff cooperation with students in the students' affairs. Advisors, even coaches for sports, were put aside by many clubs and committees and replaced by self-management. The Dean could no longer appoint coaches for students' teams, or select advisors for clubs and committees. Students would call for and select their own coach, if they wished to! For some time the college teams fell apart, the dramatic club lost its reputation, the Glee Club its audience. It was a necessary crisis, that of the phase of adolescence in student government. The staff understood this attitude and worked with the students, at their request, in a less paternalistic spirit."[109]

As the students became more politicized and political discussions came out in the open, including criticism of long established institutions and the personalities associated with them, the college staff wondered what to do. Should they join the students, or the established order of Ethiopian society? There were many agonizing debates in the minds of private staff members as well as the staff as a whole.

The UCAA students as well as students of other colleges formed several community service clubs. The clubs were established for the expressed purpose of bridging the gap between the ideal and the practical in the real world; to offer students an opportunity to observe life as the people lived it. They carried out literacy campaign activities in the neighborhoods for scores of children and adults. There was no doubt of the students' desire to be involved and help out, and if possibly bring about a lasting change for the better. This tempo still continues. We will close this part of the chapter by quoting the questions raised by the author quoted already.

"Are the teachers, administrators, economists, agricultural technicians, engineers and doctors that came from this 1950-60 generation real assets to their country, new pioneers in a newly-developing country? Or are they a new 'bourgeoisie', a needy establishment? Have the speeches and articles and strong debates of yesterday on 'serving the nation' been transferred into action? Does Ethiopia have a new 'autocracy' or a real meritocracy of service? The years 1960-1975 will give the answers and will provide the best evaluation of the type of citizens the institutions of higher education in Ethiopia have produced."[110]

Staff

The Ethiopian colleges were mostly staffed by foreign personnel during the years 1951 through 1962. There were no qualified Ethiopians available for teaching. The ones that were educated at that level and who had survived the fascist liquidation or the few who had returned from studies abroad before 1955 were absorbed by the civil service and held senior positions in various government departments. By 1955 Ethiopians began to join the colleges as lecturers or administrators; their number increased rather more rapidly than expected, reaching the twenty-five percent mark of all full-time teaching staff members by 1961-62.[111] The foreign teachers came from different parts of the world - Asia, Europe, the Middle East and North America. The UCAA, the College of Engineering and the Public Health College deliberately recruited their teaching staff from many countries, while the College of Agriculture and the Building College recruited their staff primarily from the USA and Sweden respectively.

At UCAA the staff was recruited and selected by the college administration and appointed by the Board of Governors. At the College of Engineering, on the dean's recommendation, the Ministry of Education selected and appointed the staff. At the Public Health College in Gondar, the staff was primarily appointed by the international organizations that sponsored the college, namely, WHO, UNICEF and USAID. At the College of Agriculture the staff was recruited by Oklahoma State University (since it was a contracted project with that university) and it was primarily American. For the same reason the staff of the Building College was almost totally Swedish.[112]

Table 153 indicates the staff development pattern divided according to nationalities and the student-staff ratio. During the initial years this ratio was very low ranging from the lowest of four students to a teacher to the highest of about seven students to a teacher. As the years went by some improvement in the student-staff ratio was realized.

The qualifications of the staff for different years is shown in Tables 154 and 155. As a whole the colleges were well staffed, by qualified people. Even in the College of Public Health, where statistics are not available, it was known that it was staffed mostly by people with at least M.D. degrees or equivalent, selected and hired by UN organizations or USAID.[113]

Apparently there were no unified policies governing the recruitment, appointment, promotion or demotion of college personnel for all the colleges. UCAA had such a policy however, and it seems to have been applied uniformly to all personnel, except that the Ethiopian personnel who were paid on a lower scale than foreigners, according to the civil service regulation of Ethiopia. Staff members paid by international organizations were paid a salary and special allowances as fixed by UN; those hired by the Swedish Technical Assistance followed their own policies. Salaries, allowances and other privileges differed among the colleges for the same reasons.

It seems that efforts had been made at the UCAA to get the Ethiopian personnel salary scale reviewed upwards, but without success. Promotion and academic ranks were given on common criteria regardless of nationality. As far as work load was concerned, at UCAA at least, staff members were teaching between ten and twelve hours weekly. In

TABLE 153

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF ADDIS ABABA FULL-TIME STAFF
1951-52 TO 1961-62

Year	Faculty of Arts		Faculty of Science		School of of Law	Others		Total		Qualifications Degrees			Student Staff Ratio
	For.	Eth.	For.	Eth.	For.	For.	Eth.	For.	Eth.	B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D	
1951-52	12		6		1	3		22		4	12	6	3.4
1952-53	11		6		1	3		21		3	12	6	4.5
1953-54	12		8		1	3		24		3	11	10	5.4
1954-55	15		9		1	3		28	1	3	13	13	4.5
1955-56	16		8		1	3		28	1	3	13	13	6.7
1956-57	18		9	1	1	3		31	1	5	15	12	7.2
1957-58	19	1	10	2	1	3		33	3	8	16	12	7.5
1958-59	23	3	12	3	1	3		39	6	9	23	13	7.8
1959-60	25	6	11	3	1	4	1	40	11	11	26	14	8.4
1960-61	25	6	11	2	1	3	1	39	11	12	26	13	8.1
1961-62	28	13	26	3	1	4	1	59	17	5	49	22	6.1

For. means foreigners

Eth. means Ethiopians

Source: E. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (1964), pp. 19 and 92.
Cf. Aklilu Habte, "Review of History of UCAA..." (1961), p. 27.

TABLE 154

ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS OF TEACHING STAFF IN ALL COLLEGES 1959-66

College	Year	B.A. Degree	M.A. Degree	Ph.D or Equivalent
Building College	1959-60	4	11	-
College of Agriculture*	1959-60	9	12	4
Engineering College	1959-60	7	8	-
University College**	1959-60	11	21	11

* For 1961-62 the figures were as follows: 10 B.A., 14 M.A., and 8 Ph.D or its equivalent.

** No information on Public Health College.

Source: E. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (1964), p. 92.

TABLE 155

UCAA STAFF QUALIFICATIONS
1951-52 TO 1961-62

Year	B.A., B.Sc. Equivalent	M.A. Equivalent	PhD. Equivalent	Total
1951-52	4	12	6	22
1952-53	3	12	6	21
1953-54	3	11	10	24
1954-55	3	13	13	29
1955-56	3	13	13	29
1956-57	5	15	12	32
1957-58	8	16	12	36
1958-59	9	23	13	45
1959-60	11	26	14	51
1960-61	12	26	13	50
1961-62	5	49	22	76

Note: These statistics for UCAA differ from the ones given in the preceding table due to the sources. The figures in the present table were taken from the files of the President of University College.

Source: E. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (1964), p. 92.

some rare instances the load went up to fifteen hours. However, "very few staff members were hired as research scholars, and consequently very few did real research."[114]

As far as academic freedom was concerned there was no problem in those days. It was noted that "Academic freedom was not an issue in these first years of higher education. Professors were asked to abstain from religious propaganda, and from political activities. Clauses to this effect were actually included in their contract of engagement, and since teachers acted in accordance with these clauses, no issue was raised in this connection."[115]

Finances

Financial records for all the colleges, unfortunately, are not available. But from the meager information available, the following picture emerges.

The University College and the College of Engineering were financed both for capital and operations, by the Ethiopian government. These expenditures were considered as part of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts budget. In Table 156 are shown the capital and recurrent expenditures of UCAA for the period 1950-51 to 1960-61. The total expenditure for the period was Eth. $12,290,000. About a third of this sum was used for capital expenditure, as indicated in Table 157. This leaves approximately eight million dollars to be spent in eleven years to educate 2,378 full-time students, at the rate of $3,364 per student per year. Comparing these figures with those of other African countries, Trudeau observes that capital expenditures in Ethiopia were minimal and that the universities of Ghana and Nigeria in comparison were lavishly endowed with beautiful buildings equipped with modern library facilities and laboratory equipment. Yet he also observed that current expenditures on higher education in Ethiopia could have been lower had there been closer cooperation and sharing of facilities among the various Ethiopian colleges.[116]

On the other hand, expenditure for the College of Engineering during 1959-60, for instance, came to $430,000 or about $4,300 per student. Although higher in comparison to per annum student expenditure at UCAA, considering the technical nature of the college this figure was low. The three other colleges, Agriculture, Public Health and Building Technology were financed from joint funds through bilateral or international agreements between our government and foreign governments and international organizations. Accordingly, funds from these external sources contributed greatly towards meeting recurrent and capital costs. Concrete figures of financial outlays by the respective governments and international organizations are lacking. But it was reported that between the years 1952-1962 the U.S. government, through the Oklahoma State University contract, had contributed a total sum of Eth. $18,418,410.00 to agricultural education in Ethiopia. Of course this was in addition to the contribution made by the Ethiopian Government, which in 1959-60 alone paid out $1,859,745.

The Public Health College received funds from UN organizations and from the U.S. government. Exact figures of expenditures are not available, but it is known that the U.S. government contributed $2,152,000 to the college's joint fund. In 1959-60 the budget of the Public Health College was $1,068,000, received from all sources. In general it can be concluded that the three colleges financed from foreign aid were better off than the Engineering College or even UCAA. The cost of technical education was much higher than at UCAA and the investments made in terms of capital investment - constructions, campus improvements and the like, were solid investments for the future growth and development of higher education in Ethiopia.[117]

TABLE 156

UCAA BUDGET EXPENDITURES
1950-61

1950-51	Eth. $ 524,000.00
1951-52	584,000.00
1952-53	528,000.00
1953-54	644,000.00
1954-55	1,076,000.00
1955-56	1,052,000.00
1956-57	1,469,000.00
1957-58	1,499,000.00
1958-59	1,527,000.00
1959-60	1,627,000.00
1960-61	1,760,000.00
	Eth. $12,290,000.00

Source: E. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (1964), p. 93.

TABLE 157

UCAA CAPITAL INVESTMENTS
1950-61

Items	Amount of Investment
1. Buildings	
Alteration on Science Building	$ 125,000.00
Arts Building	500,000.00
Dining Hall & Kitchen	200,000.00
Students' Residences	900,000.00
Two Staff Houses	375,000.00
Observatory	75,000.00
Total	$2,175,000.00
2. Furniture & Land Improvements	
Furniture	500,000.00
Land Expropriation Improvement of Campus Public Lights	225,000.00
Total	$ 725,000.00
3. Equipment & Facilities	
Science Equipment	500,000.00
Library and Textbooks	500,000.00
Total	$1,000,000.00
Grand Total of Capital Investments	$3,900,000.00

Source: E. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (1964), p. 94.

This then was how the foundations of modern higher education were laid in Ethiopia. In the subsequent chapter we shall see how these various colleges came to form Haile Selassie I University, which had been envisioned in 1928.

Notes

1. Aklilu Habte, Mengesha Gebre Hiwot and Monika Kehoe, "Higher Education in Ethiopia", Journal of Ethiopian Studies 1 (January 1963):3.

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3. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Education in Ethiopia, pp. 25-26.

4. Aklilu Habte "A Brief Review of the History of the University College," Univeristy College Review (Spring 1961), p. 25.

5. Ibid.

6. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Education in Ethiopia, p. 25.

7. Edward Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1964), p. 32.

8. Aklilu Habte, "A Brief Review of the History of the University College," p. 25.

9. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 32.

10. Ibid., pp. 32-33.

11. The University of Utah Survey Team, Higher Education in Ethiopia: Survey Reports and Recommendations (The University of Utah, 1949-50), p. 2.

12. Ibid., p. 2; Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia", pp. 32-34; Lucien Matte, "History of UCAA," Submitted to the Board of Governors on January 24, 1955 (Copy in HSIU Public Relations Office File), p. 1.

13. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," pp. 33-34.

14. Ibid., p. 34.

15. Aklilu Habte "A Brief Review of the History of the University College of Addis Ababa," p. 25.

16. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 35.

17. Memo Issued From the President's Office Dated 18 November 1950 (Document in HSIU Registrar's File), p. 1.

18. Ibid., pp. 1-2; See also Lucien Matte, "History of UCAA", p. 1.

19. Sylvia Pankhurst, Ethiopia, A Cultural History (Essex: Lalibella House, 1955), p. 655.

20. Ibid., p. 657.

21. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia", pp. 35-36.

22. Ibid., p. 36.

23. Ibid., pp. 36-37.

24. Ibid., p. 38.

25. Ibid., pp. 38-40.

26. UCAA, "Some Notes on the Development of the University College of Addis Ababa," unpublished document prepared by the college, now in HSIU Registrar's Office., pp. 1-2.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., p. 2.

29. Ibid.

30. Lucien Matte, "To the Students," (Copy of this Memorandum is filed in HSIU Registrar's Office), July 6, 1954, p. 1.

31. Lucien Matte, "Notice to the Graduates" (Copy of this Memorandum is filed in HSIU Registrar's Office), August 14, 1954, p. 1.

32. Ibid.

33. Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazeta, General Notice No. 185 of 1954, Charter of the University College of Addis Ababa, July 28, 1954.

34. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 42.

35. Ibid.

36. "Speech Delivered by the President of the University College on the Occasion of the Graduation of the First College Students on 26th August 1954 " (Unpublished three page paper available in HSIU Registrar's Office).

37. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," pp. 41-42.

38. Ibid., p. 42.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid., p. 43

42. Ibid., p. 44.

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44. The University of Utah, Higher Education in Ethiopia: Survey Reports and Recommendations (1959-60, Engineering Section), p. 3.

45. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 44.

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47. Ibid., p. 45.

48. "Agreement for a Cooperative Education Programme Between the Government of the United States of America and the Imperial Ethiopian Government " (May 15, 1952, in the files of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts), Article II, p. 1.

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62. Ibid.

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65. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 52.

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67. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 54.

91. Ibid., p. 61.

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93. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Controlled Expansion of Ethiopian Education (Addis Ababa: Ethiopian - United States Cooperative Education Press, June 1955), p. 37.

94. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," pp. 64-65.

95. Ibid., p. 65.

96. Aklilu Habte, "Brief Remarks on the Historical Development of the Department of Education...", Final Report, Conference on Secondary Education in Ethiopia, HSIU, May 1-3, 1962, pp. 27-34.

97. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," pp. 65-66.

98. Ibid., p. 67.

99. UNESCO, The Development of Higher Education in Africa (Paris 1963), p. 71.

100. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," pp. 75-76.

101. Ibid., p. 76.

102. Ibid., p. 80.

103. Ibid., p. 83.

104. Ministry of Pen, Negarit Gazeta, Order/185 of 1954, Article 28. See also Students' Handbook (Addis Ababa: Office of the Dean of Students, University College, 1961-62), p. 2.

105. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 84.

106. Ibid., p. 85.

107. University College of Addis Ababa, Bulletin 1951-52 to 1952-53, p. 40.

108. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 85.

109. Ibid., p. 86.

110. Ibid., p. 88.

111. Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, School Census, 1961-62, p. 18. See also Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 89.

112. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," p. 89.

113. Ibid., p. 90.

114. Ibid., pp. 92-93.

115. Ibid., p. 93.

116. Ibid., pp. 94-95.

117. Ibid., p. 95.

Chapter XV

THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Background

In Chapter 14 we saw how the foundation of higher education was laid. In the present chapter we shall review the conception, foundation and development of the national university of Ethiopia - Haile Selassie I University. Actually, the establishment of the six colleges during the 1950s was only a step towards the full realization of the national university. Since the idea had been conceived in 1928, and had later been renewed in 1949 with the creation of a University Committee, the name 'Haile Selassie I University' had been constantly in the minds of those who were responsible for the development of higher education in the empire; every step, every move pointed to it.

At the foundation-stone-laying ceremony on November 7, 1949, the emperor said:

> We wish first of all to state that Our heart was touched with Our beloved people's desire to erect in Our honour a statue in recognition of services which We have rendered to them and to Our country. There can be no better way for a people to show their deep gratitude to their Sovereign.
>
> Now, when Our people are willing to erect a statue in Our image, We feel it a duty on Our part to consider what would be the most appropriate means of incorporating in a concrete and lasting manner the sentiments of Our people.
>
> Any monument to be left for Our people, to be permanent, must be erected upon spiritual foundations.
>
> ... on this same spot, where Our people have resolved to build with the funds voluntarily subscribed a statue to us, that a university be erected and established for the education of Ethiopia's youth so as to allow them and future generations to benefit from this happy event.
>
> While giving this site for the building and establishment of a University to represent at the same time a monument to your Emperor, for the service and the benefit to your children and the future generations and to stand as a symbol of mutual gratitude between your sovereign and His people, We now lay the foundation stone of the University.
>
> The salvation of Our country, Ethiopia, as We have repeatedly stated to you, lies primarily in education. As Ethiopia is one, all Ethiopians are also one, and education is the only way to maintain this condition.[1]

Haile Selassie University was officially opened on December 18, 1961. In the fall of 1949 the Vice Minister of Education, Ato Akale Worq, following directions from the emperor, had appointed a committee on the founding of a university. The committee had recommended the founding of the University College.

In June 1951 the vice minister appointed another committee, this time specifically charging it "to consider certain propositions for the establishment of the Haile Selassie I University in Addis Ababa." The committee was asked to advise the Board of Education on the following questions:

a) Some general principles involved in the development of a University education in Ethiopia.

b) The courses which it is considered desirable to include when planning the first stage of construction of the Haile Selassie I University in Addis Ababa.

c) Questions of accommodation arising from the above.[2]

In March 1952 the committee presented its report to the emperor through the Board of Governors. From its report it seems the committee had in mind primarily a university of graduate programs. The minutes noted:

"In their first meeting ... the Committee agreed that their task was to plan for the provision of the first stage of a University of High Standards, and it was considered that the satisfactory completion of the first two years of the post-matriculation courses provided by the University College should be absolutely obligatory as a pre-requisite for admission to any faculty of the Haile Selassie I University."[3]

The committee planned for one thousand Ethiopian and foreign students of both sexes. They also provided for a scholarship scheme. The following scheme was to guide the initial enrollment.

Table 158

Proposed University Program

College/Faculty	No. of Students	Graduate/Undergrad Degrees
Arts	40	Graduates
Education	25	Graduates
Law	50	B.A.
Medicine	30	M.D. or its equivalent
Dentistry	10	Intermediate Degree in Science
Pharmacy	6	

Source: E. Trudeau (1964), p. 100.

The committee tried to relate the university to the entire education system It was a courageous exercise but it was not based on statistical data. At that early stage it should have been apparent that such an enrollment in the anticipated university was impossible. All the existing secondary schools together were producing only a small fraction of one thousand graduates, and the recommendations of the committee could not be implemented until enough qualified students were available.

The committee continued to be active. It opened an office on the site which was designated for the university campus and where a foundation stone had been laid in 1950 on the twentieth anniversary of the coronation of the emperor. The special fund set up by Ethiopian citizens for the erection of a monument to the emperor, and which was later, at his suggestion, used towards the foundation of the university, was accumulating. Plans, designs and estimates were prepared by a group of Yugoslav architects. Things kept moving, slowly but surely. Even in 1954, when the University College of Addis Ababa charter was being discussed, some members of the Board of Governors were undecided "whether it was really desirable that degrees should be conferred by a University College rather than by a University, and it was suggested that it might be better to start with a charter for the University itself..."[4]

The Board of Governors as well as the Board of Education raised the subject of Haile Selassie I University during their several meetings. At the thirty-eighth meeting a question was raised "whether there is not any possibility for the University College to become a full-fledged University." Accordingly the president of UCAA was requested to investigate this possibility.

In a memorandum dated July 18, 1957, the president informed the board that the University College of Addis Ababa already consisted of the Faculty of Arts, Science, a School of Law and an Extension Department, and that there was a plan to open a Faculty of Commerce and a "proper Faculty of Law" within a year or two. Hence, the memo prepared that the University College "become, in September 1959 or 1960, the Haile Selassie I University." The president proposed that in September 1959 a graduate school be organized consisting of three departments: education, administration and Semitic languages. At the same time a school of medicine with four departments should be organized, and agreements worked out whereby the other colleges could be affiliated with the university. To this end a budget of four million dollars would be needed, and this could be drawn from the existing Haile Selassie I University fund.[5]

The same topic was discussed at the forty-second meeting. At the forty-third meeting the Board of Governors decided that "the matter of unification of existing colleges should be referred th the Board of Education." "All these plans and the discussions that they provoked," noted Trudeau, "sharpened the interest of His Imperial Majesty and increased his desire to see his pet project realized."[6]

In the spring of 1958 the emperor appointed a special committee of four to prepare a plan for "immediate action." On May 14, 1958 the members of the commission sent a memorandum to the emperor consisting of the following recommendations:

-immediate action on the foundation of Haile Selassie I University, granting of a university charter, appointment of a university president;

-construction, on the proposed university campus, of an administration building, a medical school, a faculty of engineering, a faculty of Law, a university library, an auditorium, residences for students and staff, a cafeteria, etc.

-affiliation of the existing colleges to the University.[7]

The emperor seems to have approved in principle the general provisions contained in the commission's memorandum. He ordered the secretary of the commission to ask Dr. Matte, then on leave of absence for health reasons, to come to Addis Ababa. Upon his return, Dr. Matte met with the emperor on November 7 and 15, 1958. During the two interviews the president of UCAA was told of the commission's report, and of the emperor's desires regarding the project. On November 19, Dr. Matte sent a personal memorandum to the palace, setting forth his ideas and plans for the project including step-by-step suggestions to enable the university to open in September 1961.[8] This was the last official contact Dr. Matte had with the palace on this topic.[9]

At this juncture a new Vice Minister of Education was appointed. This official and the Board of Education took the question of the establishment of the Haile Selassie I University into their own hands. The board had approached the United States government for a survey of higher education in Ethiopia. The U.S. Operations Mission to Ethiopia and the Vice Minister of Education had agreed to submit such a request to the U.S government through the U.S. ambassador in Ethiopia. In August 1959 the University of Utah in the United States was offered and accepted the job of supplying the survey team. The team was charged with coverage of the following topics and of other matters inseparable from them:

a) Determine the present status of higher education in this Empire and the situation with respect to secondary education.

b) Determine the needs to be met through a programme of higher education.

c) Define a step-by-step development programme to meet those needs and establish cost estimates for each step.

d) Define an organizational structure for higher education development.

e) Suggest plans for financing programmes.

f) Identify first steps to be taken.

g) Prepare a report of the survey, preliminary and final.[10]

The team was made up of the dean of extension (who was the chairman of the team), the dean of the Medical College, the dean of students, the heads of the departments of chemistry, civil engineering and education administration, and a professor of business administration. The group consulted return reports, college bulletins, and interviewed education administrators and students both in Addis Ababa and outside. Most of the members of the team stayed in Ethiopia for two months. In the introductory part of their report they noted that as a result of the very high demand for a skilled workforce for the growing administrative structure of the public service, several colleges and faculties had been founded during the 1950s. In addition this springing-up of several unrelated colleges, "...a large and expensive programme of sending students abroad has developed. Here again there is a need for systematic planning and fitting to the requirements of the country. In short, there has been a recognition of trained manpower needs, a valiant determination to meet those needs, and a relatively high proportion of the national income expended to educate and train either in the country or abroad. Ethiopia, education-wise, has been running hard but still not closing the gap."[11]

The team then made the following comprehensive recommendations:

"1. A University: That to coordinate more effectively present units of higher education and Teacher Education in Ethiopia... and to plan efficiently for future developments, His Imperial Majesty decree the founding of a University, the Haile Sellassie I University, a modern university with strong centralized control which would be envisioned, recognized, and supported by all agencies as the national university of Ethiopia and, which would also be considered important regionally; That the University College be considered a desirable foundation on which to build the University, thus, along with other advantages, reducing costs in money and delay in time.

"2. A Charter: That this University be granted a charter, which would take precedence over existing or previously granted charters to institutions of higher learning in Ethiopia, bestowing full power and authority to coordinate, operate, or to contract operation of, and to supervise all units and forms of higher education and teacher education in Ethiopia; to establish new and additional units on the main campus, in downtown Addis Ababa, or elsewhere in the Empire; that this charter guarantee those conditions requisite to high standards of academic excellence recognized by leading universities throughout the world, such as freedom from political, economic, racial, religious or other pressures or conditions inimical to the integrity and academic prestige of a university...

"3. The Budget: That all budgets and funds which regularly and normally go to the various units of higher education, including budgets for teacher education and training, together with all other funds that may logically and rightfully be secured, be included in the budget of the proposed University.

"4. Officers: That as a step towards coordination of higher education His Imperial Majesty appoint a Board of Trustees and certain other University Officers, and that not later than the academic year 1961-62, the proposed Board and Officers assume responsibility for budgetary control, personnel appointments, and the administration of scholarships in existing units of higher education in the Empire.

"5. Education and Teacher Training: That the responsibility for all teacher education and training be assigned to the proposed University and that it be given maximum emphasis and expansion. That there be organized a Division (or College) of education immediately with a head (or Dean); that in addition to the programme in Addis Ababa there be branch institutes for teacher training at University Centres in the provinces, such as at Harar and Asmara. That the Laboratory and Training School, under the supervision of the Division (or College) of Education serve (a) as a model school demonstrating superior teaching techniques; (b) a school for American and Ethiopian children and other children of various nationalities, where an excellent experience of learning together in a superior school could be provided... That much more effort be exerted to enrol girls in the schools and young women in the University so that more Ethiopian women teachers would be available.

"6. Engineering: That the College of Engineering be transferred to the main campus as soon as possible.

"7. Centre for African Studies: That a Centre for African Studies be established as a part of the Haile Sellassie I University and that the Centre be closely coordinated with teaching and research in various disciplines of the University, particularly the Humanities and the Social Sciences; that the Centre be maintained as an international focal point for African research to which scholars from all countries might come or with which they might affiliate themselves.

"8. Agriculture: That the College of Agriculture programme be reconstituted in such a way as to allow all general administration, supervision, most of the teaching of general courses to be done from the central campus and that whereever possible advantageously these courses be combined with similar courses in other units of the University... That the Alemaya campus be made the effective centre of the College for practical demonstration and experience for research, and for leadership training for Extension and Community Leaders, for short Courses and Refresher Courses. That other practical or vocational courses such as nursing might be added; that the adjoining lake be made a bird sanctuary and that birdlife study be added to the curriculum. That the research programme be carefully coordinated under mature, competent direction and oriented clearly toward Ethiopian conditions and needs.

"9. Medicine: That a Medical Division of the University be established to include a Medical College, a teaching Hospital, and a Clinic. This could be done at once if the Duke of Harar Memorial Hospital could be designated the 'teaching hospital,' and the Medical Division become the Duke of Harar Memorial Medical Centre. It is doubtful that sufficient funds would otherwise be available at this time.

"10. The Main Campus: That the Main Campus site for the University, include the present site of the University College and the present site of the Ministry of Education... together with sufficient land contiguous with or adjacent to these sites to provide the necessary administration, classroom, laboratory, library, and other structures required for the successful operation and housing of the University.

"11. Counseling, Scholarships, Placement: That the Bureau of Counseling, Scholarships, and placement proposed in the College Report be organized as soon as possible as a part of the University Student Personnel Programme. This would assure greater returns on the student investment and enhance the entire student career during college and after — by giving competent professional help in selecting a course of study, completing it, finding a job when training is completed, and providing experience in constructive leadership.

"12. Library Service: Recognizing that an educated people is a reading people it is recommended that the Haile Sellassie I University take the initiative and a leading role in conditioning Ethiopian youth to serious reading interests and habits by:

a) Providing an inviting physical arrangement and service in the University Library.

b) Offering library service courses and training for school and community librarians.

c) Establishing an effective home loan system which would include one or more bookmobiles to go to suburbs and outlying communities at regular intervals.

d) Inaugurating a programme of children's book translation (interlinear) which has proved successful elsewhere.

e) By motivating in every way possible personal book collections and home libraries (awards, prizes, contests, public recognition, gifts of books and other ways).

"13. The English Language: That much more emphasis be put on the English language as Ethiopia's adopted language of learning; that higher standards for facility in English — reading, comprehending, speaking — be set for admission to the University and that students deficient by those standards be required to devote sufficient time and practice during the first and second years to remove the deficiency; that the University make very special efforts to furnish tutors and modern language learning equipment to accelerate the removal of English language deficiencies.

"14. Evaluation: That a higher competent 'Evaluation Team' be brought in at least every three years to study and make sure that needs and interests of the country are being realized and met by the varuous departments of the University, that the objectives of the collaboration between the United States and other countries and Ethiopia are being attained, and to offer other useful suggestions.

"15. Phasing Out: That 'phasing out' of foreign personnel be promoted as fast as Ethiopia's preparedness will permit. With the belief, however, that competent performance and high standards are of first importance it is suggested that an Advisory Committee of Ethiopians and Americans, and perhaps others, be asked to interview and otherwise evaluate prospective Ethiopian replacement personnel and make recommendations regarding their readiness and the appropriate time for replacing foreign personnel.

"16. United States Assistance: That the United States Government, through its appropriate agencies... give financial and other aid commensurate with the importance of Ethiopia in world affairs and the unique opportunity this high educational endeavor provides. That, furthermore, the United States Government encourage other agencies such as Foundations, Associations, and Corporations and other Nations to proffer aid to this Ethiopian Educational project.

"20. That a committee of interested and competent persons, representing Ethiopia and the United States, be appointed to study and implement these recommendations or as many of them as are considered feasible."[12]

The rest of the document contained detailed recommendations for the development schedule, an organization chart, a specimen charter, and reports of the specialists for arts and science, business and public administration, engineering education, medical and teacher education.

The report was submitted to both the Ethiopian and the United States governments, and there was agreement regarding the establishment of the Haile Selassie I University. But due to the attempted coup d'etat of December 1960, there was a delay in implementation. On February 28, 1961 the charter of Haile Selassie I University was published in the Negarit Gazetta.[13] In May and June, agreements between the Ethiopian and United States governments were concluded, under which the U.S. government agreed to pay for high administrative officials to be recruited from U.S.A. and for some capital investments for the construction of new buildings, equipment, additional personnel and the like. The first university officials were appointed, headed by an academic vice president who was to serve as acting president. The convocation marking the founding of Haile Selassie I University took place on December 18, 1961. One eyewitness recorded that it was "a grand day... December 18, 1961 will long be remembered by those who had the privilege to attend this colorful and impressive ceremony that commemorated a significant landmark in the history of Ethiopia's educational development."[14] On this occasion the emperor turned over the Guenette Leul Palace as the main center of the university. He sent the following message to the people of Ethiopia:

Guenette Leul Palace
Addis Ababa

"The spread of knowledge is the bastion of liberty. Education has always been the affair of state closest to Our heart, and the sight of Our young people being schooled has always given Us Our greatest pleasure.

"It is therefore, with great joy, and renewed confidence in the future that We mark this Convocation which inaugurates Our new University. To this great cause We have been able to secure financial and professional help from the United States of America and a number of other friendly nations. This institution will now coordinate and make more fruitful Our existing centre of learning both the University College of Addis Ababa and the various technical colleges. The founding of this University crowns Our many years of struggle and devotion to the cause of Education in Ethiopia.

"As We have said on other occasions, the attainment of a goal is only a temporary achievement. The challenges to you, the faculty and students of this University, have only begun. New opportunities for enabling yourselves to set ideals of achievement for your fellow countrymen are waiting to be seized. We charge you to make the most of them through the humility, toil and perseverence, that give education its deepest meaning."[15]

After a prayer and the blessing of the palace grounds and buildings by His Late Beatitude Abune Theophlous, the Patriarch of the Ethiopian Church, the emperor presented his palace to the university and unveiled the commemorative plaque that read as follows:

"His Imperial Majesty, Haile Sellassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, having sponsored and advanced modern facilities for elementary and secondary education and having already established units of higher education, deemed it proper to create the organizational structure of a university, to coordinate and develop all higher education in the nation. Accordingly He laid the cornerstone of the Haile Sellassie I University on November 2, 1949. His Imperial Majesty having recognized the problems encountered in the provision of physical facilities for the University and the delays caused by such problems would postpone the realization of His aspirations and the progress of His people, donated this Guenette Leul Palace, together with its grounds and all dependent buildings, which He inherited from His distinguished father His Highness Ras Makonnen, to the present and future generation of Ethiopia to be used as the site for the Haile Sellassie I University, on this eighteenth day of December 1961, in the 31st year of His reign."[16]

The main palace building was then renamed Ras Makonnen Hall in memory of the emperor's father.

The ceremony continued with a speech by the chairman of the Board of Governors, Ato Yilma Deressa, who on behalf of the university expressed gratitude to the emperor for giving his home to the university. The chairman thanked also the civil servants who had contributed to the Haile Selassie I University fund, which amounted to four million dollars. Then he pledged "... to cherish loyally this historic site and great cause and to strive with everything in our power to support and advance the development of this University, here on this hallowed ground, worthy to bear your Imperial Majesty's distinguished name, that the Haile Sellassie I University may take its place in due time among the respected and honored seats of learning in the world - that from its halls may go forth scholars and leaders whose recognized worth will be to Ethiopia, to Africa and to the World."[17]

The emperor, installed as chancellor of the university, addressed the distinguished audience assembled at the palace grounds. The audience consisted of foreign dignitaries, cabinet ministers, members of the Board of Governors, teachers, students and members of the Addis Ababa public. The chancellor spoke as follows:

"This is a most historic occasion for Us, and for the Ethiopian people. Today the first convocation of the University affords us Our first opportunity, as Chancellor, to address the Governors, the Faculty, and the students as a single group.

"We may pause briefly now to enquire why this University is being established, what goals it is seeking to achieve, what results We may expect of it and what contributions it can reasonably be expected to make.

"A fundamental objective of this University must be the safeguarding and the developing of the culture of the people which it serves. This University is a product of that culture; it is the grouping together of those capable of understanding and using the accumulated heritage of the Ethiopian people. In this University men and women will, working in association with one another, study the well-being of Our culture, trace its development, and mould its future. That which enables Us today to open a university of such a standard is the wealth of literature and learning now extinct elsewhere in the world which through hard work and perseverence our forefathers have preserved for us...

"Music, drama and other forms of arts are rooted in the ancient history of our Empire, and their development to an even higher peak of perfection will be possible in the atmosphere of a University. Ethiopia is possessed of an ancient literature, and its study can be fostered here so that the Ethiopian youth, inspired by this national example, may raise it to yet higher levels of excellence. The study of the heroic history of Our Empire will stimulate the imagination of budding authors and teachers. The understanding of that philosophy of life which is the basis of our traditional customs will lead us all to a better understanding of our nation and our nation's expression through the arts.

"The immediate and practical aim of this institution obviously is to educate the Ethiopian youth and to prepare them to serve their country. Although such education may be technical, it must nonetheless be founded on Ethiopia's cultural heritage if it is to bear fruit and if the student is to be well adapted to his environment and the effective use of his skills facilitated.

"Time was when strength and endurance, courage and faith, were sufficient to make leadership equal to the task. But times have changed and these spiritual qualities are no longer enough. Today, knowledge and training, as provided largely in the universities of the world, have become essential, and today leadership and advancement, both national and international, rely heavily upon the products of universities... We have often pointed out that the future of Ethiopia is largely conditioned upon accelerated agricultural development, upon mineral exploitation and upon industrial expansion. Here survival depends on these, but they, in turn, depend upon the competence of those who have received and who will receive the essential education and training. It is Our confident hope that this institution, which has been planned for many years will provide here, in our own land, for our own youth, the higher education and the specialized training required for such development.

"That which man dreams of and to which he aspires, unless fulfilled in his own lifetime, can produce no actual satisfaction to him. As for Us, thanks be unto God that in the founding of this University We have realized a lifelong aspiration.

"Considering the role of universities in a broader sense, We are persuaded that these institutions stand today as the most promising hope for constructive solutions to the problems that beset the modern world - problems which prevent the peaceful cooperation of nations, problems which threaten the world and humanity with death and disaster. From the universities must come men, ideas, knowledge, experience, technical skills, and the deep humane understanding vital to fruitful relations among nations. Without these, world order, for which We have so long strived, cannot be established. From the universities, too, must come the ability which is the most valuable attribute of civilized men everywhere: The ability to transcend narrow passions and to engage in honest conversation; for civilization is by nature 'the victory of persuasion over force.' Unity is strength. No nation can divide within itself and remain powerful. It is this strong conviction that underlies the decision to plan for the well-organized and co-ordinated system of education, training, and research which a university represents. A university is the fountain of learning; seek knowledge, and there you shall find it.

"Nor can we ignore the importance of the spiritual in the academic life. Learning and technical training must be nurtured by faith in God, reverence for the human soul, and respect for the reasoning mind. There is no safer anchorage for our learning, our lives, and our public actions than that provided by Divine teachings coupled with the best in human understanding. Leadership developed here should be guided by the fundamental values and the moral power, which have for centuries constituted the essence of our religious teachings... We charge all of you, the members of this University, that these special values remain foremost, as a foundation for your knowledge and thought, so that the fundamental moral truths will buttress and support the whole structure of University life.

"Discipline of the mind is a basic ingredient of genuine morality and therefore of spiritual strength. Indeed, a university, taken in all its aspects, is essentially a spiritual enterprise which, along with the knowledge and training it imparts, leads students into more wise living and a greater sensitivity to life's responsibilities...

'Education is costly, and higher education is the most costly of all. But it is also an investment, a very profitable investment, and the money spent in coordinating, strengthening, and expanding higher education in Ethiopia is well invested. We are proud of Our people's recognition of the value of education. Their concerted effort in the building of schools and other social activities is most gratifying. Educational institutions, unlike business enterprises, do not exist and operate for profits in dollars and cents. They exist to perform public services, and they are judged by the effectiveness and economy with which they perform these services.

'To the Board of Governors, to the administrators, We recommend economy, so that the benefits of the University can be enjoyed by as many of our young men and women as possible. Not a dollar should be wasted of the money so hardly earned and so generously contributed by our own Government and by the Governments of other nations. Plan thoughtfully, supervise closely, and manage economically.... An immediate gain of the consolidation and coordination, the centralization of resources and operations, should be a saving in costs, and We urge all to co-operate fully in the attempt to realize this objective. Diligence is demanded in developing this University as rapidly as possible to meet the compelling needs of Our Empire.

'We would ask that extraordinary emphasis be placed on the training of teachers for our primary and secondary schools...

'The study of the humanities must not be neglected, and the College of Arts and Science must be strengthened and encouraged to develop its studies. These are the subjects which contribute most to the understanding and growth of our cultural heritage, and so assist in fulfilling one of the University's primary aims. These studies, which are concerned with human cultural achievements, human rights, and duties, human freedoms, will enable youth to develop the understanding and judgement necessary to the formulation of a sound philosophy of life, to the making of wise choices, and to understanding what is involved in these choices. These young people face a world beset with the most effectively organized programme of deceptive propaganda and of thinly screened operations ever known; they deserve the best that can be taught by their parents, by religious institutions and by the University, to prepare them for a wise choice among contending ideals.

'We would ask for the immediate founding of a graduate faculty of Law, where our own graduates may be trained to enter the legal profession...

'While laying great stress on education for our younger citizens, we should not forget the obligation and the opportunity which the University will have with respect to the older citizens ... Haile Sellassie I University should attempt, either at this main site or at a branch, to serve every qualified citizen who wishes and is able to avail himself of the resources of the University if he is willing to do the required work.

"We do not suggest that the list of needs which we have mentioned is complete, but they represent needs to which this University is seeking to respond. The heaviest responsibility will, naturally, fall on the faculty. Theirs is a job of training the minds and hands of the youth of Ethiopia in the knowledge and in the special skills...

"We sincerely thank Dr. Lucien Matte who assisted Us for many years with loyalty, devotion and diligence in Our efforts for the progress of education in Our country and in the establishment of the University College of Addis Ababa which is one of the affiliated institutions of the Haile Sellassie I University.

"All of you must maintain the highest standards in your instruction in order that the overall standard of this University may be second to none. Work together in harmony, as a team, in raising this institution to the highest academic levels. Each of you must do his part to contribute to the advancement of knowledge. You must above all be scholarly, for it is by deeds rather than by words that you can most effectively inspire your students to heed your words. Each of you should consider it his duty to pursue research in your own field of study, for you will thereby bring renown both upon yourselves and upon the institution.

"On many occasions during recent years, We have had the opportunity to speak to our students. We trust that Our love and consideration for them and the deep interest which We feel in their progress has been felt and understood. Today We have dedicated Our home, which We have received from Our noble father, to their service, as a free gift to the nation, in the hope that We thus contribute to the opportunity for them to prepare for fruitful careers.

"We ask that each student who passes through these halls devote himself to the development of his mind and body, his mental and physical progress, so as to be better able to serve his country and his fellow countrymen. Choose the field of study which best suits your talents, continue unwavering in your diligent studies, prepare yourself for service in whatever profession you may be best fitted. God grant you success."[18]

The objectives and the ideals that imbued the university were thus outlined by the chancellor. This was to be an Ethiopian university which would be based on our national heritage remaining true and responsive, and delineating and expanding it. The humanities, the arts, the sciences and technology were to receive their appropriate places and emphases in the scheme of program development and resource allocation.

The type of university envisaged for Ethiopia had its prototype in the American 'land grant colleges and universities.' It was to be involved in nation-building, while at the same time staying faithful to the best traditions of universities, seeking after truth through objective studies and the evaluation of significant problems. This was a new type of university in Africa. Most of the existing thirty-two universities on the continent were either built during the latter part of the colonial period, and followed the metropolitan examples, or even if they had been built since independence had tended to follow patterns from Europe.

However, by the time Haile Selassie I University was being brought into existence this kind of service-oriented, multipurpose higher education was being considered for Africa. For instance, the conference on the development of higher education, held in Tananarive in September 1962, had recommended that:

> 38. The task of the universities in Africa in the cultivation of African cultures and national needs as well as in fostering economic and social development, requires a fundamental reconsideration of the contents of its curricula and possibly of its structure;
>
> 39. There must be no lowering of standards or isolation of the universities in Africa from the international community of scholarship. The universities in Africa should identify themselves with the societies they serve and actively contribute to the solution of their problems, immediate as well as long-term;
>
> 45. To meet the needs of the African countries for qualified manpower required for their development and their public services, the universities in Africa must be prepared to accept a wider range of professional training courses, whether or not such courses form part of the European university pattern.[19]

To be sure, there was no unanimity regarding the establishment of a university in Ethiopia, where over ninety percent of the population was illiterate and where secondary school graduates still numbered less than one thousand per year. As one graduate of UCAA wrote "a university in a highly illiterate society is almost certainly a little out of place."[20] This argument was based on the premise that spreading fundamental literacy should be assigned higher priority than investing in higher education for a few people. This argument was not without merit, but considering the need for a skilled and semi-skilled workforce for social development it could not be supported by many. In fact the Addis Ababa conference of African ministers of education had gone on record in support of the principles adopted by Ethiopia. It had said: "It is of the highest priority to ensure that an adequate proportion of the population receives secondary, post secondary and university education; this should be put before the goal of universal primary education if for financial reasons these two are not yet compatible."[21]

In our case, perhaps not shared by any other African state to the same extent, the founding of a university was mandatory for the following reasons: in 1949 it had been publicly announced by the emperor that such a university was forthcoming; this public commitment had to be respected; there was an actual need to coordinate the several post-secondary schools which were sprouting everywhere, most of the time competing for the same students and national resources. For example, in 1960 the total cost of operating these institutions was around six million dollars annually for a total number of less than one thousand students, an average of approximately six thousand dollars per student. There were departments that were operating at a fraction of their full capacity for lack of sufficient qualified candidates, and many young Ethiopians were doing undergraduate studies abroad at considerable cost to the country. Another factor to be considered was that a national university had a better chance of attracting external aid than the separate institutions did. In fact this proved to be so when private foundations, friendly governments and international organizations played increasingly significant roles in the realization of university goals once the institution was brought to reality. Taking all these factors together the establishment of the national university was wise and timely. Few Ethiopians regretted it.

Organization and Administration

The factors that influenced the establishment of the Haile Selassie I University (HSIU) determined its administrative and organizational structure. The principal one was the need to unify all existing institutions of higher learning for efficiency including common utilization of available human, plant and equipment facilities and control of expansion of all units in the country. HSIU was to be a highly centralized administrative mechanism. The university charter brought all six institutions under the administrative umbrella of HSIU, and it is this document that provides a clear understanding of the set-up of the university.

Published in the Negarit Gazetta on 28 February 1961, the charter provided for the following administrative bodies and organs. At the head of the organizational hierarchy was the "Chancellor appointed by His Imperial Majesty where the Emperor did not assume that office." There was to be a vice-chancellor appointed by the emperor who would carry out the duties and functions of the chancellor, if for any reason the chancellor himself was unable to carry the duties and functions belonged to him. The chancellor would preside over the convocation where degrees, diplomas and certificates are awarded.

Article 4 of the charter provided for the establishment of a Board of Governors consisting of the following members: (a) the president as ex-officio member, (b) "eight members to be appointed by Us, three ... of whom shall be representatives of the Ministries of Education, Agriculture and Public Health respectively." When the graduate members of HSIU numbered two hundred, the graduates were entitled to elect a member to the board. Article 6 (a) empowered the members of the board to elect their own chairman to preside over their meetings. Article 7 defined the powers and duties of the board, some of which were: to provide for the regulation and conduct of its meetings; to establish and determine the general policy both academic and administration of the university; to recommend to the chancellor the name of a suitable person for appointment as president of the university and to recommend the terms and condition of his employment; "to approve the terms and conditions of appointment of the staff of the University;" to consider disciplinary cases involving the expulsion of students; to approve policies regarding salaries, wages and allowances of the staff.

Article 12 provided for the establishment of a Faculty Council of the university consisting of the president, the vice-president, the deans of each faculty, the dean of students, the directors of departments or institutes where such units were not part of a faculty and three members of each faculty elected by full-time teaching staff members. Article 13 stipulated that the president should act as chairman and the academic vice-president as vice-chairman ex-officio.

Article 15 provided that, subject to any general or special direction of the board, the council was empowered to maintain established faculties, centers or institutes; determine the degrees, diplomas and certificates of proficiency to be granted by the university and the persons to whom they should be granted, and to grant such degrees or diplomas; to determine the general admission examination and graduation of students and to settle disciplinary problems short of expulsion from the university.

The day to day activities of the university fell under the jurisdiction of the university president. In other words the "President shall be the chief executive of the University." Article 20 (b) specified that all members of the staff would be "subordinate to him and shall carry out his directions and instructions whether given to him directly by him or through members of the staff to whom he has delegated responsibility." His other duties included, after consultation with the council and with the approval of the board, to employ and fix the terms and conditions of employment of "all staff;" to prepare the annual budget for consideration by the board and to be responsible for the proper expenditure and accounting of university monies.

Articles 25, 26, and 27 provided for the establishment, organization and responsibility of each college, faculty or school of the university as well as procedures for determining the different ranks of the teaching staff. Articles 29 and 30 established academic commissions within each faculty or college and stipulated their duties, among which were: determining the program of studies for the faculty and making changes in the program "but not so as to affect the general academic policy of the University;" determining the annual and final examinations to be taken in the faculty, recommending to the council the grant of appropriate diplomas, degrees or certificates and settling any academic problems which concerned that faculty. The membership was to consist of five persons elected by the full-time teaching members with the dean as chairman.

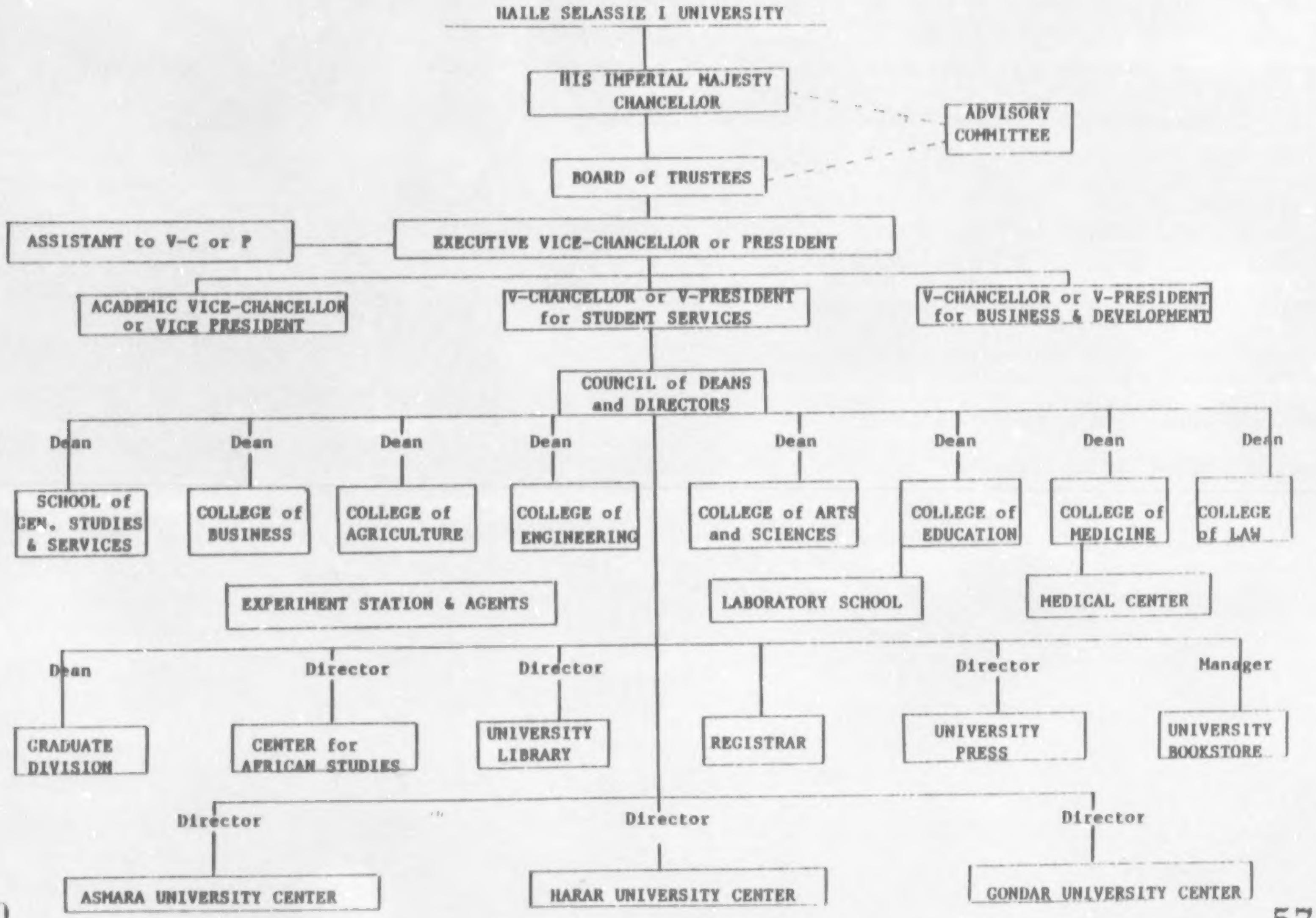
This was to be the general structure of the university. It was similar to the one recommended by the University of Utah Survey Team and to the UCAA charter of eight years ago. At the time there were some important modifications to the structure recommended by the survey team, and what actually emerged is shown in Chart 10. There had been some omissions and some additions. For instance, the recommended African Study Center did not materialize. In its place was the Institute of Ethiopian Studies. The Asmara University Center was left out (except for some extension programs) due, perhaps, to the establishment of the private University of Asmara. The general studies idea was not incorporated, arts and sciences were separated as colleges in their own right, and so forth. Otherwise, most of the recommended organizational pattern was adopted.

Despite many problems, the integration of the various units and colleges, diverse as they were in aims, administration, allegiance, tradition and vested interest of administrators and staff, was gradually realized.

The centralization process was facilitated by two important factors. First, during these thirteen years the university was fortunate in attracting two dedicated Ethiopians as executives. Kassa Wolde Mariam, later created Dejazmach, served as president of HSIU from 1962 to February 1969. From February 1969 Dr. Aklilu Habte himself, one of the first graduates of UCAA (1954), and one of the first Ethiopians to get his terminal degree in the USA, has served as president. First employed in UCAA as a lecturer, then as head of the Department of Education, later, with the establishment of HSIU, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Dean of the Faculty of Education, Assistant Academic Vice-President, Associate Academic Vice-President and eventually

CHART 10

ORGANIZATION CHART OF HSIU AS RECOMMENDED BY UNIVERSITY OF UTAH TEAM 1959-60


HAILE SELASSIE I UNIVERSITY
HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY CHANCELLOR
ADVISORY COMMITTEE
BOARD of TRUSTEES
ASSISTANT to V-C or P
EXECUTIVE VICE-CHANCELLOR or PRESIDENT
ACADEMIC VICE-CHANCELLOR or VICE PRESIDENT
V-CHANCELLOR or V-PRESIDENT for STUDENT SERVICES
V-CHANCELLOR or V-PRESIDENT for BUSINESS & DEVELOPMENT
COUNCIL of DEANS and DIRECTORS
Dean
SCHOOL of GEN. STUDIES & SERVICES
Dean
COLLEGE of BUSINESS
Dean
COLLEGE of AGRICULTURE
Dean
COLLEGE of ENGINEERING
Dean
COLLEGE of ARTS and SCIENCES
Dean
COLLEGE of EDUCATION
Dean
COLLEGE of MEDICINE
Dean
COLLEGE of LAW
EXPERIMENT STATION & AGENTS
LABORATORY SCHOOL
MEDICAL CENTER
Dean
GRADUATE DIVISION
Director
CENTER for AFRICAN STUDIES
Director
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
REGISTRAR
Director
UNIVERSITY PRESS
Manager
UNIVERSITY BOOKSTORE
Director
ASMARA UNIVERSITY CENTER
Director
HARAR UNIVERSITY CENTER
Director
GONDAR UNIVERSITY CENTER

as President, he brought to the presidency the unusual combination of knowledge of Ethiopian society, academic and administrative experience and academic qualifications. These two young men provided competent leadership in the face of overwhelming problems.

The other important factor was the relatively smooth and efficient operation of the Faculty Council of HSIU. The Faculty Council's membership consisted of all deans, heads of institutes which were not attached to a faculty, three elected members of each faculty (for a two-year term, renewable) the Vice-President for Business and Development and the President and Academic Vice-President as ex-officio members and Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively. The Faculty Council functioned through an Executive Committee and standing committees. Ad hoc committees were created from time to time to carry out specific tasks for the council.

The Executive Committee was made up of seven members elected by and from the Council plus the officers of the council, its chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary. Council legislation provided that the Public Health and Agriculture Colleges would send one representative each to the committee. The five other elected members were chosen at large by the council "at the first meeting of each newly-elected Council."[23] The powers and functions of the Executive Committee were to prepare the agenda for the council, serve as clearing house between the council and the standing committees and advise the chairman on the agenda of meetings of the council and on ways in which issues and problems brought before the council could be clarified. It was also the duty of the Executive Committee to recommend the convening of extraordinary sessions of the councils whenever warranted, and to refer issues and problems coming before the council to the appropriate standing committee for advice and recommendations; to determine the limits of jurisdiction of the standing committee; to submit nominations for membership of each standing committee at the first session of each newly elected council.[24]

As of 1973-74 there were eleven standing committees of the council, namely, Academic Standards Committee; Board of Admissions, Curricula, Development and Finance Committees; HSIU Editorial Board; Ethiopian University Service, Extension, Staff Development and Promotions, Library, Scholarship-Training-Grants-Study Abroad and Student Affairs Committees. All were functional except the last. The council expedited much of its business through these committees. The standing committees were responsible to the Faculty Council through the Executive Committee. All members were elected by the council from within its membership or from outside.[25]

The successful integration of the various colleges and faculties was due to the successful operation of the executive and legislative branches of HSIU. Now, the process of integration having been completed, there is a tendency towards decentralization once more. The rationale behind this move is to delegate more responsibility for day-to-day activities to the respective colleges and departments within the colleges, and to facilitate the establishment of regional universities, as recommended by the survey team.

One of the largest universities in Sub-Saharan Africa, Haile Selassie I University was new to Ethiopia. The questions of service to the nation, relationship with governmental departments and ministries as well as the question of autonomy needed to be clarified, communicated to all segments of the population and further developed and strengthened. These inter-related questions, so vital to university autonomy and academic freedom vis-a-vis teaching, research and service obligations have been succinctly stated by the Faculty Council and by the Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Higher Education as follows:

"The Charter rules that the University is responsible for establishing its faculties, admitting students, fixing curricula. The University administers its budget. Subject to national law governing all persons equally, the University hires and defines the responsibility, tenure, rights and duties of its staff and sets the rules governing its students as students. The University must plan its own development; the University must take steps to maintain its academic standing. Responsibility for these tasks devolves upon the Board of Governors, the Faculty Council, the Administrative and academic officers and teachers of the University. The University must, in these and other respects, manage itself. It does not report to any Ministry in particular but it must continue to work in close cooperation with many.

"All Universities worthy of the title 'university' operate under similar conditions; their ultimate responsibilities are their own jurisdiction. If these conditions were otherwise, the University would enjoy little confidence at home, less abroad; it would offer little attraction, little challenge to teachers of competence; it would not enjoy academic prowess; it would never be able to serve the very ends for which it was created.

"But obviously, a national university in a developing country must lay peculiar stress on its public service role; its relationships to government must reflect the fact that a national university in a country lacking expansive revenue resources represents a major public investment designed to promote goals of development and change as these goals are articulated throughout constitutional processes. The investment must yield rewards measured in terms of our graduates to contribute effectively to national progress. In every step for our deliberations we have tried to be guided by this principle.

"Obviously, too, the University must enjoy the confidence of government, just as government reposes confidence in it through its Charter. Our budget, under the Constitution, is submitted through the Council of Ministers. Parliament votes the taxes which provide our revenue. The Public pays. To exercise the powers reposed in us, we must enjoy a confidence based on an appreciation of the precise nature and role of the University. The University must demonstrate that within the limits of our resources and subject always to our integrity as a university, and obedience to our Charter and the other laws of the Empire we are committed to public service and goals of national development. Cultivation of this reciprocal confidence between the University and Government requires continuous interchange, co-operation and good will; in all essentials we believe that this confidence exists and hope it will continue to exist."[26]

The President of HSIU added to the above statements that the relationship with government could only be maintained if the university were able to "use our autonomy to generate a commitment, a set of values, practical as well as preached, which will command respect for their relevance."[27] He added that academic freedom must develop the institution and make it work, and that the Faculty Council must be seen as a very important institution directly connected with the staff of HSIU. The council must be seen as directly responsible for setting academic policy and approving tenure and promotions. He concluded, "these institutional matters are important and relevant to the development of our educational philosophy, for we cannot develop a philosophy, including the freedom to pursue it, if we undermine, through neglect, the machinery established to secure it."[28]

Policies and Programs

In the centralization process at HSIU, one of the major steps taken by the Faculty Council was the unification of several academic policies and practices, such as standardization of admission policies, introduction of a general education core curriculum, the adoption of a unified system of grading and of a uniform academic calendar.

The Faculty Council of the university had appointed a Board of Admissions for all colleges and faculties of the university. All full-time and part-time degree students and some diploma students were required to apply to the Board of Admissions through the Office of the Registrar. New standards for all colleges were adopted as early as August 1962. Although at that early stage qualified candidates were at a premium, it was agreed that eventually all students desiring to register for a degree program in any of the colleges would need the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate or its equivalent. However, due to many loopholes and the newness of the institution in general, during the academic years 1962-63 and 1963-64 some students of low academic qualifications were admitted to some of the colleges. Trudeau reports that the situation called for the president to write a strong memorandum to the deans and other officials expressing regret that approved admission policies had not been strictly followed for the academic year 1963-64.[29]

Although no provision was made in the charter, the Office of the Registrar was established in August 1962. Its functions developed out of practices in the absence of any defined responsibility and seemed to include: preparing the documents for admission to all colleges, keeping student records, producing the university catalogue and other academic prospect uses, issuing transcripts and grades, programming classroom utilization, and maintaining the secretariat of the Board of Admissions.[30] Implementing admission policies was shared between the registrar's office and the Board of Admissions. The registrar reported directly to the academic vice president and was responsible to him.

After a full year of study, the Curriculum Committee of the Faculty Council presented an overall curriculum policy on May 17, 1963. The policy, which was approved by the council, set up the following provisions which changed the existing programs: The minimum total credit requirements for a degree would be 130 hours; all courses would be considered on a semester basis rather than a quarter basis, as had been the case; the minimum student load per semester should be 15 semester hours and the maximum 18 semester hours; all degrees should have a major field of specialization, which would cover a minimum of 42 semester hours of credits; all degree students must take general education courses for a minimum of 31 credit hours.

A new grading system was introduced in 1962-63, the American method of letter grading and grade point averages, as shown in Table 159.

Table 159

University Grading System

Grade	Description	Grade Points
A	Excellent	4
B	Good	3
C	Satisfactory	2
D	Unsatisfactory	1
E	Failing	0

When this new grading system was introduced it created some problems, but as Trudeau pointed out, the temporary inconvenience to European staff members, not accustomed to such a system, was overcome by the long-range advantages. For a similar reason it was difficult initially to introduce a uniform calendar, but the advantages in better utilization of available facilities, in staff cooperation and staff exchanges, in student transfer, in inter-collegiate student meetings, in co-curricular or educational activities and in central administration outweighed personal, regional and other objections.[31]

Admissions

Since 1961 the education policies of HSIU have evolved to accommodate changing needs. As of 1973-74 the following circumstances obtained.

Admission to HSIU might be gained in several different ways: through the ESLCE, or through foreign examinations such as the General Certificate (G.C.E.) of the University of London, Cambridge Overseas, West African School Certificate, the Oxford Examination, or others acceptable to HSIU Board of Admissions.

Most Ethiopian students are admitted to the university through the ESLCE. In this examination a student must pass in five subjects, including Amharic, English and mathematics with a grade point average of 2.00 or 'C' and with an acceptable performance in the University Entrance Aptitude Test. As we shall see later in this chapter, students with grade point averages of 2.4 or above have a better chance of acceptance than those below. There were some sixteen different additional channels that led to university admission, although as more qualified applicants appeared the importance of these avenues has diminished in recent years.

In the foreign examinations the student must have five passes at ordinary level including English language and mathematics. The other three subjects must be appropriate to the faculty the applicant wishes to join.

After 1989-90 basic formation would be gradually phased out, permitting the channeling of all funds and enrollment into the four-year minimum formation programs. By the year 2000 basic formation would have served its purpose—that of rapidly expanding education opportunity—and it would be discontinued. Virtually all the relevant age groups would then be enrolled in government MFE and nongovernment schools.

Meanwhile, enrollment in secondary formation would continue to increase, to accommodate a portion of the growing number of graduates of basic and minimum formation who did not gain admission to the slowly expanding junior secondary schools. In the 1980s about one-third of the eleven to eighteen age group would attend nonformal programs and this proportion would increase to about half in the succeeding decade.

Summary Comparison of Alternative Strategies

Table 191 and Chart 18 summarize the three alternative strategies in terms of enrollment and expenditure for the years 1979-80, 1989-90 and 1999-2000. They show that total expenditure would be the same under all three alternatives for higher education, mass media, administration, and subsidies for nonrecurrent expenditures.

Alternative I would allocate up to 25 percent more money to first level education, but the resulting enrollment would be only a little higher because of higher per student costs. Alternative II, although it offers lower first level enrollment, would achieve higher school participation rates because of its four-year first level program and lower per student costs. Participation rates among the three alternatives are rather difficult to compare since different age bases are used for the first level schools in each program. However, at the second level, enrollment in grades seven through twelve would be comparable in all three alternatives, but expenditure per student would be less in alternatives II and III becuase of the use of lower cost community assistants to teach practical vocational courses.

Second level expenditure would be about the same for alternatives I and II. But enrollments in alternative III would be much higher than in the other two, particularly in the later years, because of the extensive secondary formation program. But expenditure would be only 20 to 30 percent greater because of the low per student cost of secondary education.

Alternative I would provide a limited nonformal program, primarily in literacy training, for a relatively small number of adults. In alternative II more than 10 percent of total expenditure would be allocated for an extensive nonformal education program of community practicums serving more than one million persons annually. A lesser, nonformal education program would be provided in alternative III, because its basic and secondary formation programs would accomplish some of the purposes of the community practicums. As the review task forces noted:

> Overall, alternatives II and III would offer educational opportunity each year to 27 to 30 percent more people than would be accommodated in alternative I, because of their more extensive nonformal programs, and less costly formal programs. Overall participation rates would be accordingly greater.
>
> Alternative III would provide the swiftest route to universal education, and would require the most extensive changes in existing educational methods and structure. School entry age would be

Table 191

Alternative Strategies I, II and III
Summary of Expenditure and Enrollment

	1979/1980			1989/1990			1999/2000		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Expenditure, Total (a)	190	190	190	387	387	387	835	835	835
First Level	88	71	79	187	147	149	454	366	357
Second Level	39	37	37	65	66	77	107	106	137
Third Level	33	33	33	67	67	67	139	139	139
Nonformal	2	21	13	2	42	29	2	91	70
Other (b)	28	28	28	65	65	65	133	133	133
Enrollment, Total (c)	2,380	3,044	2,988	2,712	4,771	4,751	6,041	7,852	7,795
First Level	2,038	1,925	2,168	3,275	3,088	3,213	5,493	5,333	5,187
Second Level	193	220	250	264	301	591	367	416	978
Third Level	10	10	10	17	17	17	28	28	28
Nonformal	139	889	560	159	1,365	930	153	2,075	1,602
Participation Rate, Total (d)	14	18	18	17	22	22	21	28	28

(a) In millions of dollars.
(b) Includes mass media, administration, nongovernment school subsidies, and nonrecurrent expenses.
(c) In thousands.
(d) Total enrollment as a percentage of the population age 7 to 34.

Source: "Report of the Education Sector Review," Exhibit V-E-1, p. V-16.

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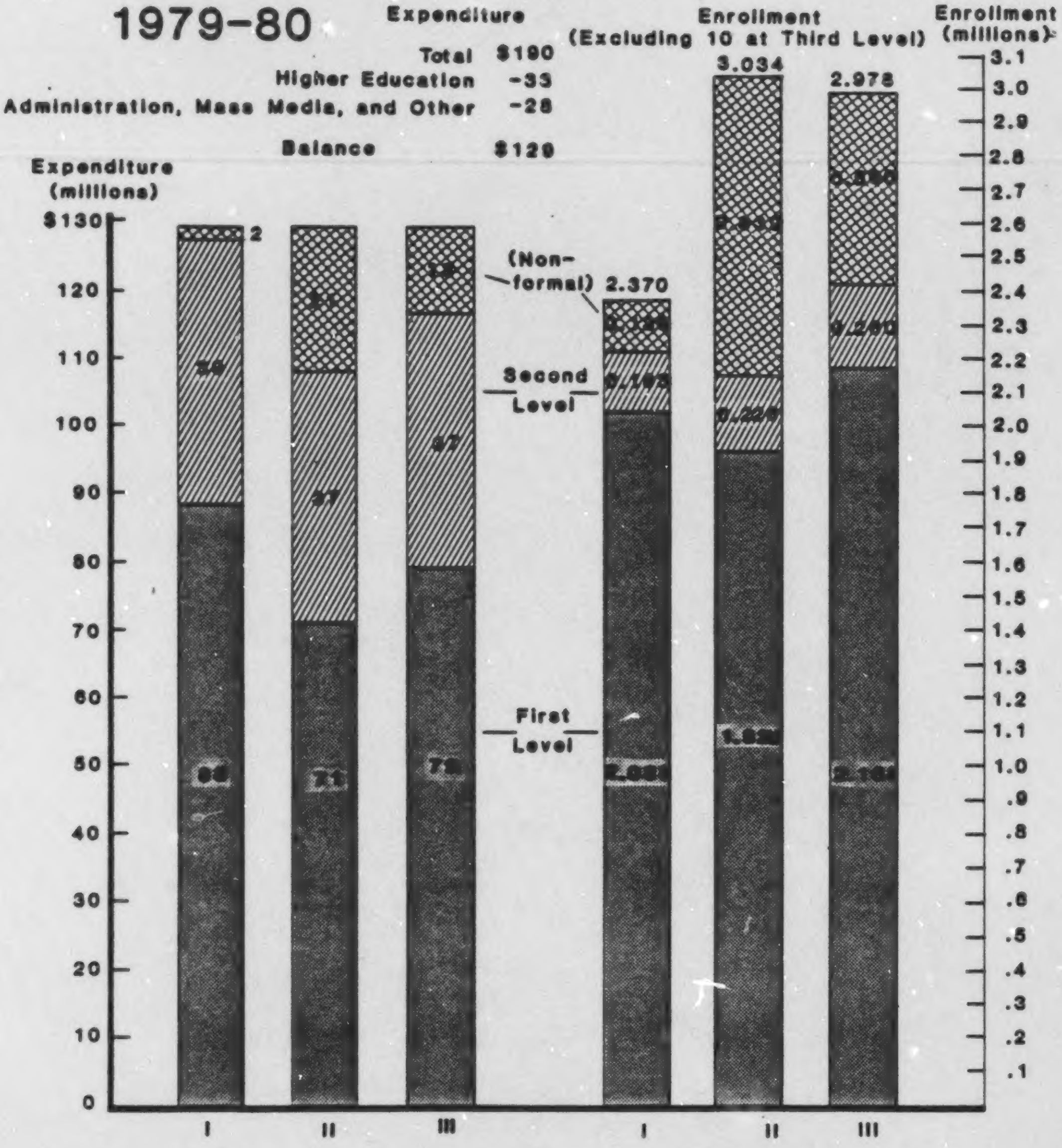
Chart 18

Comparison of Expenditure and Enrollment for Alternative Strategies 1979-80



Source: "Report of the Education Sector Review," Exhibit V-E-3, p. V-16.

> raised to nine years, major changes would be made in first and second level curriculums to make them more relevant, and grades 5 and 6 would be eliminated. A two-year basic formation program would serve 13 to 16 year olds not previously accommodated. Secondary formation schools and an extensive variety of nonformal programs would accommodate first level school leavers and adults.[11]

Finally, after extended debate, the Education Sector Review Conference opted for a modification of alternative II which would incorporate some aspects of alternative III. The recommended strategy was as follows:

-Four years of minimum formation education, to be available to all children as rapidly as permitted by financial constraints.

-Two years of basic formation for youths who have been unable to attend MFE programs.

-A four-year middle school and four-year senior secondary school program for a limited number of graduates of MFE and basic formation programs.

-An extensive system of nonformal educational programs for youth and adults, which would be closely related to the formal system.

Table 192

School Participation Rates for Selected Years

	1979/80	1984/85	1989/90	1994/95	1999/2000
Age Groups 7-10 (MFE and Nongovernment)	44	45	50	64	80
Age Groups 13-14 (Basic Formation)	31	31	40	40	26

Source: "Report of the Education Sector Review," p. V-20.

Under the recommended strategy in the school year 1979-80, the total enrollment in government MFE programs and nongovernment primary schools would be equivalent to 44 percent of the population aged seven to ten. Similarly, the enrollment in basic formation programs would represent 31 percent of the total number of thirteen and fourteen year olds.

The net school participation rate would continue to increase. Tables 192 and 193 show some 90 percent of the children born in 1982-83 will have access to educational opportunity, with about 50 percent attending MFE and nongovernment schools in 1989-90 and about 40 percent entering basic formation six years later. With a 90 percent participation rate, Ethiopia would in effect have achieved universal educational opportunity for those born in 1982-83 and thereafter.

Table 193

Summary of the Recommended Strategy - Expenditure and Enrollment

	1979/80	1984/85	1989/90	1994/95	1999/2000
Expenditure, Total (a)	190	263	387	564	935
Minimum Formation	52	74	98	166	305
Basic Formation	19	25	42	55	51
Second Level (b)	38	49	68	86	109
Third Level	33	47	67	97	139
Nonformal (c)	20	28	47	68	97
Other (d)	28	40	65	92	133
Enrollment, Total (e)	3,056	3,649	4,906	6,215	7,940
First Level	1,988	2,336	3,071	4,197	5,273
Second Level	220	257	301	353	416
Third Level	10	13	17	22	28
Nonformal (c)	838	1,043	1,517	1,643	2,223

(a) In millions of dollars.
(b) Includes middle school, senior secondary, vocational technical and TTI's.
(c) Not including funds from other ILG agencies, and resulting enrollment.
(d) Includes mass media, administration, nongovernment school subsidies, and nonrecurrent expenses.
(e) In thousands. Includes both government and nongovernment.

Source: "Report of the Education Sector Review," p. Exhibit V-F-1, p. V-20.

The review conference left the responsibility of choosing among the alternatives, experimenting and evaluating to the Ethiopian government. It noted: "the consensus of the Conference was to urge that the government carefully evaluate each of the proposed alternative strategies, and it gives its own approval to the recommended strategy. The Conference further recommended that alternative strategy III, because of its attractive features and potential for rapidly achieving mass education, be developed and tried on an experimental basis in related areas." [12]

The recommended strategy would be equivalent to alternative strategy II in money allocation and enrollment at the second and third levels of education. This expansion rate at these two levels should be dependent on the nation's needs for skilled manpower, and enrollment should be adjusted accordingly. It would be equivalent to alternative II in allocations to mass media, administration, and nongovernment school subsidies and nonrecurrent expenses.

The recommended strategy would provide an extensive nonformal education program to serve youth and adults, related to the formal system, and to overall programs of community development The visualized nonformal programs would include, under the general headings of community practicums and community centers, the elements described below.

The community practicums would serve leavers of MFE and basic formation programs, and the others described under alternative II. The purpose would be to develop productive skills for youths having or seeking employment in particular fields. The practicums would closely be related to the formal school system as described under alternative II, and would integrate the formal system to the needs of the community.

The nonformal education programs of the recommended strategy would relate the following elements to the concept of the community practicums. To begin with, community centers would be established and expanded, particularly in rural areas, to incorporate:

-The training of farmers in improved agricultural methods, establishing model farms, serving as distribution centers for fertilizer, seed and other farm supplies, aiding in establishing farm cooperatives.

-The training of housewives in home economics, child care, sanitation, nutrition, sewing and the like.

-Providing adult literacy courses.

-Conducting skill centers for training in practical crafts, as under the community practicum concept. [13]

The programs offered in these centers would depend on a number of factors including local initiative, the extent to which development centers were related to awraja self government plans, whether a given center was in a rural or urban area, and so forth. It was anticipated that the community development centers would have a close relationship with the formal school system. They might serve as an operations base for public works programs, which, in turn, would serve both to provide productive employment for youths and young adults, and to develop infrastructural feeder roads, dams, and forestation projects. Funding the programs would be the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, other interdepartmental governmental agencies , and the communities.

Teacher Training

Effective implementation of the recommended strategy would require significant changes in teaching methods, curricula and teacher attitudes. The TTI programs would be completely overhauled, with emphasis being placed on practical professional courses to prepare TTI students to teach, rather than on academic courses which now prepare them for entrance to third-level institutions. The language of instruction in the TTI's would be Amharic rather than English, since Teacher Training Institute graduates would be teaching in Amharic first level schools. Under the recommended strategy English would not be taught as a subject in MFE. Matriculants at the TTI's would be carefully selected, and limited to sixteen years or older. On completion of a one-year TTI program, leavers would spend one school year as practice teachers, and return to the TTI for a summer seminar program before assignment to schools.

To continue the education of both new and seasoned teachers, and particularly to bring about necessary methodological and attitudinal changes, a large scale in-service training program needed to be planned and launched. A separate department within the Education Ministry would be created to direct the training and retraining programs that would be required. A National Advisory Council on Teacher Training would also be delayed until further experience has been gained on the appropriate teacher mix, and until the number of additional teachers that would be required is known in the light of projected enrollment growth.

Organization & Management

The task forces of the Education Sector Review noted present educational management was highly decentralized to the detriment of speed and efficiency. They asked that Local Self-Administration Order No. 43 of 1966 be seized upon for the delivery and management of education. They specified that first level educational matters be primarily the responsibility of the Awraja Board for Human Resources and the local people. At the secondary level, the Awraja and the provincial education officers together with the respective councils would assume full responsibility for the effective management and operation of education.

The feeling of the Education Sector Review participants was best expressed by the concluding statements of the chairman, Dr. M.S. Adiseshiah. He said:

"Today once more here in Addis Ababa...we have brought to culmination, an Ethiopian model for a learning society, and Ethiopian program of educational reform, restructuation and regeneration. This national model we are recommending is at once a continuation and a change, a running follow-up and a reversal of the Addis Ababa Plan of May 1961 . Today we have before us a national model which bases itself on the impressive achievements of the past and turns the educational system around making it stand on its head as it were, in order that it may serve and meet Ethiopian development needs for the coming three decades."[14]

Malcalm Adiseshiah noted that there were four self-evident Ethiopian truths in the formulation of the strategies. These were, he said, the right and the need of every Ethiopian man, woman and child. Minimum formation education was the answer. The second was "that...education is learning. It is not only reading and writing, it is not only memorizing and remembering what we have read and heard; it is not only knowledge accumulation and information transmittal, Ethiopian education must be learning, it must be skill acquiring, it will be formation."

Thirdly, Ethiopian education must be a development input, becoming an integral part of the agricultural, industrial and commercial regeneration and growth. Educational input in Ethiopia must create a political awakening, national cohesion, cultural flowering, "Individual human fulfilment and spiritual excellence." And further, the Ethiopian education and training as well as a hierarchical form, responding to the need for various levels of educational achievement required by society.

The Minister of Education, Ato Seifu Mahiteme Selassie, in his closing remarks noted the achievements of the conference and added: "This is a difficult task which calls for great efforts and dedication on the part of those on whose shoulders the burdens of implementation will rest."[15] Implementation was to be the testing ground.

Problems of Implementation

In making the final recommendations, the Education Sector Review was not unmindful of the problems of implementation. To begin with, the conference had made it clear that it could not solve all educational problems, but that the Review should be regarded as a broad evaluative study focused on the most fundamental concerns. It had attempted to point to the horizons and directions in which those responsible for the development of Ethiopian education could be guided. The Review Conference underlined the importance of a change of attitude and involvement by all parties in the Ethiopian society in the hard task of implementation. It noted:

"Perhaps the greatest challenge in implementing the recommendations of the Sector Review - or any other far-reaching change in the nation's educational system - would be the need to reorient the attitudes of the people of the nation toward the purposes of education. As noted many times throughout this report, the present system is structured at all levels primarily to provide ongoing academic education. By contract, the recommended system would provide a self-contained program at each level that would be terminal for most students. Its adoption would require recognition and acceptance of this by pupils, parents, teachers, educational administrators, and people from all facets of Ethiopian society. [16]

The necessary reorientation would be facilitated by changes in examination policies and procedures, reorganization of TTI curricula and instructional methods, development of extensive in-service training programs for teachers, overhaul of curricula at all levels, establishment of closer links and crossover points between formal and nonformal systems, decentralization of educational administration, involvement of local authorities in planning the reorganization of the Education Ministry, establishment of coordinating bodies and the integration of education into community and rural development programs. The Review Conference stressed:

"Clearly it will be essential that significance of these farreaching changes be impressed on all levels of Ethiopian society, and it is urged that the implementation of new courses in Ethiopian education be accompanied by massive public information programs, supported and directed by the highest levels of the government."[17]

In the estimation of this author, it was exactly for the failure of involving the Ethiopian public that the Review recommendations bogged down.

In August 1972 the Report of the Sector Review was officially submitted to the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts who, in turn, was to transmit it, with his Ministry's views, to the Council of Ministers and His Imperial Majesty the Emperor. Meanwhile, the massive report of findings and recommendations was labeled "restricted" and access was kept to Review participants and some Ministry officials.

During the summer of 1973 some 2,000 teachers, supervisors and school directors attended a summer school. Only a short briefing was given to them by Ministry of Education officials, in spite of their desire to know more and to have their opinions considered.

The mass media—newspapers, radio and T.V. — hardly mentioned the Sector Review. The council of Ministers took its time either considering the issue or perhaps getting around to considering the proposal.

A summary of the Council's decision indicated that by April 1973 a decision was made to accept the report in its entirety with a slight modification regarding second and third level enrollment target.[18]

The final version of the Education Sector Review was not revealed to the public until February 8, 1974.[19] The ministry then decided to begin implementing the Review recommendation in September 1974. Meanwhile, rumors had been circulating in the country. Either deliberately or for lack of information people were taking aspects of the recommendations out of context and disseminating misleading information. The rumors had it that the Review meant that most school children would be taken out of school at the end of the fourth grade, and that only those who had the means would have the opportunity to proceed to the higher levels. Teacher standards would be curtailed; on the whole it was presented as a conspiracy against the people. Before February 8, 1974, the Ethiopian Teachers Association had decided to go on strike over the new salary scales. In some classes teachers had misinformed their students on why they were striking, including their objections to the Sector Review. Naturally children would, in turn, educate their parents on what the teachers had said.

Following the February 8 announcement, the minister appeared on the radio and television to explain the intentions of the Review and his ministry's position. He was followed by the Minister of State the next day. But it was much too late. A reaction formation had already clouded the thinking of an otherwise receptive public. During the ensuing weeks, a series of local and nation-wide strikes followed one after the other, for this as well as for other reasons.

Perhaps the most articulate opposition came from the Addis Ababa branch of the Ethiopian University Teachers Association. After making a brief analysis of the objectives and proposals of the Education Sector Review, the Association stated that the existing social, economic and political situation in the country precluded the implementation of such far reaching proposals in which millions of people were expected to participate. They noted that much work had to be done beforehand, in reforming other sectors of the nation's economy and creating appropriate institutions, before anything like the Review's recommendations could be implemented. To this end they expressed solidarity with the striking Ethiopian Teachers Association.[20]

On February 22, 1974, twenty-one days after the first announcement was made, the government "suspended" implementation of the Sector Review. The reason given was that implementation required the establishment of essential institutions, and the understanding of the Ethiopian public.[21] On February 27, following a series of strikes and disruptions involving members of the armed forces, the government resigned. On February 28, a new Prime Minister was appointed. For the time being, the Education Sector Review was dropped.

As we have seen in the present volume, the Ethiopian system of education, in spite of its many weaknesses, had helped this nation to stand on its feet. Now, mindful of present and future needs, we launched a re-evaluation, a reassessment of what had been done and must be done. The Education Sector Review's recommendations, despite their limitations, promised some solution to pressing educational problem. If these were not acceptable, we need to find better alternatives—the changing times call for changes in our educational system.

Notes

1. "Notice given by the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts on the Education Sector Review," *Addis Zemen*, 1 Yekatit 1966 E.C. (8 February 1974), pp. 1,3,4.

2. Ethiopia, Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Report of the Education Sector Review* (Addis Ababa, August 1972), p. 1-2.

3. University of Utah Survey Team, *Higher Education in Ethiopia: Survey Reports and Recommendations* (University of Utah, 1959-60), p. 9.

4. Ministry of Education, *Report of the Education Sector Review*, p. 1-2.

5. *Ibid*., p. 1-3.

6. Ethiopia, Ministry of Education, *Report of the Education Sector Review* p. I-7.

7. *Ibid*., p. II-3.

8. *Ibid*., p. II-5.

9. *Ibid*., p. III-1.

10. *Ibid*., pp. III-4 to III-5.

11. Ethiopia, Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Planning Unit, "Summary of the Decisions of the Council of Minister on the Education Sector Review Proposals" (Addis Ababa, April 1973), pp. 1-5.

12. "Notice given by the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts on the Education Sector Review", *Addis Semon*, 1 Yekatit 1966 E.C. (8 February 1974), pp. 1,3,4.

13. Haile Selassie I University, Ethiopian University Teachers Association Circular (6 pp.), issued after a Meeting held on 13 Yekatit 1966 E.C. (21 February 1974), mimeographed; HSIU, EUTA files.

14. "Government Notice", *Addis Zemen*, 15 Yekatit 1966 E.C. (22 February 1974), pp. 1-4.

15. Ethiopia, Ministry of Education, Report of the Education Sector Review, Annex IV, p. 2.

16. Ibid., p. VII-4.

17. Ethiopia, Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Planning Unit, "Summary of the Decisions of the Council of Ministers on the Education Sector Review Proposals" (Addis Ababa, April 1973), pp. 1-5.

18. "Notice given by the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts on the Education Sector Review," *Addis Zemen*, 1 Yekatit 1966 E.C. (8 February 1974), pp. 1,3,4.

19. Ibid.

20. Haile Selassie I University, Ethiopian University Teachers Association Circular, mimeographed (Addis Ababa: Haile Selassie I University, EUTA files, 1974).

21. "Government Notice," Addis Zemen, 15 Yekatit E.C. (22 February 1974), pp. 1-4.

Chapter XVII

EPILOGUE: THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN ETHIOPIA

The Education Sector Review recommended that the whole system be restructured in such a way that, before the end of the current century, 95 percent of all school children would complete basic education, and then most of these would participate in some of the community practicums to be established in rural and urban centers under the auspices of the relevant government ministry. Provisions were also made for adults to participate in adult literacy and basic education programs. The commission urged that the government must also initiate economic and administrative reforms and must at the same time develop the people's confidence in these measures.

The ESR's findings were not made public by the government, and in any case its activities were overlooked during the ensuing period of civil unrest. A military mutiny in 1974 resulted in the suspension of the nation's constitution and disolution of parliament. A provisional military government (PMAC) gradually assumed full control of the country.

No serious effort had been made to implement the ESR's recommendation by the former government. The new socialist government, however, encountered this excellent study, was favorably impressed, and adopted much of it as policy. Thus, one might point out that an educational revolution was in place before the national revolution swept the country.

One of the first important steps taken by the new government was to establish the formal program of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia. This formal document declares the regime's intention to establish a people's democratic republic in which freedom, equality, unity, and prosperity of the Ethiopian peoples is ensured. Educational opportunities are to be provided to all people, and the right of self determination of all nationalities recognized and respected. "No nationality will dominate another one since the history, culture, language, and religion of each nationality will have equal recognition in accordance with the spirit of socialism."[1]

The new government adopted the ESR educational plan, gave it a new name, and created the necessary conditions and institutions that made it possible to carry out the ideas originally suggested. A series of enabling legislation was proclaimed, of which the most important are the proclamations of December 14, 1975, which provides for the establishment of small farmers' associations authorized to perform various civil functions. Significant among these is "the development and operation of schools, clinics, and social security for the old, sick, and disabled."

The associations' activities are coordinated by the appropriate government units at the wereda (subdistrict), awraja (district), provincial and national levels. The overall aim in establishing the small farmers' associations is to enable "...the broad masses in socialist Ethiopia [to] administer their own affairs, solve their own local problems, and participate directly in the political, economic, and social movement."[2]

Other legislation, by the new Ethiopian government that affected education are: the Proclamation of September 29, 1975, that transferred privately owned schools to public ownership; the December 1974 Proclamation defining the minimum working conditions and the nature of employment; Proclamation No. 62 of 1975 establishing the Science and Technology Commission; Proclamation No. 103 of 1976 providing for the control and administration of schools by the people, and Proclamation No. 109 of 1977 providing for the establishment of the Higher Education Commission that replaced and expanded the powers formerly held by the Board of Governors.

It was the formation of the small farmers' association, however, that was especially important in achieving equity and development in the Ethiopian educational system, in that these groups provided the essential organizational framework that encourages and supports mass participation in the establishment, operation, and control of education programs. The same provisions permit and encourage the greater integration of educational programs and activities with development programs in other sectors. The sum total of the emergence of these new institutions is the revolutionizing of the concept of education in the country to make it Ethiopian in its inspiration and relevant to the environment and requirements of the country.

Goals of the Education System

The major goals of Ethiopian education had shifted from time to time depending on how needs were perceived by those in power; e.g., workforce training, social requirements, or political considerations. Between 1941 and 1949 the emphasis was upon education for its own sake, at least for the fortunate few with access to schooling. In the 1950 to 1960 period the emphasis shifted to education for workforce development, which meant (among other things) providing education on a priority basis for those whom the national development requires; i.e., technicians, administrators, and professionals in teaching, health, and industry. This approach, however, encouraged more elitism and self-centered social mobility desires than anything else.

By the beginning of the 1970's the emphasis and orientation shifted to mass education, which meant that the goals of the earlier period were maintained while efforts were made to provide education to the entire population--rural and urban--on a universal basis. The 1971-72 Education Sector Review exercise mentioned above, was designed to address the huge problem of how to reach the illiterate portion of the Ethiopian population (estimated at 90 percent) within a generation without expending significantly more resources.

The new government noted that the previous regime had failed to create a social and political environment conducive to mass education. The narrow system of formal education provided before 1974 was misdirected in scope, objectives, equality of opportunity, content, and method. It was accused of unduly emphasizing the training of "... elites in urban communities at the expense of basic and primary education for the masses of the population in rural communities..."[3] Even where mass basic education was attempted, progress was impeded by numerous obstacles: lack of transportation, communication, and teaching-learning materials; the land tenure system; employment regulations; and scattered population settlements.

Therefore the post-1974 government has launched an imaginative program with far reaching goals which are to be achieved within a decade. While these proclaimed goals may not be actually fully achieved, the intentions are commendable and, given the social climate and the political will, chances for their attainment are very good.

These goals call for the rapid expansion of mass literacy and basic education so that the entire population will be better able to participate in the overall development of the country. This is intended to be achieved (1) through the rapid expansion of primary schools and by providing polytechnical education for about nine million children from grades one through eight; (2) through the development of parallel nonformal and continuing education for all citizens who are not engaged in full-time education; (3) by strengthening the scientific and technical areas of the general polytechnic system of education and the establishment of new facilities for specific technical education and training; and (4) by creating a new management and organizational structure for the administration of education reflecting the broad divisions of labor in the education sector between general polytechnic education, mass education, technical education, and training and higher education which permit an appropriate decentralization of responsibilities.[4]

In summary, the goals include providing free, democratic education within a decade to all the people by utilizing formal and nonformal methods. Education is to be related to the cultural, political, and vocational requirements and needs of the different nationality groups that constitute the state of Ethiopia.

So far, attempts to translate these goals into functioning programs has enjoyed local, national, and international support; this is evidenced by the contribution of material aid by the local people as well as by Unesco, UNDP, IDA of the World Bank, and other international agencies. The literacy and basic education efforts to date have produced results in excess of reasonable expectations.

General Structure and Size of Education Effort

The present education system provides three years of school education (beginning at age four), six years of primary education (grades 1-6, beginning at age seven), two years of junior secondary schools (grades 7 and 8), and four years of senior secondary school (grades 9 through 12). In addition, specialized instruction is provided (a) in technical/vocational schools which recruit students from grade 8 for two to four years of training, and (b) in primary teacher training which recruits from grade 12 for a one-year training period.

At the tertiary level are the Addis Ababa University system with several campuses in several centers, Asmara University, a number of junior colleges, and colleges of the armed forces. Except for the latter group, all post-secondary education activities are coordinated by the Higher Education Commission. These institutions award certificates, diplomas, and first degrees. Some units of the university system have recently instituted graduate programs.

University admission is based on high scores in the Ethiopian School Leaving Examinations; this tends to favor those that come from the urban-based (and hence better equipped) secondary schools which are concentrated in three centers around the country. The representation of students from rural-based secondary schools is still relatively poor.

Except in some instances, public education in Ethiopia has always been free for those fortunate enough to have access to it. Historically, the metropolitan centers of Addis Ababa and Asmara (together with their immediate environs) and, to a lesser extent, the Harar and Wallega Regions have provided more educational opportunities than elsewhere in the country, due to concentrations of power in these areas as well as some missionary activities. Thus gross imbalances of access to education continued to affect the majority of the rural people, as well as women and girls. This inequitable pattern persists, but measures are being taken to eliminate the discriminatory patterns of the past and to provide equal opportunities to the rural populations, to the nation's cultural minorities, and to girls and women. The education system is now uniformly coeducational throughout the country. Attrition of students at all levels within the system continues to be more prevalent among those from rural-based schools.

Educational opportunities for adults are of increasing importance. The system of adult and nonformal education is extending opportunities for adult literacy, basic education, and skill training to citizens of post-school age. The government has assigned high priority to these programs in a serious effort to promote the full participation of the whole population in national development.

The national literacy campaign was initiated in 1979 and already produced impressive results. By drawing upon the services of regular teachers, high school and university students, and members of the armed forces, and by utilizing schools, churches, and government buildings and facilities, the government has been able to mount a successful campaign against illiteracy. Through the combined efforts of the formal schools and nonformal institutions, Ethiopia expects to attain universal literacy within the current decade.

Basic adult education programs have also been initiated to provide Ethiopian adults with the fundamental information -- attitudes, skills, and knowledge -- required by all citizens who wish to participate fully in their society, and which is consonant with the democratic views of that society.

Basic education is thus viewed, not as an end in itself, but as a stage and prerequisite for a lifelong learning process. Basic education is also inimical to the creation of a privileged elite which receives the benefits of education at the expense of the majority. A multipurpose system of Community Skill Training Centers (CSTCs) is being established in each subdistrict to provide training in improved craftsmanship, healthful living, sanitation, nutrition, civic responsibilities, and similar skills to help people live better lives.

These programs are locally controlled and administered with some technical and material assistance from the regional or national government. The results achieved so far inspire hope that they are the ideal response to the needs of a long-neglected rural majority.

Administrative and Supervisory Structure and Operation

As in other areas, the administration and supervision of the Ethiopian school system is in the process of evolving. What is reported here is the process, orientation, and direction of the system's development rather than its achievements to date.

Until 1974, education administration was highly centralized. Although Ministry of Education representatives served at various government levels throughout the country, most major policy decisions and directions were issued from the Ministry of Education's headquarters in Addis Ababa. Teachers were recruited, trained and deployed by the central office; curriculum materials were centrally produced and distributed, often taking months to reach their intended destinations. There were virtually no local initiatives in matters of administration or supervision by local citizens.

A number of steps were taken after 1974 to reverse (or at least to moderate) this unhealthy concentration of power among remote and distant administrators, far removed from the scene of actual day-to-day problems.

The Proclamation for Administration and Control of the Schools by the People (No. 103 of 1976) created associations of small farmers and urban dwellers in order to provide (among other things) for the local administration and control of schools. Members of local education and school committees were drawn from representatives of such popular organizations as small farmers' and urban dwellers' associations as well as a teacher representative, the principal of the particular school, and (in the case of secondary schools) a student representative at least sixteen years old.

The proclamation charges the respective committees with the following duties: to supervise the general operation of the school in accordance with directives issued by the Ministry of Education; to advise and assist the school to reflect into its program the culture of the people; and to supervise the proper utilization of government subsidies; to cultivate local sources of income; to encourage village crafts people to disseminate their skills; and to facilitate and encourage open interaction between school and community so that what is learned in the classrooms is put into practice; to expand the school as necessary including the recruitment and deployment of new teachers using local budgetary resources; and to remove any obstacles to school objectives in cooperation and with assistance of local popular organizations. The district and subdistrict mass organizations have the responsibility of coordinating the activities of committees within their jurisdictions as well as the duties to endeavor to expand education and cooperate with the Ministry. The purpose is to enable local communities to shoulder their share of responsibilities for the establishment, operation and expansion of education in their respective communities. This arrangement has the dual advantage of keeping the schools more in tune to the people thus making its activities sensitive and responsive to local needs where it draws its sustenance. In addition Proclamation No. 548 of 1975 tranferred private schools to local cooperatives of urban dwellers.

These arrangements have some flaws given the present educational level of many of the communities, but the intentions are noble and the goals worth striving for. In the long run it will strengthen pride and responsibility for the institution.

By making mass participation possible in the education system, the new organizational structure has removed many obstacles to development and has directly linked popular organizations with the general development programs. This arrangement has facilitated the allocation of land to educational projects, and provides the local people with an appropriate organizational framework (with decision-making and accounting responsibility). The result is that community support of the schools (in case or in kind) makes possible a number of educational programs: e.g., basic education, primary schools, district pedagogical centers, community skill training centers, classrooms for secondary schools, literacy centers, and preschool centers. On a wider scale, this same process allows educational programs to be more closely integrated with other sectors of the nation's life.

Education Finance

In the post-1941 period, public education in Ethiopia was financed from three main sources: the central treasury, rural land education tax, and bilateral and international assistance from abroad.

Operation and administration of provincial elementary schools were financed by taxes on rural land (levied at the rate of 30 percent of the general land tax). Postprimary and urban-based primary schools were financed by the central treasury. Since rural income was stagnant at this time, income from rural lands was limited (about US$ 3 to 4 million per year). This naturally retarded the development of education in rural areas. Education resources in the few urban centers, however, were relatively prosperous. A new education tax on urban property and income was initated in the early 1970's but this did little to alleviate the needs and pressures in rural areas.

Educational expenditures have remained fixed at around 10 percent of the Ethiopian national budget for quite some time. Private religious organizations and non-ministry of education units contributed another 5 percent or so each year. The combined effort therefore amounted to about 15 percent of the nation's total annual expenditures. In terms of GNDP, this represents less than two percent per annum, very low, in comparison to expenditures in other developing nations or in terms of Ethiopia's real needs. The estimated total expenditures (from government and nongovernment sources) for the 1970-71 period was US$ 70 million.[5]

Data from the early 1970's indicate that the distribution of expenditures by all agenies among the different levels of education was: nonformal education, 12 percent; primary, 44 percent; secondary, 23 percent; and tertiary education, 24 percent. Systematic education finance data for the post-1974 period are nonexistant, but the trend seems to suggest that basic adult and primary education will receive a larger share of the education budget, perhaps even at the expense of postprimary education.

In the current (post-1974) period, local popular organizations are providing means and materials for the establishment and operation of schools. There is as yet no well-established accounting system, so it is not easy to assess the magnitude of their impact. The religious organizations also continue to carry on their education activities, albeit at a reduced level. The central government's education budget is further conserved through the use of such nonconventional means and sources as putting secondary and college students to work as unsalaried teachers during the long vacation periods and similar service by military personnel and regular teachers who do not demand or receive additional pay. During the 1979-80 literacy campaign, for instance, over five million adults were instructed at a cost of only US$ 2.2 million. There is no doubt that unorthodox methods will continue to be utilized to achieve the nation's goal of universal literacy and cultural development.

A considerable amount of aid for postprimary and tertiary education has come from the World Bank, United Nations agencies, and developed countries in North America and Europe in the forms of loans for specific projects, general grants, and scholarships for overseas training.

Supplying Personnel for the Education System

A shortage of qualified teachers, always a problem in the Ethiopian education system, continues to impede plans for expansion. In 1980 the Ministry of Education reported that there were 30,600 elementary, 4,640 junior secondary, 4,350 senior secondary school teachers: a combined total of 39,540 teachers in grades one through 12. When one adds some 500 university teachers, there is a grand total of 40,040.[6] The statistics do not indicate whether teachers of the nongovernment schools are included, but in any case their number is relatively small. About 5,000 new teachers graduate annually from the nation's teacher training institutions. There are nine of these at present and more are being developed. The present teaching force is reaching some 30 percent of the school age population; if the expected plan of achieving universal literacy within a decade is to be realized, at least a minimal net increase of 120,000 more is needed over the plan period.

The usual requirement for prospective primary school teachers seeking admission to training institutes is completion of grade 12; the actual training period generally lasts from one to two years. Secondary school teachers are trained in the School of Pedagogical Science of Addis Ababa

University and at the Agricultural College of Alemaya. Graduates from these two institutions receive a B.A. or B.Sc. degree and, upon graduation, are assigned to senior secondary schools. There are also at least two other colleges (one located in the capital and the other in Bahir Dar, Gojam region) that prepare teachers for the junior secondary and technical schools.

The training of qualified teachers is a very slow and expensive process. In response, to cut the time span and improve the quality of teacher preparation, several unorthodox measures have recently been initiated to reduce the time involved and to improve the quality of graduating teachers. One of these involves establishing at least one pedagogical center in each of the 106 awraja (districts) to serve as a focal point for the training of teachers through formal and informal means like inservice programs, seminars, and workshops. These centers are also intended to serve as development points or resource centers for the educational programs and for the coordination, integration, and smooth operation of all educational delivery systems. These centers are equipped with basic publishing facilities (which are not often available locally) so that relevant educational information and new teaching materials may be collected and disseminated in each awraja community. The teacher designates participate fully in such activities which develop their skills and sensitivity to the specific needs of the local community.

Additional ways to accelerate teacher education are under consideration; e.g., the provision of short intensive courses that are followed by continuous inservice training during the long and short vacations, and the provision of teacher training courses as components of some selected existing comprehensive secondary schools, at least one in each awraja.

Problems, however, still remain. There are many schools that are operating on two- or three-shift systems, due primarily to lack of qualified teachers and classroom space. This shortens student's learning time, overworks school personnel, and reduces the efficiency of the learning process.

Further by 1974 the Ethiopian teaching force had averaged 75 percent for the national university system. Some colleges were almost fully staffed by Ethiopian faculty. Furthermore the qualifications and ability and motivations to use these qualifications, were very high. After 1974 many of Ethiopia's leading educational administrators and faculty left the country and now hold positions all over the world. Consequently, when the nation's colleges resumed operation after the 1974-76 interruption, the authorities of necessity resorted to employing foreign personnel, drew staff from civil service ranks, and required college graduates with first degree to teach. As a result, the quality of instruction and scholarship naturally declined. This issue can best be addressed by recreating an atmosphere that encourages (1) the normal functioning of university personnel, and (2) an aggressive graduate training program for bright and motivated young people at both Ethiopian and foreign schools, that provides these people with endubcements for seeking educational careers in their own country.

Curriculum Development and Teaching Methodology

Before 1974, the development and distribution of teaching-learning materials was performed by the Ministry of Education in Addis Ababa. Local citizens, school administrators, and teachers had practically no influence in either the conception, development, or evaluation of curriculum materials. This inevitably caused problems with the various different local linguistic, religious, or ethnic groups. Timely distribution of education materials was hampered by bureaucracy, bad roads and poor transportation systems, and instances of local uncooperativeness. The highly centralized administrative structure did not permit local revisions of teaching materials, since textbooks were centrally produced and distributed.

After 1974, however, a realistic appraisal was made of the work, occupations, and hence of the educational needs of the Ethiopian people. As a consequence, efforts were made to make education relevant to their needs through comprehensive changes in the curriculum. As noted earlier, 90 percent of Ethiopians live on the land in rural areas. Their major problems include (1) shortage of food due to lack of fertilizer, modern agricultural technology, or drought, (2) shortage of timber for fuel, (3) difficulty of access to safe and reliable water, (4) lack of basic health services, (5) absence of adequate communications, (6) lack of proper housing and sanitation, and (7) lack of suitable technology for facilitating increased productivity.

Temporary, transitional measures are being used while plans are being implemented to decentralize the curriculum development and administration policies. The department of curriculum and supervision of the Ministry of Education in Addis Ababa organizes panels of experts in each subject area; these specialities are required to research and develop textbooks, teachers' guides, workbooks, and related materials for all grades through 12.

These materials are sent to representative schools in different parts of the country for examination, evaluation, and comment by teachers and school administrators. Revisions are made in the light of these reactions from the field, and the material is produced as a standard text. This same department conducts workshops for teachers which serve in part as a means to involve them in the examination and appraisal of new curricula policies, materials, and methods of instruction.[8]

The national trend, however, is toward the localization of curricular development responsibilities. In order to promote and facilitate the production and timely distribution of teaching aids and related curricula materials (as well as school equipment and furniture), a new unit known as "Education Materials Production and Distribution Agency (EMPA) is being established within the Ministry of Education. This agency has initiated the establishment of production units in the secondary schools themselves, which encourages the linking of school learning and productive work. Two other arms of EMPA oversee the production and distribution of materials on a decentralized basis: the regional hand tool production units prepare and produce essential tools and equipment required in the schools for practical subjects, and the regional printing units which provide local printing services and teach students the art and techniques of publishing.[9]

By means of such a decentralized administrative structure, it is intended that the educational activities of each community respond to the immediate needs of each community without neglecting the need for educational modernization. Accordingly, agriculture, village industries, and village technologies are given increased attention and support. The key elements are: relating education to productive work, doing while learning, and self-sufficiency through the teaching of science and technology. This approach emphasizes appropriate productive knowledge that meets local needs and addresses the major problems of local people. The core curricula, consisting of science, mathematics, productive technology, agriculture, and the social sciences, are provided within the school proper and at work places so that there are continued linkages and interactions between the worlds of work and learning.

Educational materials are being prepared in at least four minority languages in addition to Amharic, Ethiopia's national language. There are plans to use minority languages in instruction also, primarily in basic education, adult literacy, and primary grades. The national radio system, directly or through its regional stations, also broadcasts education-related programs in some of these local languages.

Lectures constitute the predominant pedagogical method in the Ethiopian school system. The teacher talks, and students follow directions or take notes on information that may be useful at comprehensive examination time. This method, a carryover from ancient methods practiced by the religious institutions, encourages learning by rote memory without the student's necessarily understanding the material covered. Attempts are now being made to generalize what they are learning in school by requiring them to relate the information to the daily resolution of immediate problems of working and making a living. This new approach is enhanced and facilitated by the local small farmer associations which are well represented in the local school management committees. As mentioned earlier, these local committees are charged "to advise and assist the school to reflect in its programmes the culture of the people; ... to encourage the village handicraftmen to disseminate their skills," and to "coordinate the school and village with a view to ensuring that education is not confined to the classroom and that it is integrated with practice."[10]

There are numerous problems awaiting solutions in the areas of curricula and teaching methods, both in the grade school and post-secondary education systems. Perhaps the major one is a lack of resources: of trained personnel and supporting equipment, and of facilitites and funds to constantly research, test, evaluate and adapt new and improved teaching methods and instructional materials. As more (and heretofore undeveloped) languages are included in the curricula in order to make education culturally and economically relevant to the community, the need for more and improved research becomes acute. At the moment the necessary ingredients to do the job are in very short supply.

The new educational institutions are still in their infancy; they need to grow and mature, and to learn how to resolve internal conflicts before they will be able to assume their full responsibilitites in performing their educational functions. Most of these new institutions still lack the skills and experience of curricula policy formulation, evaluation, or implementation. Under such circumstances, political authorities are strongly tempted to dissolve local institutions and to transfer their responsibilities from the local people to the central authorities. It is hoped that this course will not be followed and that patience, understanding, and compassion will prevail in the struggle for local self-sufficiency and self-reliance.

Higher education is a very expensive undertaking for a poor country like Ethiopia, but it is extremely doubtful that such a poor country can do without the trained human resources that the colleges produce. Attempts to do justice to the traditionally neglected majority of the people could all too easily result in neglecting or starving the teaching and research activities of the university system. If this should happen, not only will the university suffer lasting damages but the lower grades of the public schools, whose faculty and staff are trained in the universitites, will suffer as well.

Systems of Examinations, Promotion, and Certification

There are two types of examination systems in Ethiopia--school-wide and nation-wide. As a rule, promotion from one grade to the next is decided on the basis of school-wide or classroom tests. These tests are usually administered twice a year, sometimes more often. Test scores are used at the end of the year to determine who is or is not being promoted. At the completion of grades six and eight, all students take centrally developed and administered nation-wide examinations involving the core courses that have been covered so far. A criterion grade point is established in the scores on the basis of which some students are promoted to the next grade and some are allowed to repeat. Many non-passing students join other training units (if available) or simply drop out of school.

All students throughout the country who wish may take the Ethiopian School Leaving Examination (ESLCE) at the completion of secondary school or again after grade 12. The examinations are administered nation-wide on the same days and are centrally developed and evaluated by the Ministry of Education. Over the last two decades, successful matriculants were automatically accepted by the colleges. As the number of graduating high school students increased more rapidly than the colleges were expanding, however, there is no longer room for all successful matriculants in the university system. During this past year, for example, some 75,000 students sat for the ESLCE; eleven thousand passed, but only about 3,000 were accepted by the colleges. A few of the remaining 8,000 students may have found admission at one or another of the sub-university institutions, but most are left with no recourse.

Education officials are considering the elimination of some of the formal examinations (at least at the primary grade level) and replacing them with daily teacher evaluation of student performance.

Many educators and students believe that the certification functions of the examination should be separate from the university admission function, since non-admission to college lumps graduating students with school leavers, the majority of them system "failures." This in turn prejudices their chances of employment or further education through other channels in other localities, including study abroad. This suggestion--separating certification from university admission--appears to be reasonable and may be implemented in the not distant future.

Educational Research

Educational research conducted during the first two decades after the restoration of the national government in 1941 was largely related to the production of teaching materials and educational policy and administration. Research projects were very modest due primarily to the lack of qualified personnel. An increased but still modest amount of research was carried out regarding Ethiopian history, ethnography, and culture after the regional colleges and the state university were established. Since 1970, the Ministry of Education (through the departments of curriculum, planning, adult education and teacher training) has been carrying out some policy- and curricula-oriented research, but not enough to really be helpful.

The national university has performed some quality research and publication work through the School of Pedagogical Science Research Center. Publications that disseminate such research information include the Journal of Ethiopian Education, the Journal of Ethiopian Studies, Ethiopian Observer and Yernemhiran Dimts (The Voice of Teachers) and a few other occasional publications.

Most current research and related activities are being directed at methods and materials needed to accomplish the nation's major objectives: eradication of illiteracy by 1986 and continuation of basic and lifelong education for the majority of Ethiopian citizens. Nevertheless, much (and badly needed) research remains to be done in sociopsychological and biological aspects of the Ethiopian family and society, and on the nation's past and present institutions.

Major Problems for the Next Two Decades

There is no clear picture of emergent problems over the next two decades. If the present tendencies continue to persist or worsen, then there will be major problems to solve, including political ones which undoubtedly would affect the course, direction, and magnitude of education. The present government designates itself as provisional, and the majority of Ethiopians have not yet had the opportunity to express their wishes regarding the form of government they prefer. The few that have spoken, such as the Eritreans, Tigrae, or the Oromo, would like to see a political arrangement different from any present or past system in Ethiopia. If political development is not relatively smooth, the government will naturally devote major attention and investment of resources towards maintaining political and military stability. Should this happen, progress of education is bound to suffer.

Although Ethiopia will continue to emphasize the improvement of adult, basic, and primary education, it is unlikely that postsecondary education and particularly university education will fair as well. The increased demand for space in the university system by ever growing numbers of secondary school graduates will not be satisfied. If present trends continue, the university will suffer from both inadequate funding and from lack of necessary freedoms to conduct research and disseminate the results. Student unions and their publications will probably continue to be barred, or they may emerge in some new and completely different form, perhaps reflecting only the views and opinions sanctioned by the political authorities.

All these factors together may affect the quality of Ethiopia's teachers and scholars and could greatly diminish the role of the nation's colleges and universitites as repositories of knowledge and healthy critics of Ethiopian society. A lack of sufficient material resources will continue to impede social development in general and education in particular; the continuing shortage of relevant teaching and learning materials exemplifies this problem.

In summary, Ethiopian education will be affected by scarcity of trained, experienced and professional faculty and staff, by a fragile political system, and by untested political institutions.

Notes

1. Ethiopian Herald, 1 April 1976.

2. Jemberie, Amde Selassie, A Brief Description of Educational Development in Ethiopia with Special Attention to its Planning Requirements (Paris: UNESCO, 1978), p. 3.

3. Jemberie, Amde Selassie (1978), p. 5.

4. See United Nations Development Programme and UNESCO, Ethiopia: Basic Education Programme, Project Findings and Recommendations, Serial No. FMR/ED/OPS/80/220 UNDP (Paris: UNESCO, 1980), pp. 10-11.

5. Ethiopian Ministry of Education, Education: Challenge to the Nation, Report of the Education Section Sector Review (Addis Ababa, 1972), p. IV-28.

6. Ethiopian Herald, 26 July 1980.

7. United Nations Development Programme and UNESCO (1980), p. 3.

8. Ethiopian Herald, 26 July 1980.

9. Jemberie, Amde Selassie (1978), pp. 14-15.

10. Ibid., p. 7.

Appendix A

Chart of Educational Development - G.C. 1905-1978

1905 Emperor Menelik II issued a proclamation calling the attention of his people to the importance of education "...from now on after reaching the age of six, boys and girls must be sent to school... My government will prepare the schools and the teachers."

Emperor Menelik II started school in the palace, primarily for the sons of the nobility, under the direction of Kagnazmatch Ispa. The subjects taught included reading, writing, calligraphy, religion, Ethiopian history, law and Geez.

There were 754 Europeans in Ethiopia under the age of fifteen Different schools for Eritreans and Italians were set up: There were government and missionary schools for Italian children. There were traditional schools for Ethiopian children (run by the local church or muslim communities), and Roman Catholic or Swedish Mission schools for the Eritreans or "Natives."

The Evangelica Fosterlands Stiftelsen (or Swedish Evangelical Mission) was established in Addis Ababa (and in Eritrea in 1866), but because of local opposition did not start real educational work until 1924.

1906 Some ten Coptic arrived and were stationed in Addis Ababa, Harar Ankober and Dessie under the general direction of Professor Hanna Saleh Bey. The curriculum included French, English, Arabic, Italian, Amharic, Geez, mathematics, science, physical training and sports.

1907 The follwing schools existed by this year for Europeans in Asmara: Elementary Government School, Elementary Catholic School, Catholic Orphanage; Massawa: Elementary Catholic School, Catholic Orphanage; Keren: Elementary Government School, Elementary Catholic School, Catholic Orphanage; Adi Ugri: Elementary Government School; Saganeiti: Elementary Catholic School, Catholic Orphanage; and for the "Natives": Massawa, Catholic, Menakullu, Swedish; Ghinda Catholic and Swedish; Asmara, Catholic, Swedish and Father Bonomic; Beressa, Swedish; Zazzega Swedish, Himberti, Swedish; Belesa, Swedish; Saganeiti, Catholic, Assab, Swedish.

A non-government school run by missionary societies was established in Addis Ababa by M. Felix de Note, on behalf of the French Community, for Ethiopian children. It was run by the brothers of Saint Gabriel.

Missionary Societies established a school at Dire Dawa similar to the one at Addis Ababa.

The Seventh Day Adventist Mission was established in Eritrea and came to Addis Ababa soon after.

1907-8 Emperor Menelik II established a school for foreign languages and had many boys taught.

1908 A proclamation concerning religion and the Ministry of Education was issued. The proclamation consisted of four articles.

Emperor Menelik established schools at Ankober, Harar and Dessie.

Emperor Menelik issued a proclamation regarding the negative attitude of the majority of Ethiopians towards skilled manual labor.

1909 Professor Hanna Saleh Bey, the Egyptian Headmaster of the Menelik School, was appointed Director of Education.

1912 After this date, all Italian colonial education services were put under the direction of the Minister of Colonies.

The Ecole Francaise was opened in Addis Ababa. This was run by the Brothers of Saint Gabriel, under the guidance of a local committee composed of Ethiopians, Greeks, Armenians and Lebanese as well as Frenchmen, and was presided over by a Franco-Ethiopian Railway Company.

The Bibletenga Vanner Mission (or Friends of the Bible) came to Eritrea.

1914 In Eritrea die Minori Cappouccini established a school of arts and crafts at Saganeiti.

1918 There were four government schools for the children of Eritreans in the colony. These were an elementary school at Asmara, the school of St. George for Coptic Eritreans at Adi Ugri, St. Michael's school for Catholic Eritreans at Seganeiti and the Salvago Raggi school for Moslems in Keren.

1919 Pontifico College Ethiopico established by Pope Benedict XV to replace the old Hospice for Ethiopians.

1920 An article that appeared in the Berhanena Selam newspaper urged people to approach, the Regent Tafari Makonnen, with requests for a law for compuslory school attendance.

1921 Empress Zewditu issued a proclamation requiring all parents to teach their children the rudiments of reading and writing.

A decree which represented a pre-fascist attempt to organize native education in Eritrea was issued.

A decree was passed. This decree provided a two-year finishing program for a few of the pupils in which they could receive instruction in telegraphy and typography.

1921 The Bibletenga Vanner Mission (or Friends of the Bible) came to Addis Ababa.

1922 The only school in Ethiopia by this year was Menelik II School in Addis Ababa. The other schools started at Ankober, Dessie and Harar, had disappeared.

Tafari Makonnen ordered the construction of a school.

The United Presbyterian Church of North America opened a school at Sayo with 83 pupils. They were taught in Galligna.

1923 The Seventh-Day Adventist Mission opened a school in Addis Ababa, and another at Addis Alem.

1924 Tafari Makonnen went to Europe on a state visit, and among other things, arranged for the purchase of books and school equipment.

The law issued during this year, although intended for Libya was significant in that it presaged the reorganization of education in the colonies along fascist lines.

1925 Inauguration of the Tafari Makonnen Lyceum.

1926 Tafari Makonnen announced the rules and regulations that were to be the basis for policy-making. The regulations, consisting of 53 articles, covered all aspects of the school-students, teachers, administration and physical plant. The school was then named Tafari Makonnen School.

The Victor Emmanuel II School in Eritrea, with boarding facilities was partially operational

The Woizero Sehene School in Dessie was founded with money left by the late Woizero Sehene.

The Tafari Makonnen elementary school at Gore was established.

Prize giving ceremony at Tafari Makonnen School.

1929 Saint George School (an elementary school) was founded with two sections, for boys and for girls. Instruction was in French.

The Dire Dawa elementary school was established.

The Tafari Makonnen School was established in Jijiga. It used English as a medium of instruction.

An article in the Berhanena Selam newspaper suggested reform of the curriculum. It stated that a uniform language, Amharic, should be taught in all schools.

The Haile Selassie I Elementary School in Nekempte, Wollega was built. It also used English as a language of instruction.

1930 By this date, as we can see from the newspaper and interviews with students or teachers of the time, the attitudes of many Ethiopians towards education was changing fast.

With the accession to the Ethiopian throne of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, the tempo of educational progress quickened, and education began to be coordinated under the guidance of a central office.

Earnest Work, an American who was brought in to advise the government, suggested that the education system should be neither "French, Italian, English or American", but Ethiopian. He adivsed that Amharic should be used as the medium of instruction in Ethiopian schools.

Empress Menen School for girls was founded by Empress Menen.

Haile Selassie I School was founded by the Emperor and gave technical and linguistic training in French.

Emperor Haile Selassie I founded another school at Harar.

1931 The Asbe Tafari Elementary School in Asbe Tafari, Harar, was founded, English was the medium of instruction.

1932 The Haile Selassie I Elementary School in Ambo was founded. French as the language of instruction.

The Medhane Alem School in Jimma, Kaffa was built. It used French as the language of instruction.

The Swedish and American Protestant Missions were closed by order of the Italian government.

A central office of primary education responsible for technical and disciplinary superivison was established by Italians.

The Orphanage of Our Savior for Boys was founded and taught handicrafts (it was an elementary school).

1934 The Boy Scout School was established with French as the medium of instruction.

The Gojam elementary school in Debre Markos was built. It used English as the medium of instruction.

1935 All Swedish missionaries were expelled and the properties of the mission taken by the Italian government for their own use. This condition brought education in Eritrea more closely under the fascist control than ever before.

1935 Kabana School (an elementary one) was founded and taught in French. The director was Professor Tamrat, an Ethiopian.

The Sellale School was established. English was the language of instruction.

The Adwa and Makale schools were founded. Both schools used English as a language of instruction.

After this date, Eritrea was reoganized and enlarged. Twenty-six schools had been established within a few months at this time.

Dennis Garringue was appointed principal of Tafari Makonnen school. Dr. Worqneh Eshete served as the first administrator of the school for five years, until he was succeeded by Dawit Ogubagzie, a foreign educated Ethiopian from Eritrea.

1936 The fascist leader, Mussolini, announced the annexation of Ethiopia to Italy and the foundation of the fascist empire. There were then at least 21 schools in Ethiopia, three of which in the capital held secondary classes.

The Fundamental Law of this year made it mandatory to use the local language as the medium of instruction in each of the separate regions into which Italian East Africa was divided.

1937 A massacre of educated men and women by fascist Italy. Seventy-five percent of the educated youth were murdered.

By this date there were 61 schools and 5,057 pupils in the six Italian administrative regions.

1938 General Guglienio Nasi, Governor of Harar complained that education for the colonial people was progressing too fast and called for a curb. He wrote this in his memorandum to the commissions and residents.

1939 The Governor-General of Italian East Africa, the Duke of Aosta, reiterated the type of curriculum that should be offered to the Africans. He addressed his memorandum to the governors of the six regions into which Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somaliland, were divided. He demanded that the schools established for the people of East Africa should aim at training people in agriculture or crafts. Special attention should be given to the sons of the native notabilities.

Ato Makonnen Desta appointed minister of Education, General Notice No. 1, 1st year, May 10, 1941.

1941-42 In Addis Ababa, Menelik II, Tafari Makonnen School for boys and Itegue Menen School for gils were evacuated and began to function.

Technical School opened for 200 day pupils.

A Commericial School was also opened.

Special classes for administrative training were offered by various ministries, including the Ministry of Education.

Elementary schools in the provincial capitals began to function slowly. (No data are presently available on exactly how many in each province.)

A few Amharic readers were printed. Two English readers were also printed.

1942-43 Experimental community education centers opened at Tabasse in Northern Shoa.

Schools continued to open both in Addis Ababa and the provinces. (Precise figures are not now available).

British Council started English classes for adults, and opened a library.

1944 Order defining the powers and duties of Ministers, including the Minister of Education and Fine Arts... Order No. 1 of 1943—promulgated.

Ato Gashaw Zelleke was appointed Director General in the Ministry of Education... General Notice No. 20 of 1943, October 8, 1943.

Haile Selassie I Secondary School for boys was opened at Addis Ababa. Program aimed at preparing students for the London Matriculation. There were 43 boarders. Some students came from the provinces, notably Harar.

Medical officer was appointed for schools. Course for school "dressers" (a kind of practical nurse) started.

Teacher Training School at Asmara (two-year course) opened.*

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*Eritrea was at that time under United Nations administration.

1945 Ato Emanuel Abraham appointed Director General in the Ministry of Education... General Notice No. 26 of 1944 May 12, 1944.

Regulations governing the establishment of missions and mission schools passes— Decree No. 3 of 1944.

Teacher Training School opened in Addis Ababa (three-year course) for training elementary school teachers.

Theological School opened at Addis Ababa.

Architects department was set up in the Ministry of Education to superintend the building of schools, particularly new schools opening in the provinces.

A few students were sent to Cairo and Alexandria for study. They were selected from among elementary and secondary grades in the government schools, including the Theological School.

1946 Provincial schools continued to expand.

About twenty more students were sent abroad for higher studies. They went to Cairo, Alexandria, and Beirut before proceeding to Europe and America.

School for the Blind was founded in Addis Ababa.

1947 Ato Akalework Habtewold was appointed Director General in the Ministry of Education - Gneral Notice No. 101 of 1947, June 6, 1947.

Ambo Agriculture school opened.

Larger group of students from the secondary schools sent abroad.

War was over in Europe and more foreign teachers became available, notably from Scandinavia (particularly Sweden), England, America, Canada, India, and the Middle East.

Genral Wingate School (Secondary) was opened in Addis Ababa. Tafari Makonnen School, Addis Ababa, also opened secondary classes, enrolling 50 pupils.

1948 Order No. 3 of 1947 brought the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts under the "exclusive control" of His Majesty the Emperor. It also established a central Board of Education.

Education Land Tax Proclamation, Order No. 93 of 1947, 7th, No. 3— elementary education in the provinces to be supported solely from this tax.

1949 An institute for adult education - Berhane Zare New Institute— opened in Addis Ababa.

First attempt to collect statistics of school enrollment, etc. Expenditure for education was stated to be Eth. $7,835,063.

1950 Three provincial secondary schools were functioning in Harar, Wollo and Kaffa.

Curriculum for Grades VII and VIII approved by the Board of Education. A secondary school curriculum was also approved.

Statistics were being collected- - 49,077 pupils in Grades I-IV in the provinces.

Church began to withdraw schools from the government system.

1951 University College of Addis Ababa began operation.

Charter for the Boy Scouts Association of Ethiopia was issued, establishing a governing body, consisting of the Chief Scout, H. H. the Duke of Harar, and a national council— General Notice No. 135 of 1950.

Inspection Department of the Ministry of Education began to function as a "Control Agent", Primarily through direct inspection and through examinations set in the Ministry.

1951-52 The Teacher Training School is expanded and removed to Harar.

Mr. Perry Carmichel sets up experimental teacher training program at Haile Selassie I Day School. Twelve students enrolled.

Church withdraws a total of 177 schools, 8,110 pupils, and estimated Eth. $489,000 from government system.

Ministry's Standing Committees— Textbook Selection, Curriculum Committee, Vacation Teacher Training Committee, General Examination Committee— strengthened, each reporting directly to the Director General.

1952-53 College of Engineering opened in Addis Ababa.

Imperial Ethiopian Government and U.S. Operations Mission conclude an agreement for establishment of a College of Agriculture in cooperation with Oklahoma A & M College.

Eritrea becomes a federated state by Security Council decision. Liaison Education Officer appointed.

Eight more students enrolled in the experimental Teacher Training course. The plan is to extend the course over a four-year period, consisting of academic courses and methods of teaching.

1953-54 United States Operations Mission to Ethiopia (Point-Four) established. Experts begin work in the Ministry of Education.

Long-term Planning Committee is appointed and begins to function.

Representative of Public Administration Service, Chicago, USA, undertakes a study of the organization of the Ministry of Education and proposes revised plan of organization.

Department of Tests and Measurements is instituted and a new type of National Eighth Grade Examination is designed.

A Teacher Education Committee is formed under the Chairmanship of Dr. W. Wrinkle to study problems pertaining to the training and retention of Ethiopian teachers. A special sub-committee works out a new salary schedule which is applied to teachers in Addis Ababa.

Emergency Teacher Training Course of one year's duration is instituted at Haile Selassie I Day School in Addis Ababa (53 enrolled).

One-year Handicraft Teacher Training Course is opened at the Technical School, Addis Ababa (29 enrolled).

1954-55 Long-term Planning Committee submits its first summary report to the Board of Education. Recommends a 4-4-4 structure with the first four years "community schools for basic education."

The new salary schedule is extended to teachers in the provinces. There are 16 steps on the scale with uniform salaries for men and women.

Minimum requirement for entry into a teacher training institution is set at the eighth grade.

Nucleus of Production Unit is established in the Ministry of Education, with technical assistance from U.S. Operations Mission (Point-Four). Experimental Amharic readers are produced.

Research into Amharic language frequency and usage in elementary grades is undertaken.

University College becomes an autonomous and chartered institution.

Public Health College at Gondar is instituted with the assistance of WHO, UNICEF, and Point-Four.

Bilateral agreement is worked out with Swedish government for the setting up of a College of Building Technology.

1955-56 Report of the Long-term Planning Committee is completed and submitted to the Board of Education. Board approves section dealing with community schools for basic education, with some modification.

Ato Kebede Michael is appointed Director General in the Ministry of Education.

Unnumbered notice concerning "fundamental" education appears in Amharic newspapers. Notice states that all boys and girls between seven and eighteen years should receive at least basic elementary education free at government schools; illiterate adults between eighteen and fifty years should acquire a knowledge of Amharic reading and writing in their spare time; ultimate responsibility rests with the Ministry of Education.

UNICEF and FAO begin to provide technical assistance to the Ministry of Education. Milk feeding and gardening programs are instituted.

Specialized vacation courses for primary school teachers in-service are opened - health and nutrition courses for 50 teachers from the provinces are held at Jimma, organized with the assistance of UNICEF and FAO; Arts and crafts for men at the Itegue Menen Handicraft School in Addis Ababa and for women at the Itegue Menen Girls School; physical training for men opened at Harar.

One-year course for training Inspectors for primary schools is opened at the Haile Selassie I Day School in Addis Ababa.

Secondary School Teacher Education Course (four years) becomes an option in the Faculty of Arts at University College.

First students enter Institute of Building Technology.

Experimental arithmetic book for primary grades in progress.

1956-57 Ministry of Education is reorganized to include a Department of Research and Curriculum Development, a Bureau of Statistics, a Department of Higher Education and Special Schools.

A number of young men and women, educated abroad are promoted to responsible administrative posts.

Survey of elementary schools is undertaken by the Department of Research and Curriculum Development.

UNESCO expert in science and mathematics secured to assist in development of teaching materials and curriculum.

Provisional (four-year) secondary school curriculum guide is produced.

Production unit in the Ministry continues to expand and produce: an Amharic alphabet (Y' Fidel Memaria), three beginning readers (Lemma books), three arithmetic books and teachers' manual; two monthly magazines one in Amharic, the other in English, are produced for the primary grades.

A committee is set up in the Ministry to review manuscripts for possible publication.

Two teacher training centers are opened: One at Mageti, staffed by

Ethiopian and UNESCO experts, to train village level workers (30 students); the other at Debre Berhan, with the aid of Point-Four, to train community school teachers.

One-year course for training directors of primary schools is opened at the Haile Selassie I Day School in Addis Ababa.

A Vocational Trades School, offering a one-year course, is opened in Addis Ababa, with the aid of Point-Four, offering courses in: carpentry, electrical installation, masonry, and plumbing.

The Empress Menen School for Girls in Addis Ababa celebrates its twenty-fifth anniversary.

Four Regional Officers are appointed in the Ministry of Education, each to be responsible for the administration of three provinces.

A College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts is opened at Alemaya in Harar.

The Public Administration Institute (UNTAB) offers half-day classes to government administrative personnel granted leave from their Ministry for training. The course is held at the University College.

1957-58 February: Report is submitted to the Education Conference for the reorganization of the school structure as follows: six years primary, taught in Amharic; two years junior secondary, taught in English with vocational guidance - one of the major undertakings; three years senior secondary organized on a comprehensive basis.

June: Director General appoints a special committee to study the proposal.

December: General Curriculum Committee is appointed to study the implications of proposed changes.

The First National Five-Year Development Plan goes into effect.

Post-secondary vacation course for primary school teachers is opened at University College.

Four-year course for training Handicraft teachers is instituted at the Technical School. One-year course phases out.

One-year training course for teachers is opened at the Theological School in Addis Ababa.

Experimental books and pamphlets continue to be produced for the primary grades.

1958-59 Lij Endalkachew Makonnen is appointed Vice-Minister of Education.

The Ministry institutes an experimental program in Community Education: four schools in each province and one in each provincial capital (60 schools are to be converted into Community Schools offering four years of basic education). The community workers are expected to advise villagers in the areas of health, agriculture, recreation, and handicrafts.

Teacher Education Committee (sub-committee of reconstituted General Curriculum committee) proposes major reorganization of the training and placement of primary school.teachers.

Four-year course for training girls to be teachers is opened at the Itegue Menen Girls School (31 girls enrolled).

One-year course for the training of women teachers of home and family living is instituted in Addis Ababa with the assistance of FAO and UNICEF personnel and funds.

September: The Board of Education approves school reorganization plan in principle and authorizes small scale trial.

October: Five pilot schools are organized to try out new curriculum and teaching materials.

The Production Unit in the Ministry produces a variety of materials: 24 textbooks, teachers' guides, and 15 pamphlets for literate adults.

The administrative structure of the Ministry of Education, organized under three main divisions - program, administration, and inspection - is being studied by the Institute of Public Administration. The laws pertaining to education are also being scrutinized.

Extension classes at the University College have expanded considerably, catering to more than six hundred adults. A full degree course is instituted. The Institute of Building Technology also opens evening classes for adults.

The Haile Selassie I Scholarship Program for African students is instituted. Forty candidates are admitted to the college-level institutions during this year.

1959-60 Balambaras Mahteme Selassie is appointed Minister of State for Education.

The production of experimental textbooks, pamphlets, and teaching materials increases rapidly during this year. Technical staff are trained on the job and competent authors and linguists are recruited to assist in the job of producing books.

Pilot project, under the supervision of experts and competent teachers, is being evaluated. Efforts are made to introduce the experimental Elementary-Community Schools.

Two surveys were made of secondary schools: one in connection with the Bahar Dar School of Building Technology, which should begin to function in two years; the other in connection with the expansion of secondary schools in the provinces, and particularly with reference to instituting comprehensive classes in the secondary schools.

A Department of Education for the preparation of secondary school teachers is set up as an autonomous unit within the Faculty of Arts at the University College.

A new course for the training of social workers is set up at the University College in cooperation with the Ministry of Public Health. This is a two-year course for graduates of the eleventh grade who are mature and have an inclination for social work.

The first meeting of Ministers and Directors of Education in Tropical African Countries is held, under the auspices of UNESCO, in Addis Ababa, 16-20 February 1960.

A survey team from the University of Utah in the United States spends three months studying plans for setting up the Haile Selassie I University.

Cultural agreements are concluded between the Imperial Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, and the governments of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

1960-61 Ato Haddis Alemayhou is appointed Minister of State for Education.

A report on the pilot school program at the primary level is submitted to the Ministry with a recommendation to expand the program gradually after certain adjustments were made.

The production unit has produced some 124 books and pamphlets on an experimental basis. They are written in Amharic except for a New English Series for the primary grades.

The Mageti training center for village level workers is turned over to the Ministry of National Community Development.

About 60% of eighth grade students are admitted to the ninth grade after the General Examination. The Ministry is confronted with the problem of placing students not accepted into secondary classes.

1962-63 A Faculty of Education is instituted in Haile Selassie I University, with four departments: Elementary, Secondary, Administration, and Research and Testing.

Five hundred additional primary school classrooms are constructed and six hundred more teachers are employed, increasing primary school enrollment by 25,000.

The Haile Selassie I Prize Trust was founded in May 1963 as a chartered institution by His Majesty the Emperor, for the promotion and encouragement of study and research in Amharic literature, fine arts, agriculture, industry, and humanitarian activities.

Ninety new classrooms are constructed at the secondary level and three hundred more teachers are employed.

Separate sections are set up in the Ministry of Education for primary and secondary schools.

A one-year course for primary school supervisors and directors is opened in the university's Faculty of Education.

A seminar for some 300 school directors, supervisors, and Provincial Education Officers is held under the sponsorship of the Ministry and the university's Faculty of Education.

1963-64 The Second Five-Year Development Plan is launched.

A UNESCO mission studies the implications of the plan from the Ministry of Education's point of view and proposes measures to offset some of the serious problems in the system.

Two new secondary schools are opened at Dire Dawa and Ghion, and the Technical School at Bahar Dar, built with the assistance of the Soviet government, is inaugurated.

1964-65 The new structure of the school system is officially recognized as six years primary, taught in Amharic, two years junior secondary and four years senior secondary, taught in English. A new curriculum and books are published.

A five-year program is worked out for upgrading primary school teachers and for training as many as five hundred to one thousand each year. All Teacher Training Institutes - Harar, Debre Berhan, and Asmara - offer two-year courses above the tenth grade. A new Institute in Addis Ababa will then merge into the general plan. UNESCO and UNICEF render technical assistance to this program.

A Handbook containing Ministry policies governing primary education is prepared and issued.

One year of university service goes into effect. All students who have completed three years of college level education are required to render one year of service.

1965-66 Reorganization of the Ministry becomes official and an Organization Handbook containing rules and regulations governing the two major departments - Administration and Education - and their sub-division, is issued.

1971-72 The Education Sector Review was carried out involving many Ethiopians and international experts. As the report came out in August, 1972, it was hailed as an imaginative exercise in educational planning.

1973-74 The documents of the Sector Review remained untranslated and uncommunicated to the larger community - teachers, parents and children. Rumors spread that the Review would prevent the poor from having access to further schooling. In February, 1974, the Minister of Education announced that implementation of E.S.R. was indefinitely postponed until the "public was ready."

On September 12, the emperor was dethroned and the Derg (a military council), assumed power.

1974 Proclamation No. 11 launches the Development through Cooperation, Enlightenment and Work campaign. This was extended for a second year by Proclamation No. 48. The act requires all post-primary school students and teachers to work in rural areas for two years.

In spite of the unsavory name attributed to it, the Education Sector Review recommendations of 1972 remain the master blueprint (under a different guise) for education development.

Legal Notice No. 8 established Ethiopian printing corporation.

1975 Proclamation No. 26 established government ownership and control of the means of production.

Proclamation No. 54 brought private schools under public ownership.

Proclamation No. 50 provided for the deposit of printed materials in the Ministry of Youth and Culture.

Proclamation No. 62 established the Ethiopian Science and Technology Commission.

1976 Proclamation No. 103 provides for the administration and control of schools by the people. This means the decentralization of grade level education, administration and control.

1977 Proclamation No. 109 established a national commission of higher education to coordinate and supervise the development of post-secondary education. This commission replaces the former Board of Governors and the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor functions. It also provides for the replacement (when one is ready) of the previous University Charters by new ones. This proclamation also defines the goals and objectives of "socialist" Ethiopia.

Proclamation No. 120 established political schools for government functionaries.

1978 Proclamation No. 156 established a national revolutionary development campaign and central planning supreme council.

Appendix B

List of Ministers of Education and Fine Arts
G.C. 1905-1982

Name	Rank (Title)	Period in Office (E.C.)
Melake Tsehai Afework (Esdros)	Minister	
Belaten Geta Shale Tsedalu	Minister	
Dejazmatch Mekonnen Desta	Minister	1933-36
Haile Selassie I*	Minister	1936-58
Ato Amanuel Abraham	Director General	1936-41
Ato Akalework Habte Wold	Vice Minister	1941-47
Ato Kebede Michael	Director General	1947-50
Balambaras Mahtema Sellassie W. Meskel	Vice Minister	1950-51
Lij Endalkachew Mekonnen	Vice Minister	1951-53
Ato Haddis Alemayehu	Minister of State	1953-54
Ato Gebre-Meskel Kifle Egzie	Minister of State	1954-58
Ato Akale Work Habte Wolde	Minister	1958-62
Ato Seifu Mahteme Sellassie	Minister	1962-66
Ato Tadesse Terrefe	Minister	1966
Dr. Haile Gebriel Dagne	Minister	1966-67
Lt. Colonel Goshu Wolde	Minister	1967-

* The emperor assumed the portfolio of Minister of Education; a National Board of Education was established (the duties of the board are explained elsewhere in this book). Under the board, the people listed served as executive administrators and implementors of board policies and direction until 1958 (April, 1961, G.C.), when the prime minister was given power to form his cabinet.

Source: Collated by the author from Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Public Relations Department; Zekre Neger; and other unpublished sources.

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